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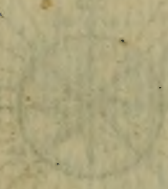
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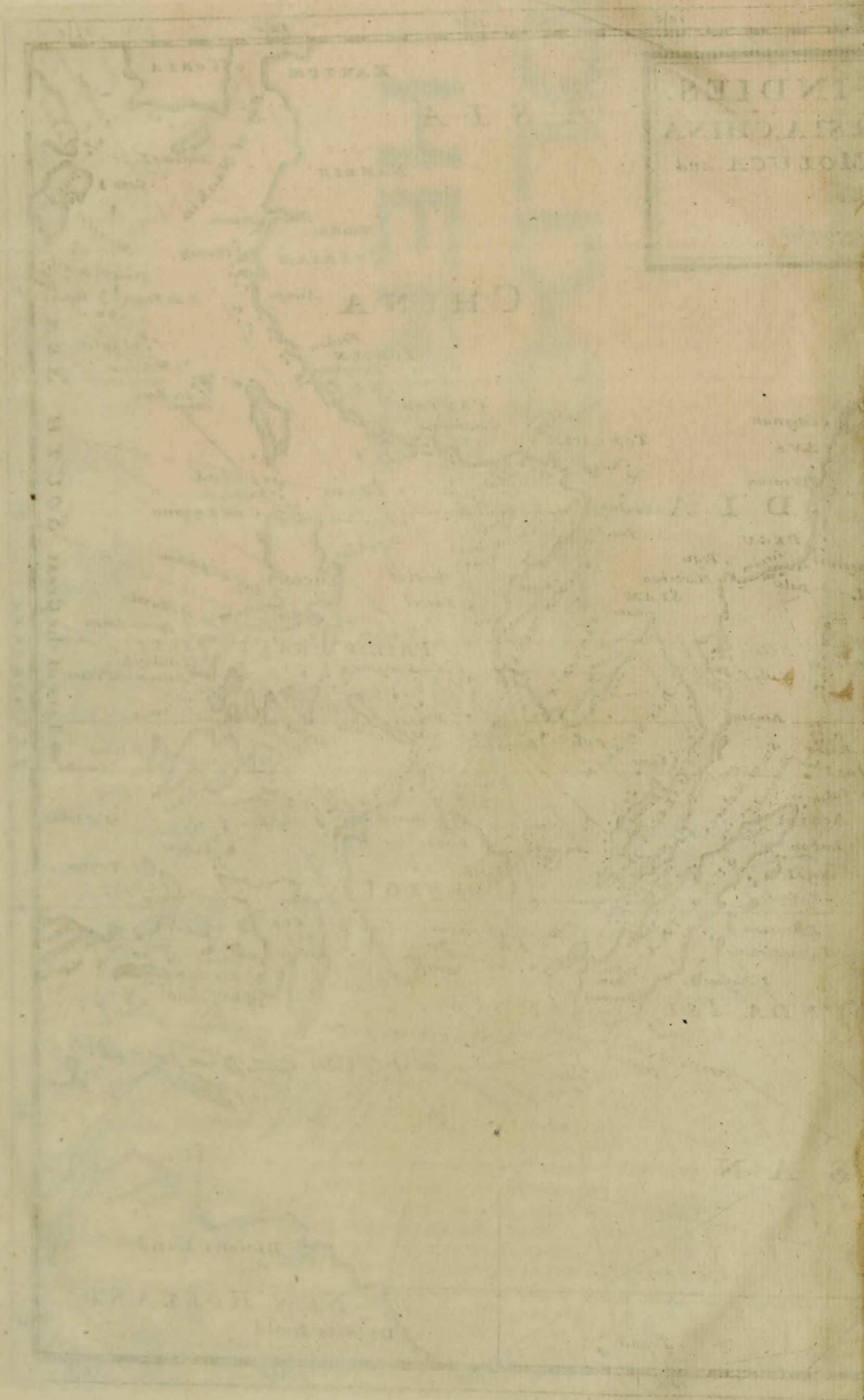
INDIA



A Chart of *the* EAST-INDIES.
with the COAST of PERSIA, CHINA
also the PHILIPINA, MOLUCA and
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A S I A





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VOL. II.

LONDON:

Printed for and Sold by THOMAS OSBORNE of Gray's-Inn.
MDCCXLV.

Seigneur MICHAEL BAUDIER, of Languedoc.

Translated by E. G.

VOL. II.

B

Note. that the Arrows among the Lines shew the Course of those General & Coasting Winds and that the Arrows in the void Spaces shew the Course of the Shifting TRADE Winds, and the Abbreviations, Sep: &c. shew the Times of the Year when such Winds blow.

A View of y General & Coasting TRADE-WINDS, Monsoons or y Shifting Trade Winds through y WORLD, Variations &c. According to the Newest and most Exact Observations. By H. Moll Geographer



[2]

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
COURT
OF THE
KING of CHINA.

Written in *French* by

Seigneur MICHAEL BAUDIER, *of* Languedoc.

Translated by E. G.

VOL. II.

B

T H E

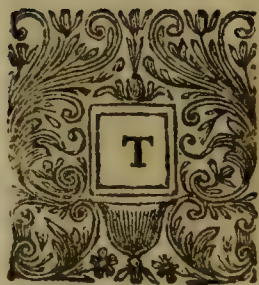
P R E F A C E.

TH E care of men flies to the Indies, and all the east, to seek for drugs and remedies which may purge the body from those diseases which do afflict it: And this labour drawing out of the histories of the like oriental region, examples, the which exposed to the view of the publick, may, in imitating them, purge many disorders, and in time cure men's minds of the passions which trouble them. That which hath drawn me to the texture of this work, are the rare and eminent qualities of the spirits of China, who, in the particular world wherein they are inclosed, furnish wise counsels, and true maxims to reform the disorders of other nations. Their history, little known to us, being as it were curtailed in this little work, describes them the means; the truth whereof will be less offensive in our days, than that which we might have made more glorious in a greater volume, in that which we have seen, and the affairs which are near unto us. The wise and judicious reader may see, in the relation of China, two powers always working, by the which that great and vast kingdom is happily governed; that is, the assured recompence for virtue, and the infallible punishment of vice; and without being at the charges of so long a voyage, nor incurring the dangers which are encountered, he may, without parting from his own house, in reading these leaves, see the court of China, be present at their pomps, and stay there as long as his leisure well give him leave. He shall not see flattery enter the royal palace in pomp, and to shut the gate against truth;

nor dissembling to hold the place of friendship, nor favour to rob virtue of her honours and rewards. Flatterers are so banished, that never any monarch of China had any cause, like unto that prince of the antiquity corrupted by delights, to bind them to a wheel, to wash their foul mouths in the water, and to express, in turning them about, the inconstancy of their base practice. These courtiers do not trust the weight of their prosperities to such weak supports, as the elephant doth the weight of his body to a tree half sawed in sunder and ready to fall: The felicities which they enjoy have for a solid foundation, the basis of their virtues: He shall not see, by the course of the inconstancies which rules in other places, this wise court to change its countenance often, and like unto Mida's altar, to be sometimes of pure gold, sometimes of ordinary stone; the order which wisdom hath settled there makes it always equal. It were a very extraordinary thing to find a courtier there honoured one day like a God, and chased away the next like a devil. The merit of them of China hath dismounted fortune from her inconstant wheel, and having disarmed her of her wings, hath set her upon a firm rock: So he that shall read this tract, of what profession soever he be, he shall see learning in recommendation, arms in esteem, justice revered, and arts honoured: So as admiring the good qualities of them of China, and envying their durable felicities, he shall have nothing to wish them but the light of true religion, which they want; and may say in himself, that virtue wanting reward is fled from us.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
COURT
OF THE
KING of CHINA.

The names, situation, greatness, and qualities of the realm of China.



THE Realm of the *Sines*, whose manners ancient writers have related unto us, is called by them of the country, *Taybinco*; by their neighbours, *Sancley*; and by the people of *Europe*, *China*: It lies upon the extremity of *Asia*, upon the east and south, it is water'd with the waves of the great ocean; towards the west, the higher *India* confines with it; and on the north, the *Scythians* and *Massagots* are their nearest neighbours. It hath, in circumference or circuit, nine thousand five hundred and sixteen *Dies* (a measure of their country) or three thousand *French* leagues; in diameter or length, eighteen hundred leagues. In this vast and immense space are contained fifteen goodly, great provinces, five hundred fourscore and eleven cities, fifteen hundred fourscore and thirteen towns, and an infinite number of boroughs: Fifteen cities are the metropolitan or principal of the realm, stately and commodiously built upon goodly havens of the sea, or upon the fertile banks of great navigable rivers. The provinces are *Pagnie*, *Canton*, *Foquien*, *Olan*, *Quinsay*, *Susuam*, *Tolanchie*, *Cansay*, *Oquinam*, *Aucbeo*, *Honain*, *Xanton*, *Quincheu*, *Chequean*, *Saxii*, or *Sanchii*: They are governed in particular by the administration of a vice-roy; except *Pagnie* and *Tolanchie*, which are immediately ruled by the care of their sovereign, and

the advice of his council; for he resides in them as nearest to the *Tartars*, their ancient enemies, to the end that his royal presence, as the sun of the estate, might disperse the fogs and clouds of troubles which would obscure his glory. The admirable beauty of the country, makes all the earth to envy it: The inhabitants breathe the air of the eastern part of the world: Wine, grain, and fruit, are in abundance; for the fertile land yields increase thrice a year. They have store of wool, cotton, and silks: They gather perfumes; mettals are found there; gold and silver abounds, diamonds glisten, pearls are fish'd, the sea obeys to their navigation, great rivers water it; and the *Chinese* may disdain and contemn the help and assistance of other men, and the commodities of their provinces. They are inclosed and shut up as it were in another world; nature hath furnished them with great mountains, which lock them up; and art, by the industry and care of king *Tinzon*, hath drawn a wall five hundred leagues long, very high, and above twenty-five foot thick, which doth finish the inclosure of that which nature had left them (as it seems) of purpose, to the end that knowing their forces, they might make a world apart; although histories say, that the inroads and spoils which the *Tartars* made upon them on that side, advanced the project, and made them to hasten the work.

The fundamental laws of the empire.

The principal laws, under the wise conduct whereof they live, in the midst of an assured peace, full of all felicities, are, *first*, That the sceptre of the realm of *China* never falls to the distaff; and that the males only, and not the women, succeed to the crown. *Secondly*, That no man of the country shall presume to go out of the ports thereof to any foreign parts, without express leave of the king himself, and not of his officers; and that no stranger shall be admitted to enter without the like license; whereby they preserve inviolably the purity of their good customs, and with the help of this great wall they hinder the entry of strangers into the realm, and their cares keep vices out of the court, which in other places are familiar to courtiers. If happily any stranger creeps in amongst them, he is presently discovered of every man; for to that end they long since settled a custom amongst them, to cause them to crush and make flat the Noses of their children when they are born; so as all the *Chineze* have flat noses; which makes a stranger in their company seem to have a different countenance. *Thirdly*, The charges and offices of the estate are not given but to very capable men, and endowed with rare and eminent qualities. That no man shall be held noble, unless he be virtuous. That the children of great men cannot be admitted to their father's offices, nor have any part in the glory of their reputation, if they do not equal or surpass them, tying nobility by this means to the person, and not to the blood. *Fourthly*, That the children of merchants and artificers, how rich soever they be, cannot mount higher than their father's trades, unless some rich gift of the mind doth so recommend some one above the rest, as he may profitably serve the estate and publick; then, and by the express leave of the king, after long study, and many painful exercises, he is made *Loytias*, that is to say, noble, with the lustre of a pompous solemnity, as we will shew in its place. *Fifthly*, That idleness be punished as a capital crime; and to banish it out of the realm, they prohibit, upon great penalties, to give alms to those that shall demand it; for the poor, maimed in their members, or afflicted with diseases, are sent to their kinsfolks; whom the law enjoins to tax themselves, and to furnish food and other necessaries for these poor afflicted people: If the kinsfolks be poor, the king's purse and the publick charity feeds them in hospitals, and other houses instituted to that end, but the blind and lame which may work eat not the bread of the poor; they force them to get their livings, turning mills, and doing other works, the gain whereof supplies their necessities.

This great kingdom, under the conduct of so good laws, is governed by one sovereign king, who lives commonly in the city of *Pague*, or *Pagule*, in the city of *Tabin*, otherwise called *Suntien*, which signifies in their language, a city of heaven. *Marcus Paulus Venitus*, calls it *Quinsay*, the which is so great, as it fills the spirit of those that read the extent with admiration; and being but a small pattern of the realm, shews plainly what the whole piece is. It hath in length as much as a man can well go in a day on horseback, from one gate unto another: The breadth is half as much, and the circuit most vast: The suburbs, which are many, contain altogether as much as the city. The *Chineze* have heretofore levied in this town, upon urgent necessities of an important war, an hundred thousand foot, and an hundred thousand horse. I was present in the year 1616, when as a *Flemmish* jesuit, newly come from *China*, related unto the king, being in the *Louvre*, the wonders of this royal city: He gave it in length twice as much as is from *Paris* to *Pontoise*, which is 7 *French* leagues. The rarities which he spake of are conformable to the history. He shewed himself in the king's cabinet, attired after the manner of *China*, whereof the habit was pleasing. There are three royal palaces built in this great city, the one at the entry towards the east, the other in the midst, and the third at the other end towards the west. The king of *China* hath made choice of the first for his mansion, of so vast a greatness, that to see the particularities, a man cannot employ less than four whole days: It is wholly environed with seven great and spacious walls, so as within the distance of one from another, there are easily lodged ten thousand soldiers, which make the ordinary guard of the palace. The number of goodly chambers, rich wardrobes, and precious cabinets, amount to about five hundred. There are three-score and nineteen halls, all richly built with admirable art; four of which are most remarkable in this palace: The first is of mettall cast, curiously wrought with a great number of figures: The second hath the floor and ceiling made of silver of great value: The third is of massy gold, excellently enamelled: But the lustre, beauty, and value of the fourth doth far exceed the other three: It is beautified with many jewels of price; within it there shines a royal throne all covered with diamonds, and a great number of carbuncles, the which, with other precious stones, gives such a light, as the hall is as light in the darkest night as if there were many torches burning: This fourth is called, the hall of the king's treasure, and so it contains it. In these four halls

halls the king gives audience to the embassadors of foreign princes, and measures the honour which he will do them at their reception in these halls; for those of meaner princes, his tributaries, are not received but in the first hall; those that are more eminent in the second; and such as come from great kings which do not acknowledge him, in the third and fourth. He also keeps his court in these halls, and gives audience there to the principal officers of his crown.

A present from the queen mother of France to the king of China.

Mary of Medicis, queen mother to the king, the honour and admiration of her age, who, by the lustre of her rare and incomparable virtues, hath carried the glory of her name to the most remote regions of the earth, sent him in the year 1616, a stately present of rich tapestry; and her great piety had no other design in this present, but the glory and honour of him who made her the greatest princess in the world; for she did it to the end this prince should give more free access to those that went into his realm, to turn their souls from the false worship of idols by the light of the gospel, and to put them in the way of their salvation. He which had charge to present it, which was this *Flemming* of whom we have spoken, assured me, that the king of *China* would cause a rich hall to be built of purpose, proportionable to the tapestry, wherewith he would hang it, and would esteem it the richest moveable of his palace: For *China*, which hath before us found out the goodliest inventions of art, hath not yet that of rich tapestry. This stately palace doth furnish the king with the delights of walks; he hath goodly gardens enameled with all sorts of flowers, watered with goodly fountains, whereas the sweet murmur of their boiling springs, summons the birds with their notes to make a natural consort of pleasing musick; in their goodly allies he charms the troubles and cares which follow royalty, and grow under crowns. The number of the women which he entertains are his most ordinary company; he takes delight to contemplate, in their fair countenances, more roses and flowers than his gardens do produce. On the side of these gardens are many goodly orchards, which yield all sorts of delightful fruits; and farther off, extend great woods, some cut, others of high-grown trees, wherein sometimes he takes his pleasure in hunting. They are invironed in some places with many large pools, all covered with wild-fowl; amidst the which the swans, which cover their hideous black skins with white feathers, seem the most beautiful unto the prince, and doth silently teach him a wise lesson, that goodliest shews in the world and court, cover many deformities and hide treacheries. The kings of *China* have often

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tried it: The divisions of their estate, the troubles thereof which have continued one and forty years, the treasons and massacres which have been committed even upon their kings persons, under the unfortunate reigns of *Yantbei*, *Laupi*, *Guirgey*, *Quiancy*, and *Sontey*, are true testimonies in their histories.

This is the reason why at this day they live so retired in their great palaces, and instead of pages and gentlemen-attendants, they are served only by women, with whom they usually converse; they commit the care of their breeding unto them, and rely upon them for the preservation of their healths: Not but that their persons are guarded by men. There are, as we have said, ten thousand men armed in guard without the royal palace, besides those which are at the gates, and upon the stairs of the same palace, and likewise in the halls: For the princes of *China* have not been free from the malice of women. King *Tronson*, surprized with the rare beauty of his father's widow, found by his pursuit, in the vain enjoyment of his love, the loss of his life. This goodly queen, called *Cause*, who was one of the miseries of the state, weary of the troubles of the world, and the vanities of the court, abandoned them after the death of the king her husband, to enjoy quiet and rest far from them, in the which a soul enjoying itself finds happiness and felicity. She shut herself into a monastery of religious women of *China*, in the which the devil, under the worship of idols, causeth himself to be adored by the goodliest women of the east, there laying at his feet the crown she had upon her head. She put on a vail like unto the rest, and did live in the simplicity of this order. *Tronson* her son-in-law, who was a greater worshipper of her allurements than she was of her false gods, is advertised, and follows her; to serve for an example, that kings, as well as other men, live in the thing beloved; He entertains her at a grate, courts her, and persuades her to leave her vail, and to resume the royal crown upon her head a second time. She hears him, believes him, and going out of the monastery, makes it known that many times the devotions of women are like vessels of chrystal, which break with the first knock: She marries him. But what good can happen by this inconstant diversion and change from the world to a cloyster, and from a cloyster to the world? Doubtless, a woman willingly unfrock'd, is a dangerous creature in a state or a family. *Cause* resumes the ambition which she had trodden under foot, and to reign alone under the name of her infant son, she caused king *Tronson* her husband to be slain: Then being mistress of her

C

her will as well as of the realm, she abandons her reason, her honour, and the glory of her majesty, to her lascivious passion: She became wife to many husbands, or friends: There was no great man in court, to whom her embracings were not allowed, yea, offered. This filthy life of a princess, who should have been an example of virtue in the state, offended all the world as a publick scandal. She covers it in some sort, and marries again, but to continue her disorders, she weds a man of no worth, who allows any thing. Vices follow one another. From this incontinent and lustful life, she falls to cruelty: Her children, more careful of honour than herself, testify only by their sorrow, the grief they have for her bad carriage. She causeth them to be murdered, to advance unto the crown of *China* a nephew of hers, who was a support and countenance to her lust, in the which she had reigned forty years, too long a time for so lewd a woman. In the end the *Chinese* grew weary of her disorders: They send for a base son of her husband's, they crown him, and acknowledge him for their king, his name was *Tantzou*; he seized upon this impudent woman, caused her process to be made, and put to death by the hand of an executioner. This was the end of the princess *Cause*, who had been the cause of so many disorders in the state, and was in the end the cause of her shameful ruin.

But the kings of *China* have, for these latter ages, lived much retired in their stately palaces. There hath been some which have never gone forth in publick but on the day that he was crowned king, and took the accustomed oath. If the people see him at any time, it is through a glass-window: They say they do it to preserve their royal dignity, and the respect which is due unto them, and moreover to avoid the treasons which may be practised against them. This kind of living thus close, doth not diminish the love and reverence which the people owe unto their persons; for the governors and magistrates know how to maintain it, and to make them observe it. And moreover in the principal towns of the provinces of the realm, wherein the vice-roys make their residence, they have been accustomed to hang up in a publick place a rich table of pure gold, in the which the portrait of the king is represented to the life, veiled with a curtain embroidered with gold: The *Loytias*, which are the knights, and the officers of justice go daily before it to make low submissive reverences, giving unto the publick this example of an exterior respect towards their sovereign, which many times doth excite an inward love. The days of solemn feasts,

which they celebrate at the new moon of every month, they unvail this table; the people see it plainly, and every man runs to salute it.

In the perpetual abode of these delightful palaces, the monarchs of *China*, have no other conversation, nor ordinary company but women: For besides those which serve him, which are many in number, they have thirty concubines, the fairest that can be found in all their kingdom, and one only queen which they marry, and make companion of their sceptre. They were accustomed in old time, when they had a will to marry, to invite all the knights and noblemen of the court to a royal and solemn feast, commanding them to bring with them their sons and daughters: They did it with a design to lodge some one of their daughters in the throne of *China*, and added to their beauties all the ornaments of art. The feast being ended, these virgins were placed in a great hall, according to the order of their race, and not the rank of their quality. Then the king, if he was not married, or the princes his sons, if he was, came into the hall to entertain the ladies, and to chuse out of their number those whose graces and perfections of beauty had given most power to captivate their affections by the sweetness of their charms. The infants, daughters to the king, did the like among the young knights which had been of the feast; they had liberty to chuse out of their troop him whom they held most worthy to be their husband. But all worldly things pass, especially those of the court; so this custom is extinct. The kings of *China* do all marry now to their kinswomen, the first degree of proximity or nearness of blood only observed, and sometimes the second. After the king hath thus taken a wife, he makes choice of thirty friends, which the law of his religion allows him to keep, and they are commonly the fairest of his estate: These not able to attain unto the honour to be their wives (for he marries but one) hold it a glory to enjoy his embracings. They know well their children shall be legitimate, and that after his death they shall be honourably provided for, and married to the greatest of the court: For in his lifetime he makes his will, before he be sick, leaves them portions, and names for their husbands thirty of the most eminent knights in his court, which are to marry. Being dead, and the obsequies performed, he which succeeds unto the crown causeth these thirty women which served his predecessor to be richly attired, and adorned with all sorts of precious jewels: He causeth them to be ranked in goodly chairs in the midst of this fourth hall, whereof we have formerly spoken,

The kings
women &
their mar-
riages.

spoken, and causeth their faces to be covered, so as they cannot be known. Then he calls into the same hall the thirty knights, whom the deceased king had named by his testament; the which, according the order of their antiquity, or that of the nomination of the testament, go one after another, to take one of these women thus veiled by the hand, and leads her without discovering her face, presently to his house, where they see what chance hath given them, and soon try whether the deceased prince hath bequeathed them a pleasing or importune legacy; for from that time they hold them for their wives.

The ladies of the court of China.

The other ladies of the court are married, not according to their own desires, or the blind passions of love; but according to the will of their parents, who know how to chuse men, whose age and merit may not be unequal to their youth and condition. It is the custom of *China*, that the husbands give portions to their wives in taking them, for they bring not any thing but their beauty and virtues: They deliver the money promised before they marry them, and they give it to their fathers and mothers, for a small acknowledgment of the care which they had in breeding them; so as it seems, the injustice of this law, doth force men sometimes to buy bad merchandizes at a dear rate, when as in marriages they encounter with indiscreet spirits, and extravagant humours. But there is another law which doth sweeten their displeasure, if they conceive any; for having bought them, they may lawfully sell them again. This doth seldom happen; the ladies of *China* are so well bred, and so honest, as they give their husbands more cause to cherish them, than to put them out of their families: The merit of their virtue hath brought the glory of their reputation into our countries, they which are so remote from us so many thousand leagues, and dwell in the extremity of the world, for an example to virtuous ladies, that the renown of their perfections shall never be extinct. The virtue of these ladies of *China*, being grown with them, is become so solid with time; for from their infancies, they breed them up in the love of honesty, and the hatred of vice; they shut them up perpetually, and employ them without ceasing, to the end that idleness the nursing mother of vices, mollifying their spirits, should not draw them into some disorder. This care to breed them up in this manner, is expressly commanded to parents, by a law which hath been inviolably observed for many ages, in the realm of *China*, established by the first king which swayed the scepter, called *Uitey*. This prince knowing that the idleness of

Their marriages.

Their employments.

women had been the cause of great disorders, which had ruined common-wealths, overthrown whole estates, and in his time had troubled many realms: He ordained upon great penalties, that the wives of artizans should work on their husbands trades; and those of other men should employ themselves with works of the needle, or to spin linnen. This law was so strictly observed, as he would have his own wife obey it. Thus the women of *China* labour continually, and the queen herself, who at this day wears the crown of that realm, is continually busy in spinning of gold and silk, or to make some rich work with the needle, which serves for an ornament to the altar of her vain idols. This is the reason why you shall seldom see any women in the streets, they are all employed in their houses: If any ladies of the court go forth in publick (the which happens seldom) it is to visit their near kinsfolks, when they are dangerously sick: They go covered in chairs carried by men, where, thorough little grates, artificially made of gold or silver, they see and are not seen. Another invention of the kings of *China*, which have loved the modesty and chastity of women, hath been of no small moment to cut off their courses and vain walks. They ordained that the mother should be careful, to bind up straight their daughters feet in the cradle, to the end they should not grow, perswading their credulous sex, that the beauty of a woman consisted in having a little foot; and they believe it so constantly, and press them so violently in their tender age, as they are incommoded, and in a manner lamed; the which is another reason why they so willingly keep their houses. It were a difficult thing to persuade them the contrary of this opinion, and to divert their spirits from this foolish cruelty, thus to rack their feet in the estate of innocency; for if any of them had the face of an angel, and the foot indifferently great, she will hold herself the foulest creature in the world. It is true, that this vain belief, to hold them fair which have very little feet, is not only at this day in *Asia*, some of these eastern parts have followed it with as much passion. *Elianus* reports in the thirteenth book of his divers histories, and the three and thirtieth chapter, that the fair *Rhodope* of the town of *Naucratis*, bathing herself one day in the chrystal stream of a pleasing fountain, had left her cloathes upon the bank, upon a heap of roses which her gentlewoman had gathered, when an eagle which sought her prey, seized upon one of her pattens or shoes, and carried it away. This bird, whom they have held to be the messenger of war, and carries the lightening of heaven, was then

Their going forth in publick.

They have all little feet.

then of peace and love; for being lost in the clouds, she fell far off in the city of *Memphis*, which is now the great *Caire*, and let the patten fall at the king's feet who then governed *Egypt*. This prince judging of the form of the foot by the shoe, which was wonderful little, and by the foot the perfection of the lady, imagined that she was fair enough to deserve to be crowned queen of his estate, and companion of his scepter; he sent men into all parts, to inform themselves what that lady was from whom an eagle had taken a shoe. They found her, (this fortune was too great to fly from it, and hide herself) and brought her to their prince, who took her to wife. Thus the eastern beauties have little feet, and from this foolish opinion, the wise politicians of *China* have drawn this benefit, thereby to contain the women in their houses. They are neatly and richly attired in silk and gold, pearls, diamonds; and whatsoever the covetousness of men doth fish for in the seas, and dig out of mines, is as much in use there as in *Europe*. Their habits are in some sort like to those of the *Spanish* ladies, and their rich attires of their head are not borrowed, they are made of their own hair, artificially pleated, and wreathed with little tresses of gold, and rais'd to the top of their heads in form of a crown, bound about with a band covered with precious stones. All this pomp, although it depends of the vanity of the world, is notwithstanding agreeable with their chastities, for they have always had, as we have said, the glory to be very chaste.

Their apparel.

The king of *China's* children, and the princes of the blood royal.

The kings of *China* never die without issue male, the number of women, whereof we have formerly spoken, furnish them heirs enough for their crown. The first which is born of any of those, is the lawful successor of the estate; the rest are bred up with all the princes of the royal blood, in cities remote from the court, which the king hath assigned them for their portions, where they live with all sorts of pleasures and delights in stately palaces. But they are forbidden upon pain of death, to go out of these palaces, and to come to court, unless the king calls them. The most busy and active cannot go from their palaces, unless they will incur the penalty: Yet these prohibitions do no way diminish the respect which they owe unto their persons. The governors of the province and towns are bound to go and visit them upon all festival days, which are the first days of every month: If they or the magistrates pass on horseback before their lodging, they ought in reverence to light; and if they be in their chairs, to go out of them, and go on foot without

train or pomp, until they be past the lodgings; the gates whereof, to the end no man should pretend ignorance, are painted with the colour of the prince's livery. Thus the estate of *China* enjoyeth (far from the troubles of civil war) the sweetness of peace; and the princes of the blood royal live far from the troubles of the court, in safety of their persons, in the midst of all pleasures and recreations, respected and honoured as demi-gods, without any care of the affairs of the province wherein they live, that should in any sort trouble the calm and tranquility which they enjoy.

The courtiers of the king of *China* are all *Loytias*, that is to say, knights: They are of two sorts; the one is by the merit of learning, the others by the valour of armies; and you shall not see in all this number, that the blind rashness of fortune, or the favour of the court hath advanced any to this dignity: They mount by the degrees of virtue; the which guides the one in this manner. The general visitors whom the king (by the advice of his council) sends every third year, throughout all the provinces of his kingdom, in the execution of their commissions, they have nothing so much recommended unto them, as to see young men which are bred up in colleges, to make them capable to serve the publick. They examine them, choose the best wits, and having found them capable to be employed therein, they make them *Loytias* in the king's behalf, that is to say, knights, giving them both the privileges and ensigns; these are, a girdle of gold and silver, and the hat garnished with two broaches of gold in fashion of a Palm, having two labels hanging behind, like those of a bishop's mitre: They cause them to take a solemn oath, which is to serve the king and publick faithfully and carefully in those charges wherewith they shall be honoured: That in the exercise thereof, they shall not take any present from any person whatsoever, but shall content themselves with the pension which the king shall give them, being sufficient to supply their necessities, and the lustre of their dignities. The pomp and magnificence which is observed, when they make these new knights, testify a publick joy, that virtue is advanced to charges of honour, and the empire shall be served and governed by able and sufficient men. Then these *Loytias* go with the new marks of their new dignities to court, they visit the chief of the king's council, and the other ministers of the state: These receive them and embrace them, their names are presently entered into a book, which serves to that use. They are commanded to stay in court, until there be some places void, whereunto they may be preferred:

The courtiers of *China*.

Loytias by learning.

preferred: In the mean time they polish themselves, and add unto their learning the practice of the world, making themselves capable to do well; when as occasions are offered to advance them, some are sent governors into a province, others are made lieutenants in another, and some sovereign judges. The other sort of *Loytias* or knights are made of grace, (as the *Chineze* say) and by the will of the king, which are the treasurers of the realm, and the old captains which have served worthily. But I do not see any extraordinary favour in this second creation of knights; for altho' these be not made by examination, like the others, who are learned, what grace do they unto them, to give them that which their valour hath well deserved, in the ordinary hazards and dangers of war: For the law of the court of *China*, doth not refuse any man the recompence of his valour: The meanest soldier may pretend to it, and obtain it: If they should see in *China* a soldier lamed in the trenches, to be reduced to that misery as to crave alms in the street, they would impute it a crime to him that should suffer it, and the realm would hold itself unworthy to have men to serve it at need. These last knights are never advanced to the government of provinces or towns, the law of the state gives them to those that are learned, who are within their realm esteemed above all other things. These *Loytias* or courtiers, are ordinarily attired in silks of divers colours; they have robes and cassocks which cover them: The governors, and such as have the principal charges in the state, wear their cassocks embroidered with gold and silver from the girdle downwards: They have all long bonnets: They wear on the crown of their heads a tuft of long hair artificially pleated and woven with gold. Superstition, the mistress of their spirits, hath advised them this kind of perriwigs: They believe that at their death they shall be pulled up to heaven by this handful of hair: Their priests more proud than so, wear not any but are all shaven; for they preach that they have power enough by the merit of their condition, to mount up into heaven of themselves, and not to be drawn up forcibly by the hair; but they all labour in vain, heaven receives no idolators, whether they have long hair or none at all. These courtiers do also wear the nails of their left hand extraordinary long, with the like design as the hair, as if they must scraul or scramble to go up into heaven. Certainly the court has been always the abode of many fools, and the courtiers spirits forge strange and ridiculous imaginations. I have observed this difference in their history, that these men

with long nails do not scrape and get so much, as those of other countries which have shorter. Their language is very much polished, and differs wholly from that of the other men of *China*. Their ordinary entertainment when they are together, is not, as elsewhere, of frivolous and idle subjects, nor of the shameful encounters of the filthy exercises of a Brothel-house; but of politick affairs: They propound questions of estate, they shew the means to preserve a realm, they deliver those which serve to increase it, and fortify their discourses with some examples drawn out of their history. Their carriage is grave, and their countenance serious. When they go forth in publick, they are carried in rich chairs of ivory: They always hold their eyes fixed upon one thing, with that severity which hath been taught them from their infancy; their guards and servants are about them, and their friends follow them; they lead many horses of shew after them, and they carry many parasols to defend them from the heat and discommodity of the sun: If they be advanced to any charge or government in the state, many officers of justice march before them to make way: Some carry great reeds hardened in the fire, to punish those which in their way shall be found convicted of any light insolency; one of the troop carries at his breast a table fringed with gold, in the which is written in great letters, his power which marcheth with this pomp. When these courtiers meet, they salute one another in this manner: They stretch out their arms, and bend them like a bow, then they interlace their fingers one within another, and make a low reverence, accompanied with some honest complement, as this: *If I could as easily find occasions to serve you as I do to encounter your person, I would testify unto you sincerely how much I am yours, and should live the most contented man of the court.* They also say often; *I wish you all sorts of felicity, not so much as your virtuous merit, (the world hath not sufficient, that were to wish an impossible thing) but as much as a man may have.* The complement ended, they stand long in a courteous debate who shall part first to continue his way. The men of meaner condition, as simple burgeses, use this manner in their salutations: They clasp the left hand, and cover it with the right, and carry both unto their breasts, making a low reverence, and pray him whom they salute, to believe that their friendship is not only in the exterior shew of the ceremony, but hath also its principal seat in the heart, where they swear they will preserve it inviolably: This spoken, they pass on, and continue their way. Doubtless there is not

Their
missive
letters.

any nation, how rude and barbarous soever, which hath not received the laws of courtesy, and embraced them; and they which at this day reject them rashly, are barbarous spirits, and have nothing of a man but the outward shew. When the distance of places where they are, hinders the compliment, and entertainment by mouth, they do it by missive letters, with the neatness of the court of *China*. They gild all the margent of their paper, which is most fine, made of reeds; they limn it, and write it in the midst, what their affections or courtesies doth dictate: They put up their letter without sealing in a purse made of the same paper, daintily gilt and painted, and so seal it up: These missives thus gilt are sold by the booksellers of the court, yea ready written, so as their remains nothing to do but to sign them, and the use is so ordinary among the courtiers, as they themselves in their visitations, give them one unto another for the greater assurance of their friendship: For the compliments which are but by words, have no other support but wind, and they which are by writing, remain for a gage of that they promise. Thus by the rules of courtesy, and the strict observance of the laws of the realm, these courtiers of *China* live in quietness and peace, and their discretion hath banished from the court, the rashness of ill-grounded quarrels, and the fury of duels: Yet insolence which hath brought over vices into the court, hath kept her place to induce the most susceptible of her counsels to offend others by words: The which happens sometimes amongst them, when as they speak injuries which are as ridiculous to us, as they are sensible to them, for that they ground the offence upon the oracles of their religion; for one of their prophecies threatens their tranquillity with troubles in this sense: *That a day will come when they shall be subject to men which have long beards, aquiline noses, and great eyes like unto cats eyes.* Thus, these men described in this manner, being odious unto them in opinion, when they will do an affront to any one, they call him cat's eyes, which among them is the greatest injury that can be done unto the honour of an honest man. When as in the commerce of the court, their ambition pursues any business, they desire to know the event before they come, and to this end they cast their ordinary lot, which they use in this manner: They have two little pieces of wood like two nutshells tied together with a little thread, and when as they have called upon the assistance of their idol, they cast them in its presence: If these pieces of wood, fall with the hollow parts upon the ground,

they hope for the accomplishment of their wishes in their affairs; but if the hollow parts be upwards, they vomit out all kinds of injuries against their idol, and begin to cast the lot again; but if it doth not encounter well, they take the idol and beat it, put it in the water, and many times broil it in the fire, and continue still their lot until it be favourable unto them; then they take the idol, embrace it, and set it with all honour upon its altar; they sing hymns unto it, and offer it wine and the most exquisite meats they can find. Certainly in the madness of these courtiers of *China*, we see in some sort the portrait of the impiety of some others which live in a better religion, who in the disorder of their affairs, challenge innocent heaven as guilty of their misfortunes. These courtiers of *China* have another kind of lot; they cast into a vessel many little sticks, upon either of which, is written a letter of their alphabet, and when as they have well shaken the vessel, they draw out one by the hand of a little child, and look with what letter it is marked, then they search in a book the leaf which begins with that letter, they read it, and interpret that which they find written therein, to the good or bad success of their affairs. Thus men are men, and in all places the court is a sea, where as ambition sails and labours with oars towards the accomplishment of her designs, and spares not any kind of invention to attain unto it, how sinister soever it be. Their devotion which hath nothing for object but wood and stone, cut and fashioned into idols, is also a courtier, that is to say, cold, done for fashion sake, and with negligence; and their sacrifices are in some sort the image of love fit for courtiers. They retain unto themselves the best part of that which they offer, and give unto their gods that which they would refuse themselves: If they kill a heifer or boar, they offer unto the altar only the tips of their ears; if they sacrifice fowl, they offer the claws and bills, and eat all the rest: They present great vessels of wine, but themselves drink it; after they have consecrated, and poured forth some few drops; for in court all is for themselves, and nothing for heaven. The history accuseth them to fail of their faith and promise: It says, they do not measure the continuance but by their private interests, and do not keep it but so long as they list: But what good can you expect from men and courtiers, who always wallow in delights: The fertility of the soil, the sweet temper of the air, the tranquillity of the state, the abundance of riches, and withal the falshood of their idolatrous religion, doth plunge them into all sorts of

Their de-
votion.

Their
faith.

Their de- pleasures, capital enemies to virtue: They lights. which are least voluptuous of their troop, are the *Loytias* of learning, whose condition and their ordinary employment, in more important affairs of state, keep always in labour and exercise, the which being of itself incompatible with vices, the children of idleness, smother them in their birth. When these courtiers travel

Their ca- in the country, they make use of caroches roches with sails. which go with sails upon the land, as well, and in a manner as swiftly as ships upon the sea: For an example that the wind drives, guides and governs all in court; and if in *China* the coaches of great men go with sails, in other places the spirits of courtiers go with the wind; for if the world be nothing but vanity, the court which is the quintessence, feels, gives, follows, and adores the wind.

The king's council.

The king of *China* is served and followed by such courtiers; but his council, makes the sounder and better part of his court; for kings cannot be without it, being (when it is good) the preservation, yea, the increase of their state, and without council the most powerful monarchs lose and ruin themselves, by the weight of their own greatness. The king of *China* makes choice of his counsellors among the most learned, of greatest experience, and the wisest of his realm: In the choice and election which he makes, favour hath no voice, only merit and virtue speak; for this prince doth practice as well as any monarch of the earth, the advice of the wisest of kings, who counsels his like, *Not to admit into their council, spirits ill made, ignorant and unadvised, who carry themselves where their passion drive them.* The counsellors of the state in *China*, must, with the honesty of their lives, and the integrity of their manners, be learned in the laws of the realm, and have taken the degree of *Loytias*; they must be learned in natural and moral philosophy, and well seen in judiciary astrology. Their religion expressly requires this last part, for that, (saith it) they which are at the helm of a state, should by their knowledge have an eye to the future; foresee the tempests and storms, avoid the rocks, preserve themselves from shipwreck, and guide their ship happily. They are thirteen in number, twelve counsellors, whom they call auditors; and a president, which is among them as the chancellor with us. They sit in council in the royal palace; the hall where they assemble, is worthy of the pomp and magnificence of the monarch of *China*; there are twelve stately chairs set for their functions, six of massy silver, and six of pure gold; in the midst whereof, under a cloth of state, beautified

with two serpents wreathed together of gold, which are the royal arms, shines a seat of pure gold enrich'd with precious stones, in which the president of the council sits, or the great chancellor of *China*. This worthy preparation for these counsellors of state is proportionable to the subject wherein they deal; for if council be a certain divine and sacred thing, as flowing from God, we must not hold it strange, if in *China* they honour it in like sort. These men in these rich seats, give the best and soundest advice for the glory of their prince, the good of his estate, and the ease of his subjects: Their life without reproach, and the wisdom of their spirits, inspire them to serve their king worthily. From such men they learn the wise maxims and instructions how to govern well, and not from counsellors whom avarice disquiets, and delights pervert and corrupt, and whom ambition puffeth up; for who will seek a lively spring in a filthy puddle, or draw troubled water to drink? saith a wise counsellor and chancellor of antiquity. When as any one of these men of the estate dies, he which follows him in order of reception, enjoyeth his place, by the law so strictly observed in *China*: *That the services of every one should have the recompences which their conditions may pretend.* They mount by degrees, and there is not any need to demand permission from the prince. But to fill up the last place, the council makes choice of him that is held the wisest, and of greatest experience in the kingdom: If he be absent, he sends for him: Being come, they present him unto the king, who confirms or disavows his election; but that happens seldom: The counsellor newly chosen, takes an oath in the king's hands, after this manner: *That he shall do justice to every man according to the laws of the realm; and that in this exercise, or in the nomination of governors or judges of the state, passion nor affection shall ever supplant (for his part) virtue and merit: That he shall receive no presents; that he shall preserve with all care the peace of the realm, and advertise the king and his council of any thing that he shall know to be prejudicial to his service.* After this solemn oath, he is put into the possession of his charge in one of the thirteen seats of the council-hall. The imperial city doth celebrate the solemnity, the whole realm solemnize that day, and the people rejoice, by plays and publick feasts: Doubtless the passengers have reason to rejoice, when as wise pilots are called to the government and conduct of the vessel; for a king which believes counsel, hath need of wise and well advised men, which may counsel him without

out passion. The president only of this council may speak unto the king, which he doth always upon his knee, with a singular respect: When as he is sick, it is the ancient auditor of the golden seats. Happy in truth are the men of *China*, which live in a realm, where virtue receives her honours and reward; but more happy if the worship of the true God did guide them to eternal felicity, by the means of a better religion, than that which doth divert them. Although the realm of *China* be of a very great extent, as we have already said; yet the king's council is advertised monthly of all that passeth in the provinces, which are most remote from the court. The viceroys or governors are bound to give continual advice by posts. The president of the council having received it, gives an account unto the king, and informs him exactly of all that which passeth within his realm; and if the disorder of any province binds the council to dispatch some one from court, it is done with incredible diligence, and with that secrecy which the affairs of estate do many times require. He which is sent departs secretly, arrives unknown, and informs himself of that which hath passed; and then if it be needful, makes himself known, and shews his power. Finally, these counsellors of estate, not by dozens, as in other places, but twelve in number, hold the first and most eminent ranks of the realm; for there being no dukes, marquisses, earls, and such persons of that illustrious quality, the law of the country removing from court all the princes of the blood, they receive in their places the honours and duties which they would yield unto them; they visit them with great respect, they speak to them on their knees, and they shew them an extraordinary veneration.

Officers of
China.

By the advice of these wise counsellors of state, the king gives the offices of his realm, to those whom virtue, and their rare merits have made most worthy. These charges, or the most eminent, are six in number. The first is that of vice-roy of the province, whom in their language they call *Comon*; he is the sovereign magistrate, and in his government represents the royal person of his master. The second is the *Insuanto*; he is, next to the *Comon*, governor of the whole province, as in our countries a lieutenant general for the king. In every town of the province remains a governour, called *Tutan*, who besides the care he hath to rule the place which is committed unto him, is also bound in the execution of his charge to relate unto the *Insuanto*, the principal affairs of the place where he commands, who doth ad-

vertise the *Comon*, and the *Comon* gives advice to the king and his council. The third is the *Ponchasi*, or superintendant of the treasure, who hath many inferior officers under him, and a compleat council: he pays, with the money that is brought unto him, all the officers of the province, and consigns the remainder into the hands of the *Tutan*. The fourth is the *Toioc*, who is captain general of the men of war which are in the province, be they horse or foot. The fifth is the *Anchasi* or president, and sovereign judge of the justice, as well in civil as criminal causes: his judgment decides definitively the controversies which are brought before him by appeal from inferior judges. The sixth, is the *Aytao*, or president of the council of war, whose chief charge consists in levying of soldiers, as well for the armies by land, as sea; and to furnish and provide that which is necessary for the garrisons which are upon the frontiers. Moreover, he hath the care to observe strangers which come into the province, and to examine them exactly, to know from whence they are, and to what intent they are entered in the realm, and to advertise the vice-roy diligently of all. These charges have the greatest lustre and glory of the realm, and either of these above-named officers hath under him ten auditors, chosen amongst those whom they hold the most discreet and best practised in affairs; who ease and help them in the expedition thereof. These auditors are, in the function of their places, of great esteem through the whole country; they assemble usually at the lodging of the *Comon* or vice-roy, in a stately hall appointed to hold the council; five of them sit on the right-hand of him that doth preside, and five others on the left, those which are on the right-hand are the most ancient, and have precedence before the others; moreover, their habit doth shew the difference; for they carry a girdle garnished with gold, and hats of a pale colour; whereas they on the left hand, have only silver to garnish their girdles, and wear blue hats. But both the one and the other, together with the president, carry before their breasts, and on their shoulders, the king's arms, which are two serpents embroidered with gold. This mark is so necessary for them, as they dare not go forth in publick, nor exercise their places without it. The history crowns these judges and officers of *China* with the commendation which the virtues it makes mention of deserve, and especially for their admirable patience: They hear (saith the history) the parties very patiently, even in the heat of their passions, and the confused trouble of many; yea, of those the heat of affairs doth cause to speak disorderly,

derly, doth not trouble this goodly virtue in them to hear, without choler, those which are transported. And their words are accompanied with such an incredible sweetness, as they are gracious, even to those whom they condemn. Such are the officers and judges of *China*, whom virtue and experience doth advance to the dignity of the realm, and not money and ignorance.

Other inferior officers.

Besides these six principal officers, there are many others inferior and subordinate to those, as the *Cantoe*, which is the great ensign-bearer; the *Potbin*, which is the second treasurer; the *Pochnisi*, or keeper of the seals; the *Auzatzi*, or high provost, three judges of their court, which are called *Hugtag*, *Izia*, and *Tontay*, who give audience in their houses once a week; and before they open their gates, they cause three pieces of ordnance to be shot off, to give notice that they are going to their seats; imitating in the gravity of their seats of justice, the wrath of the thunder of heaven, which doth not only serve to advertise innocents, but to be a terror and amazement to the guilty. They have under them a great number of provosts, for the execution of justice; but they are not so absolute in their judgments: But there is another judge above them, who may reform them: He is called *Hondim*, that is to say, a repairer of evil: It is also his profession to repair it by his decree, if the other judges have failed in their judgments. The *Toinpo* is also of the court; and after his example, that office is erected in towns that are remote: His care is to provide for victuals, and to set the price. The *Quinchey*, which signifies in their language, seal of gold, is an officer which never parts from court, if some business of importance doth not force him: He causeth the edicts of peace to be published, and such like which the king establisheth.

A particular description of these officers.

This in general is the relation of the officers of *China*: Let us examine it now in particular, to know by what means they do exercise their places worthily. As soon as they are advanced, they part to go to execute them: The charges of their voyage is defrayed by the king, and likewise their lodging where they are to remain; the which is so vast, as all the officers of justice dwell therein, for the commodity of the publick, and the speedy execution of justice. The wages which they receive, may well supply all their expences, with which they must rest satisfied; for to take any present from the parties, the law so rigorously observed within the realm, forbids them expressly upon great penalties, and likewise the parties are not allowed to go and see the judges in their houses:

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They must repair to their accustomed audiences, to have justice from them: When the judge is in his seat, the ushers go to the entry of the hall, and name with a loud voice the party that comes for justice, and likewise delivers what he demands. The party enters presently, kneels down before the judge, and propounds his demand; or if it be in writing, gives it to the register; who reads it; the judge ordains presently what is just, and writes his judgment himself with red ink, to avoid the faults which registers commit; whereof in other places, they feel the inconveniencies which happen to the prejudice of the parties: These judges are bound to go fasting to their audiences; and if their infirmities require some comfort in their weaknesses, they may only use conserves by way of physick: If it happens that they drink any wine before the audience, they shall be no less punished, than if they had committed the crime of some violent concussion. Their judgments are executed in every point without any fraud: In all matters the judges proceed by writing; and if the business be of importance, they write the acts themselves, and the depositions of witnesses; so as few men complain of their justice, and there are few appeals to superior judges. In their jurisdictions, they register the number of the houses which depend on them; they set them by tens in a table, in the which they write the names of the inhabitants, and the king's decree; which enjoins all persons of what quality and condition soever, to reveal presently unto the justice, what they shall see committed by any of their neighbours against the publick good, to the end they may be speedily punished. If any one of the ten leaves the country, the town or street, to go any journey, he ought ten days before his departure to ring a little bell or a copper bason, throughout the whole quarter, to the end that if he owes any money, his creditors may have notice of his departure; or if any man hath lent him any thing, he may come and demand it: If he seeks to steal away in secret, the neighbours must watch; for in his absence the judges will force them to pay his debts; but there are few found that break; the laws strictly observed in *China* punish them severely; they give them days for payment: If they fail at the first, they whip them in prison; if they do not satisfy at the second, they double their stripes; and if they be obstinate till the third time, they beat him until he bleeds, and keep him continually in prison; for this reason, when some are troubled to pay their debts, they implore the help of all the world to be freed; and

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The visiter of the court.

not able to obtain their liberty in this manner, they sell themselves unto their creditors, to avoid the sensible stripes of the whip. When as any judge goes forth in publick (the which happens seldom, their custom being to be much retired; for that by this means, they say, they are less diverted, and maintain their authority better) he goes accompanied with all the officers of justice, whereof the two first which go in rank, carry upon their shoulders two long maces of silver, for a sign that they are officers of justice; two others which follow them, have in their hands a long strait reed, and carry it in like manner; shewing thereby, that they must do upright justice, which the judge whom they accompany will perform: In the third rank are two other officers, who also carry reeds, but they drag them on the ground with long red girdles: These are the scourges wherewith they whip offenders, if they encounter any: A fourth rank follows them; these are two men which carry two white tables, in the which is written the name of the judge's office and quality; the rest of the train are persons which accompany the magistrate for honour. This pomp and convoy of justice, is no vain ostentation of these officers; they live as they speak, and are such as they appear; that is to say, indued with virtue, exact and entire in their offices, and of a life without reproach. But men are men, and no gods, which cannot run into vices, and the integrity of a magistrate, being in an inconstant and changeable life, may err, although it happens less in *China* than elsewhere. The king and his council have provided necessary remedies for this inconvenience, which punish those that fail, and keeping the rest in awe, make them to contain themselves in their duties: The charges of such officers continue but three years, after the which they must give an account of the administration thereof before judges called *Chaenes*. Notwithstanding the king sends visiters yearly called *Lenthis* throughout all the provinces of his realm, men which are faithful to his service, of great experience in worldly affairs, and of singular integrity. This delegation is made so secretly, as it is not known to any, but the king and president of his council, who cause the secretary of state to dispatch letters, leaving a blank for his name they send, and for the province whither he goes: They add unto the letters this necessary clause to the visiters absolute power: *That whithersoever the judges or loytias shall go, carrying those letters of provision, he shall be obeyed like the king himself.* These letters sealed, the president adds the name of the visiter, and or of the province whither he is sent; having

receiv'd them, he departs so secretly from court, and travels so unknown, as no man understands what he is, or whither he goes. He arrives thus unknown into the province or island which he is to visit, goes thorough the country, travels from town to town, and informs himself with all care and diligence, of the carriage of the officers, even from the viceroy to the meanest auditor, and yet in this exact reformation, he makes not himself known to any. When he hath ended his course, and thinks that he hath sufficient proofs of the sincerity of some, and of the misbehaviour of others, he goes to the chief town of the province, and there attends the day when such officers meet in council, the which is once a month in the viceroy's lodging, or in his absence with the *Tutan*. When they are assembled, he comes to the gate, commands an usher to give them notice, that there is a judge which will enter, to signify the king's pleasure unto them. The viceroy, who conceives partly what it may be, causeth the gates to be opened, leaves his seat, and accompanied with the other officers, goes to receive him, as his superior; he enters, carrying the letters of provision in his hand. These patents strike terror into some of the assembly, and the judges which are guilty shew by their pale countenances the marks of their offences. They cause it to be openly read; after which the viceroy riseth from his seat, makes many low curtsies and submissions to the visiter, and all the rest do the like. Then he takes his seat, in the most eminent place and lets them understand by a grave and serious oration, the subject of his coming, the care which he hath taken to make his visitation through the province, and to inform himself exactly and truly of their behaviours; crowns the virtue and integrity of such as have done well with a thousand commendations, promiseth to make his report unto the king and to his council, assuring them of the recompence which their good services deserve, and in the meantime advanceth them to the most honourable places of the council in the province. After that these good men have received from his mouth and hand this honest testimony of their virtue, he doth publicly reproach such as he hath found defective and culpable; the baseness of their traffic in the sale of justice, makes them to see the shame of their concussions, and sets down in particular the number of their faults. The effect doth presently follow this shameful reproach, he thunders out against them the sentence of condemnation, deprives them of their offices, and strips them of the tokens thereof, taking from them in the face of the whole council the girdle and
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hat with a little brim: If their faults deserve a greater punishment, he leaves it to the judgment of the sovereign prince, and to his council; for the law of *China* forbids all judges to condemn any man to death before they have advertized the king, and he hath resolved what they shall do. Thus they execute justice in *China* upon those which deny it to others. In this manner recompence being apparent there, yea, certain for virtue, and punishment for vice, most men embrace the first to enjoy its crowns, and flee the other to avoid the miseries which accompany it. Thus the realm of *China* enjoyeth all manner of felicity.

The
guards
and forces
of the
realm.

This wise policy is practised in *China*, to contain the inhabitants in their duty: But realms, like unto man's body, are not only assaulted by home-bred enemies, strangers may ruin them; as the sword kills the body of man, as well as the diseases which have their spring and fountain within it. For this reason the sovereign monarch of *China* furnishes his places with good garisons; and, when need requires, covereth the fields with armed men, settles forces upon the ports of the sea, and opposeth against foreign violence, the best and most resolute troops of his estate, which preserve it against their designs and assaults. Let us first observe the vigilancy and greatness of his forces by land, and then we will speak of those at sea. Every province hath his council of war supplied with the most valiant and expert men of war in the whole realm. They dispose of the soldiers according to occasions and occurrents, and cause them to be paid so exactly as they lose not any thing in their musters; for the treasurers, which keep the king's coffers, have commandment not to refuse them any thing. Their towns are not fortified with bastions, nor defended by strong towers. The monarch of *China* practiseth the advice of that generous *Grecian*, who said, that the best defences of a city consisted in the valour of the citizens: Yet they have good walls, environed with deep ditches, which they fill with water by the current of rivers when they please. The best fortifications which may defend them well, are the good garisons they put into them, who keep a very strict guard, not suffering any man to enter nor go forth, without leave in writing from the magistrate or governor which commands therein: They shut the gates carefully, seal up the locks, and never open them till after the rising of the sun, and that they have acknowledged their seals. Their artillery, which is excellent good, (the use whereof was first known to them before it came to us) is usually placed upon the said gates. The captains are natives of the provinces which they guard, to the end that the na-

tural love to their country, together with the duty of their charges, should augment their care for the preservation of places. They lodge upon the walls of towns, where their houses are built of purpose, to the end they may be continually in their vocation; they do it without contradiction, or any resistance of the inhabitants of the towns which they guard; for the law of the state hath deprived them of all means to revolt, having forbidden them the carrying of arms, or to have any in their houses, upon pain of death, not allowing any but such as are in the king's pay, who succeed in that quality from father to son. They are distributed by thousands, whereof every hundred hath a captain and an ensign, and all these have one commander, as with us a colonel of a regiment. They practise often, to keep the soldiers in breath, lest idleness should rust their arms, and soften their courage. Their arms are harquebusses, pikes, staves with irons, and hatchets. The horsemen use other arms; when they go to fight, they carry four swords at their saddle-pommel, they hold two in their hands when they charge, and make use of them with great dexterity: They likewise use darts and lances. They have been accustomed to be environed with a troop of grooms, which are about them when they enter battle, the which are nimble and well armed: Their valour consists in policy and stratagems of war, where they employ their minds more than their courage to charge the enemy openly. They are very bad horsemen, and manage their horses with a whip and the voice, and have no other bits but a piece of iron which goes cross to the mouth. Their arms are light, and their carriages heavy.

Thus this cavalry makes not the best part of the forces of *China*, the which are so great as they are sufficient to guard many realms. It is true, that the vast and great provinces where they are established, contain, every one in its dimension, the extent of a realm. That of *Pagueie*, wherein the king makes his residence, hath for its guard two millions one hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fourscore thousand horse. That of *Canton* hath sixscore thousand foot, and forty thousand horse: That of *Foquien* fifty thousand and nine hundred foot, with twenty-two thousand and four hundred horse. *Olam*, seventy-six thousand foot, and twenty-five thousand five hundred horse. *Quinsay*, fourscore thousand six hundred foot, and no horse, by reason of the situation of the country, full of mountains and rocks. *Oquian* likewise hath not any; its guard consists only in sixscore thousand six hundred foot. The province of *Susuam* hath fourscore six thousand foot, and thirty-four

The
number
his guards
and forces.

four thousand five hundred horse. That of *Tolanchie*, neighbour to the *Tartars*, with whom the kings of *China* have many times had great and bloody wars, is fortified with two millions eight hundred thousand foot, supported by two hundred fourscore and ten thousand horse: These are the best and most warlike soldiers in the realm. *Cansay* hath fifty thousand foot, with twenty thousand two hundred and fifty horse. *Aucheo* is guarded by fourscore and six thousand foot, and forty-eight thousand horse. *Honan*, forty-four thousand foot, and eighteen thousand nine hundred horse. *Xanton* hath seventy-six thousand foot, and ten thousand one hundred and fifty horse. *Quicheu*, forty-eight thousand and seven hundred foot, and fifteen thousand three hundred horse. *Chequian* hath thirty-four thousand foot, with thirteen thousand horse: And *Sancii*, the least province of all the rest, forty thousand foot, and six thousand horse. All the which forces amount to five millions, eight hundred forty-six thousand, five hundred foot, and five hundred forty-eight thousand horse. This world of men arm'd (if they were valiant) might conquer all the rest of the habitable earth. But the history makes their courage inferior to the men of *Europe*. The most redoubted warriors of antiquity, who have conquered many realms in *Asia*, triumphed over *Afric*, and struck a terror into *Europe*, had nothing in their forces that might approach the number of the garisons of *China*: And truly the history should be suspected unto me, and in a manner fabulous, if it did not prove the truth of its relation by the great number of towns, and the vast extent of a realm, which may contain fifteen well peopled; for that every province of *China* hath its greatness like unto a great monarchy: But these fearful forces banish the troubles of their estate; for they take arms to enjoy rest and tranquillity, and war is many times made to have peace. The garisons of the the sea-ports, and the guards which are in the roads or open harbours, for the safety of merchants, are comprehended in this number. The king entertains many ships of war well arm'd, which guard the ports and the havens, to restrain the courses and spoils of pyrats. These vessels are of divers sorts; some are very great, they call them *Joncos*; others are less, and like unto our frigates, they call them *Bancoons*: Some are larger than these, and have many banks; every bank hath eight oars, and every oar hath six men, they call them *Lanteas*.

The revenue of the king of *China*.

To defray the expences of so many soldiers, to pay the wages of the officers of justice and treasure, and to furnish the royal palace with all things necessary, the sove-

reign prince of *China* ought to have a great and powerful revenue: He levies it upon men, houses, grain, mines of gold and silver, upon precious stones, pearls, porcelines, wools, cottons, and silks. The men of these fifteen provinces are, for a great part, exempt from all tribute; as the *Loytias*, the judges, officers and soldiers; yet the number of such as pay is not small: For the province of *Pagnie* contains two millions seven hundred and four thousand tributaries; that of *Canton*, three millions six hundred thousand; *Foquien*, two millions four hundred and seven thousand; the province of *Aucheo*, two millions eight hundred and forty thousand; that of *Olam*, two millions two hundred and thirty-four thousand; that of *Quinsay*, three millions three hundred and eighty thousand; *Susuam*, two millions fifty thousand; *Tolanchie*, six millions ninety thousand; *Cansay*, hath two millions three hundred and five thousand; *Oquian*, three millions eight hundred thousand; *Honan*, a million two hundred thousand; *Xanton*, a million nine hundred forty-four thousand; *Chequian*, two millions two hundred and forty-four thousand; *Quicheu*, two millions three hundred thousand; and *Sancii*, a million six hundred seventy thousand and five hundred tributaries. All these tributaries do every one pay yearly two mases; the mase may be in estimation a shilling of our money, which is in yearly revenue to the king for this tribute alone, fourteen millions two hundred fifty-three thousand, an hundred sixty and seven *French* crowns. Besides this, the other tributes raise his revenue much. The mines of gold pay him yearly in fine gold, from seventeen to twenty-two carrats, four millions two hundred fifty-six thousand nine hundred taes: The tae is in estimation an *Italian* crown. The mines of silver yield him in pure silver, three millions an hundred fifty-three thousand two hundred and nineteen taes: That of precious stones, a million four hundred and seventy thousand taes: The fishing for pearls brings into his coffers two millions six hundred and thirty thousand taes. The custom upon scents and perfumes, as musk and amber, is worth a million and thirty-five thousand taes: That which is laid upon porcelins brings fourscore and ten thousand taes: Making in all this second tribute, eleven millions five hundred fourscore and four thousand *French* crowns: So as hitherto the revenue in silver amounts to about twenty-six thousand millions of gold. But the third tribute of grains, salt, wool, cottons and silk, exceeds all that. This powerful and rich monarch gives unto his subjects a very great quantity of lands which depend on the crown, upon condition that they shall yield unto him yearly

yearly a part of that which they gather, which serves for the necessary provisions of his royal palace, and for the officers of his realm. From this tribute, they which are appointed to gather it raise yearly, three-score millions a hundred seventy one thousand eight hundred and thirty measures of white rice, which is the most ordinary food of the men of *China*, and of their neighbours; twenty-nine millions three hundred ninety-one thousand nine hundred fourscore and two measures of barley; thirty-three millions six-score thousand two hundred measures of wheat; twenty millions two hundred and fifty thousand measures of mesline; twenty-five millions three hundred and forty thousand four hundred measures of salt; twenty-four thousand measures of millet; in other grain and pulses, fifty-four millions of measures. The silk which is wrought into cloth, doth furnish him with two hundred and six thousand pieces of the rarest works, and every piece is fourteen ells long: That which is in mass makes him five hundred and forty thousand pound weight. He hath in cotton three hundred thousand pound weight. The working of coverings for beds yield him, of the best sort, eight hundred thousand four hundred pieces: Raw silk pays him the weight of four thousand pound. The works of cotton bring unto him six hundred seventy-eight thousand pieces of that stuff, every piece being fourteen ells long. The raw cotton yields him the weight of three hundred and four thousand six hundred and forty-eight pounds: So as the value of these commodities, augmenting the sums of the tribute in silver, make the yearly revenue of this great empire, to amount to six score millions of gold.

The Arms
and Titles
of the
King of
China.

These great and immense treasures of the king of *China*, levied upon his subjects, and the excellent prudence wherewith he governs his estate, and ordains of so rich a revenue, have made him take for his arms, two serpents interlaced one within another; and the immense extent of so vast and fertile a realm, full of all sorts of felicities, have caused him to insert in his titles, the quality of *Lord of the world, and the child of heaven*: and truly seeing this country is a world in greatness and bounty, he hath reason to term himself the lord. The kings are in effect, doubly the children of heaven, as well by the benefit of their creation like other men, as by the excellent privilege of their sovereignty, which is the lively image of the heavenly. But the monarch of *China*, in the vanity of his deceitful religion, and the false worship of his idols, lives like a child of the earth. Yet the greatness of his treasures, the power of his forces, the fertility of his country, and the extent of

his estate, hath transported the pride of his spirit to that insolency, as to contemn all the rest of men, and not esteem any but those of *China*. They of *Europe* are less oppressed with his contempt. He saith often, and this vain brag is in the mouths of his subjects, that the men of *China* have two eyes, that they of *Europe* have but one, and that all the rest of men upon the earth are blind.

Notwithstanding this defect, which is common to many princes, yet the amity and alliance of so rich and powerful a monarch deserves to be sought after by other sovereigns; his neighbours esteem it and desire it. The *Tartar*, his capital enemy, demands it; and the king of *Spain* hath held it profitable for the good of his estate, and the glory of his majesty. Thus when these princes send ambassadors unto him to that end, or to treat of some important affairs, he receives them, honours them, and gives them all kind of good reception. When they enter into the realm, the governour of the place by which they pass, assisted by all the *Loytias* and captains of the country, go to meet them, to let them understand by their goodly speeches that they are welcome. If they arrive by sea, altho' there be but a little space from the porte to the town where they land, yet they will not suffer them to go on foot, but they carry them in chairs richly embroidered with pearl, and covered with curtains of cloth of gold, by eight men, whereof there are some in the principal towns, appointed for that use: For the law of *China* saith; *Let a foreign embassadour be received and honoured in the like sort, as if the prince which sends him came into the realm.* Being arrived they lodge them in a lodging made for them, built like a palace, and royally furnished with all things necessary, where they are served and treated at the king's charge, and in like sort during their whole voyage, whereas a thousand soldiers guard and accompany them at the king's cost. The day after their arrival the governour who had received them, goes to visit them, and after many honest complements, demands the subject of their embassy, and hearing it, he presently dispatches a post to the chief town of the province, where the vice-roy remains, by whom he gives him advice. The vice-roy dispatcheth the same post to court, and writes unto the king and his council, who sends a safe conduct to the embassadours for their voyage. Having received it, they take their way towards the court, accompanied with that number of soldiers which we have mentioned. They are fed and defrayed by the king's treasures, and wheresoever they pass they do them

Embassa-
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in *China*.

all honour: When they arrive at the royal city of *Tabia*, the ordinary abode of the court, the king's council being followed by the principal knights, go to meet him: The president of this royal council makes a band apart, with a kingly train and pomp. If the embassadours come from great monarchs, this great president takes the left hand; if they come from meaner princes, he takes the right, and in this rank doth accompany them to the lodging which is prepared for them, whereof the moveables and the preparation for the entertainment of embassadours are, in truth, worthy of the greatness and magnificence of the king of *China*. By the way, he entertains them with the encounters of their voyage, and the estate of their health; an interpreter which they have with them, assists him which understands not the language. When they are arrived before the palace where they are to lodge, the president leaves them, and at his parting gives them power, on the king's behalf, to create a number of *Loytias* or knights, and to deliver many prisoners condemned to die, for a confirmation and assurance that they are welcome to that court. The law of *China* frees them from all manner of inconveniencies, that is to say, that for what crime soever the ambassador commits in the estate, his person may not in any sort be molested. He spends some days in his palace before he hath audience, to the end that rest may refresh him from the toil of his voyage. In the mean time the greatest of the court invite him, they let him see the best companies thereof, and the magnificence of their feasts, after which they give him a day to come to audience. The king assisted by his council, and the chief men of his court, gives it him in one of those stately halls, whereof we have formerly made mention; there he treats of the subject of his embassy, and after he hath received an answer, returns laden with presents towards the prince which sent him: His return is as sweet and pleasing as his coming; he is accompanied with the same troop, defray'd in like manner at the king's charge, and wheresoever he passeth received with the like courtesy and honour.

Ambassadors of the tributaries of *China*.

But all ambassadors which come into *China*, are not entertained in the same manner; for such as come from princes or commonwealths which are their tributaries, are received according to their condition, and as depending upon the realm. When they arrive one judge receives them, lodgeth them, and defrays them at the king's charge; at the court their reception is equal unto it; the judge which entertains them, demands the subject of their voyage, and they tell it him; he doth ad-

vertise the president of the council, and the president tells the king, who gives them a day of audience: But when they go, it is on foot, or if their indisposition will not suffer it, they go on horseback without a bridle, having only a halter, for a mark of humility and vassalage: They have no other company but the judge which receiv'd them, with whom they take their way to the royal palace: When they are arrived before it, they attend in a spacious place; a certain officer of the king's, who is like a master of the ceremonies, who makes a sign unto them afar off, that they should march, and shews them the place where they should begin to kneel, to join their hands, and to lift them up on high in sign of adoration, and to lift up their eyes towards the place where they tell them the king remains. Thus they approach unto the palace, and enter it after they have made five reverences, or rather five adorations: They come into the first hall which is the meanest of the palace, where the president of the council majestically set, and not the king (whom they see not) gives them audience, after which he sends them back without any answer, until he hath spoken with the king: Then his majesty's pleasure is signified unto them by the judge, who hath had the care of their conduct. Thus they return as they came, without any honour, as in some sort subjects to the estate of *China*: For such principalities or commonwealths, which send them, have sometimes been provinces of the realm; but for that they were remote, when as the *Chineze* shut themselves up within the inclosure of the mountains, with that great wall of five hundred leagues long, they gave these provinces to those who now possess them, reserving a tribute and homage.

If the ambassadors of any foreign sovereign prince brings presents to the king of *China*, and that the law and custom of the country binds him to attend a passport from court, in some port or town of the realm, the governor of the place where he attends, receives the present in the mean time; but he looks upon it in the presence of a notary, and some witnesses; seals it up, and so sends it to court, with that which they give unto himself: As it happened some years since to the ambassadors which *Philip* the second king of *Spain* sent unto *China*: For it is expressly forbidden upon great penalties, to all persons which are in charge within the state, to receive any presents from any whatsoever, no not from their nearest kinsmen. But thus the ambassadors which go to treat with the prince are received in *China*;

Presents brought by ambassadors.

The
learning
and study
of China.

the which shews, that the *Chineze* are neat, and have as good qualities as any other nation upon earth. They have with them learning and the sciences, which are the true ornaments of the mind, and the light which doth enlighten men, in the obscure labyrinths of great affairs. They cause their children to be instructed from their youth, in colleges ordained for that end. The character which they use doth somewhat resemble the hieroglyphicks of the ancient *Egyptians*; for every one signifies a whole word, and sometimes a period; which is the reason they have so great a number of letters or characters all different, which make six thousand. Their realm contains divers kinds of languages, yet they understand all by writing: For altho' that one thing be called diversly in many provinces, yet they write it after one manner throughout the country; as a town which is called *Leombi* at the court, in other places they term it *Fu*, and generally they write it in the same manner that I have described it.

The people speak the common language of the country, but the learned and courtiers, as they are all, have one particular, and familiar to themselves; they call it the *Mandarin*, which is as the *Latin* among men of learning: There are few men in *China*, how base soever their condition be, but can read and write; for in their country the qualities of the mind are in singular recommendation, and virtue much honoured, and carefully rewarded. They have printing in perfection; it was invented with them before that the industrious *German*, *John of Guttemberg*, taught us the use, in the year 1458, which was its beginning in *Europe*. The first moulds were cast at *Mentz*: The first book which past the press, was that learned work of great Saint *Augustine*, called *Of the city of God*: *Conrad*, a *German*, carried it into *Italy* and elsewhere: Before all this, it had been brought from *China* by merchants which traffick'd into that country, who coming into *Arabia* the happy, past the red sea: After which they were in *Russia*, and *Muscovy*, where they left books printed after the manner of *China*, in the characters of the country, which were brought into *Germany*, and coming to the knowledge of *Guttemberg*, did furnish him with an example to imitate them, and to mould characters: For the *Chineze* maintain, and there is some colour, that all the rest of the world owe the invention of printing unto them: It is true, that there were books printed with them, above five hundred years before that printing came to the knowledge of them of *Europe*. The paper which they use is very fine

and thin; they make it of the cloth of canes or reeds: Their pens are of the same reeds, cut and pointed at the end like unto painter's pensils; they write from the right hand to the left, and draw the lines from the top to the bottom, Throughout all the towns of the realm there are royal colleges, wherein the youth are instructed, and in burroughs there are schools at the king's charge, where they teach them to read and write, which causeth the meanest men to make their children in their youth, to learn this honest and profitable exercise. They teach *gratis* in those great colleges moral and natural philosophy, astrology, the laws of the kingdom, with many other goodly and curious sciences. The regents or readers are very learned, and the scholars very studious: They know their great labour shall not be without reward; that the study of learning, by the good qualities which they infuse into their spirits, are degrees to mount into great places both in court and realm; for in the court of *China* you shall find no ignorant man, and to be so in that place were a great infamy. The visitors whom the king appoints repair often to these colleges, examine the scholars, and honour such as they find diligent in their studies with many recompences. This is the cause why this great realm abounds in men of merit, and that their spirits thrust on with a desire of glory which is infallible, labour continually in their studies, and give unto the publick the profit of their rare works. The book-sellers of *China* are full of goodly pieces, the curiosity of christians hath brought them into *Europe*, heaven suffering it, to the end that the glory of their authors should not be confined within the enclosure of the mountains and wall which shuts up *China*. The library of the *Vatican* at *Rome*, and that of the royal monastery of Saint *Lawrence* in *Spain*, have many goodly volumes of *China*: Whereof some treat of astrology, of moral philosophy, of the number of the heavens, the motion of the planets and of their influences; and the propriety of stones and metals, and of the secrets of physick: Others contain the laws of the kingdom, and the revenues thereof, the art of war, with the means how to conduct naval armies, and many other sciences, whereof the glory and profit fills *China* with many felicities; and hath furnished the men thereof with precepts and means to govern free from the tempests and storms of civil wars, whereas many others make shipwreck of the estates which they possess: For we find in their histories that for above two thousand years, they have preserved and maintained their monarchy, against the troubles

troubles which might rise therein, and about that vast extent.

But the virtue of the *Chineze* is not without diversion, and the long rest which they enjoy with abundance of wealth, produceth delights among them, and guides their lives into the charms of voluptuoulness. The most ordinary which steals from their serious occupations a part of the time which should be dear unto them, are their proud and stately feasts, where they treat themselves deliciously: They make them in this manner. They give to every one of the guests (how great soever they be) his table apart, where he eats alone: These tables are of rare art, the wood is exquisite, and the work singular; they are inlaid with streaks of gold or silver, interlaced so artificially, as they represent the figures of birds, fields, and chases of divers sorts; for the workmen of *China* in the excellency of their art, are wonderful industrious, and carry the prize above all the world. They cover not the tables with any clothes, the neatness and handsomness of the *Chineze* in their feeding needs not any; they lay on carpets of damask, or such like stuff, hanging down to the ground; they place upon the four corners of the table many little open paniers, woven with fillets of gold and silver, some are full of divers sorts of flowers made of sugar, represented to the life: Others carry a pleasing diversity of many beasts made likewise of sugar; as elephants, lions, stags, and hinds; some are full of birds of the same stuff. In the midst of the table is set exquisite meat, which makes a part of the guests good cheer: This is commonly of all sorts of fowl and venison, in dishes of silver and goodly porcelain; they eat neatly, and take their meat with forks of gold and silver, never touching it with their hands: The wine they drink is usually made of palm, delicious to the taste, and less fuming to the head; the tables are set round, to the end the guests may see one another: Whilst they make good cheer in this manner, many musicians and players of instruments give unto their senses the sweetness of their pleasing consort; some others represent the invention of some pleasant history: Their banquets are never without a comedy, the which is excellently well performed, the personages are very active, and the apparel is proper to the representation; the banquet is of all sorts of fruit, and comfitures in great abundance, whereof the use is very common in *China*. The courtiers, and other men of *China*, do often spend their time in these delicious feasts: But particularly on the day of the great feasts of their religion, which they cele-

brate the first day of the moon in *March*, they give unto their senses all the pleasures they can desire; they attire themselves in state, and wear the richest jewels they have; they plant great trees at their gates, like unto the maypoles in our countries; they hang before their houses many pieces of silk and cloth of gold; they crown the streets with many triumphant arches; they give light unto the night, with a number of lights which they hang upon these trees; and they feast it perpetually.

The excesses are greater, when as the courtiers or great men of the realm entertain their equals, or feast the ambassadors of some sovereign prince; then their magnificence shews itself with a greater lustre. The invited hath many tables for himself, to the number of twenty; he eats at the first, and all the rest are covered with all sorts of raw meats, as fowls of all sorts, venison, gammons of bacon, and many others. When the feast is ended, his servants who hath entertained him, carries them before the invited to his lodging, where they leave them with great ceremonies. The friends or kinsmen of the house do the honour; for he which is master of the feast, absents himself, and for good manners sake, according to the custom of the country, appears not; they which undertake this care for him (which are men of quality) conduct the invited to their places in goodly chairs, under a canopy of velvet; but before they begin to eat, every man takes his cup and fills it with wine; and after they have made many great curtsies, they go unto the windows, or to some place where they may see the heavens; they offer them to the sun, and make great discourses in form of a prayer, and demand of this goodly star (who cannot but give them light to see their drink) constant prosperities for the invited, and that the friendship which they mean to contract, may be profitable and favourable to both parties. Dissolute feasts are stormy seas, where amidst the delights of the body, the virtues of the mind suffer shipwreck. Wherefore he that hath left to men the rules of good government, adviseth them to go rather to the house of mourning, and to the convoy of funerals, than to the pleasures of sumptuous banquets; for that in the one they see before their eyes, the portrait of the end of man, and many times in themselves their own vanities; and the other bewitching their spirits, steal them from themselves, and make them to forget their condition. It is true, that the *Chineze* have with many others this commendable quality, not to order the estate less than to govern, as they do, with excellency and pomp, the magnificence of a stately feast,

The religion of the court of China.

feast; although their licentious religion doth not forbid them the entertainment of delights and pleasures which are enemies to solid virtues.

These men, who say they have two eyes, and esteem others blind; are notwithstanding so blind, as to hold pieces of wood and stone for gods fashioned into idols by their own hands; for at the court, as well as in other places of the kingdom, they adore the works of painters and gravers; they keep in their houses idols, which they reverence with a particular worship, and have recourse to their vain assistance in all their affairs: Their temples are full, there are some which contain above 200 upon divers altars; among the which that of the devil hath always his place, and receives the like veneration and sacrifices; not but that the *Chineze* know he is a reprobate, an enemy to mankind, and the author of the crimes which are committed: but they honour him in this manner, to the end he should do them no harm, and not to be assisted by him; besides these dumb divinities, they reverence and pray unto a great number of men already dead, who in their realm have exceeded others in the valour of arms, in the light of learning, or in the sanctity of an austere life, and retired in the solitudes of their religious monasteries; they call them *Pansoes*, that is to say, most happy, in which number they put many women, of the which they reverence three with a singular devotion. The first they call *Sichie*, who came (as they say) from the realm of *Trantbeyco*, which is towards the west, and brought into *China* the rules of a religious life, and was the first inventer of cloisters, and of religious orders, who live in common without marrying. He had his beard and head shaven, and his followers are so in like manner, and all the monks of *China* sing the glory of his name, and extol the merit of his virtues above all the other saints. The second subject in this rank of singular holiness, is a woman called *Canina*; she is worthy of her name, for the devotion they bear unto her in *China*, doth gnaw with an important superstition the spirits of simple women. They say she was daughter to king *Tzonton*, who meaning to marry her to a prince, as well as her other two sisters, being all children to this monarch, she would not yield unto it, pretending for her reason, that she had vowed a perpetual chastity to heaven. The father incensed at this denial, takes revenge on her, he deprives her of her liberty, and shuts her up into a great house like unto a monastery, and in contempt makes her to spend her time in base and abject things, causing her to carry water

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and wood, and to cleanse a great garden which depended on this place; she doth it, and labours with singular patience: But heaven, to whom she made her vow, and for whose love she was thus contemned (say the *Chineze*) eased her pains; it caused those blessed inhabitants of those rich vaults to descend and comfort her, and sent many creatures to succour her; the saints of heaven came to draw her water, the apes served her as grooms; birds made clean the alleys of this garden with their bills, and swept them with their wings; and wild beasts came from a near mountain to bring her wood. The king her father seeing her one day served by these new domesticks, held her to be a sorceress, and resolved to purge by flame the crime of her enchantments; whereupon he caused this house to be set on fire; she seeing this goodly place burning upon her occasion, would have slain herself with a long needle of silver, which she had in her hair, thrusting it into her throat; but suddenly there fell a great inundation of waters, which quench'd the fire. Then she left her design, and retired into the mountains, hiding herself in their caves, where she continued her penance. Heaven, which protected her in this manner, would not suffer the cruelty of her impious father to go unpunished; it struck him with a leprosy, and abandoned his living body to worms, which did gnaw him, and made him to suffer many torments. *Canina* understood it by revelation, charity made her to leave her solitary abode, to go and succour her leprous father. When the king saw her, he fell at her feet to crave pardon, and worshipped her; she holding herself unworthy of adoration, would have resisted, but not able to do it in regard of the weakness of her body, a saint of heaven put himself before her, to repair the error, and to let him know, that the adoration was made only to him. At the same instant she returned to her cave, and there ended her life in the like sanctity. The *Chineze* hold her for a great saint, and pray ordinarily unto her, to crave pardon for their offences. The third is a woman called *Neome*, who, they say, was descended from a most illustrious family, in the town of *Cuchi*, in the province of *Oquiam*; and as her father sought to make her violate the vow of chastity, which she had made, and to force her to marry, she fled and retired herself into the desert of a little island, which is right against *Ingoa*, where she lived most holily, and did many miracles, whereof they relate this, as the most famous of all. They say that a great captain, called *Campo*, general of a naval army to the king of *China*, went to make

G

make

make war against a neighbour kingdom ; he arrived at *Boym* with his fleet ; being ready to part, the mariners not able to weigh their anchors, were amazed at this encounter ; they looked into the sea, and saw *Neome* set upon them, and stay them. The general calls unto her, and (as one divinely inspired) intreats her to advise him what he had to do ; she answers him, that if he would triumph over his enemies, and conquer their realm, he should lead her with him ; for that they with whom he was to fight, were great magicians ; he draws her into his ship, weighs anchor, and hoists up sail, and within few days after arrives at the enemies country. As soon as they discovered the fleet of *China*, these magicians fly unto their charms ; they cast oil into the sea, and by their illusions make the *Chinese* imagine that their ships were on fire and burnt. *Neome* (who, without doubt, was an excellent magician) defeated by more powerful counter-charms all that which they had done. Thus seeing that their witchcraft was weak, and their arms unequal to those of *China*, they yielded unto them, and suffered the quality of vassals, and tributaries to the king of *China*. *Campo*, whom the history notes for a judicious man, and a wise politician, enters into some doubt of the sanctity of *Neome*, and holds her for a sorceress ; to satisfy himself, he requires some sign of her holy virtue, to carry as a present to the king his master ; and intreats her to make a dry staff, which he held in his hand, to grow green again ; she takes the staff, and speaking certain secret words, makes it grow green and to flourish, and moreover of a most odoriferous smell, and so delivered it to this captain ; who blinded with superstition like to the other *Chinese*, attributed the prosperity of his voyage, and the good success of his arms to the holiness of *Neome*, whose name hath been ever since much honoured in *China*, especially by such as go to sea, who carry her image upon the poop of their ships, and they pray unto her as the divinity, which governs the waves, commands the sea, and pacifies tempests and storms.

They
worship
the sun
and moon.

The sun and moon are also the subjects of their adoration, they reverence them as the fountains of light and comfort, and the causes of generation here below ; but they believe a greater divinity which controuls them ; for when they see that either of these stars suffers an eclipse, they say that the prince of heaven hath condemned them to death, and that the fear of punishment hath thus blemished their light. Then they pray unto this sovereign prince, to pardon them, and not to

quench these celestial lamps, which are so necessary for their life : They say that the sun is a man, and the moon a woman. They hold heaven to be the creator of all that which appears unto our eyes, and of invisible things ; they express it so in the first letter of their alphabet, as I have formerly observed, and they assure, that above these celestial vaults dwells an immortal governor, whom they call *Laocon Tzantey*, that is to say, the governor of the great God : They qualify him uncreated, incorporeal, eternal, and all spirit ; they adore him with an extraordinary worship, and attribute unto him the care of supreme things, with whom they place another of the same nature, called by them *Cansaye*, who hath received from the first the government of this part of heaven, which looks towards the earth, and holds in his powerful hand the life and death of men. This second hath three deputies under him, all three spirits like the first ; they call them *Tanquam*, *Teiquam*, and *Tzuiquam* : These are the helps and assistants of his great ministry, for the things of this inferior world : For the first, *Tanquam*, is a waterish divinity, or rather the fountain of the world ; he hath the charge of rain, and his greatest exercise is to furnish the earth with water. *Teiquam* descends lower, towards our inferior region ; he rules over the birth of men, disposeth of war, ordains the seeds, and causeth the earth to bring forth the fruits which nourish men, and the beasts which inhabit it. *Tzuiquam* is their great *Neptune* : he spends his time in the oversight of the sea ; retains or thrusts on, as it pleaseth him, the fury of the waves ; commands tempests, and hath a particular care of those which sail ; wherefore all seamen adore him, fishermen offer sacrifices unto him, and mariners make vows, and at the return from their navigations, represent comedies in honour of his name.

Amidst the abominations of this false worship of the *Chinese*, they observe some steps and old marks half defaced, of a better religion ; for in the diversity of their images, they have one which they hold in singular reverence ; its form is human and majestic ; out of the shoulders comes three heads equal and alike, which look continually one on another, to let them understand that they have but one will. This may be taken for some steps of the mystery of the holy trinity, which the happy apostle saint *Thomas* had sometimes preached unto them ; when as going to the *East-Indies*, where the martyrdom which he suffered, crowned his life with an immortal diadem, he passed by *China*, as the ancient writings of the Ar-

Some
marks of
christianity
in the
Chinese
worship.

Armenians report : But finding the *Chinese* much troubled with wars, he past on, having briefly expounded the truth of the Gospel.

In the same temple where this Image with three heads is worshiped, they reverence pictures, not much unlike to those of the twelve apostles. The christians which observed these representations, demanded of them of *China*, what men those twelve apostles had been, and they had no other answer, but that those twelve personages had been great philosophers, who had so earnestly embraced virtue in this world, as it had caused them after their death to be taken up into heaven, and made angels there. For a third testimony that they have had some beams of the christian verity, they reverence, in the same number of their sacred pictures, the image of a woman, perfectly fair, which holds a child in her arms, whom, they say, she brought forth without violating her virginity, and whose conception and birth were without the spot of any sin; and they know no farther. The double cloud of the ignorance of the holy books, and the sin of idolatry, hath hidden the rest from them. Yet all these marks expounded unto them, by the eloquent tongue of some religious and fervent christian, would be a reproach unto them, that they are no more what they have been; and it would be no unprofitable means to make the care successful, which should be employed for their souls health: Besides that, the excellency of their spirits, capable of reason, would give the more free access; and their own oracles would support such workmen, to assist their good designs: For they have a prophecy which saith, *That from towards the west the true law should come unto them, the which should carry them up to heaven to be made angels there.*

Of the death and funerals of the king of *China*. Doubtless, the court of *China* would be a pleasing abode for us, in the conversation of courtiers, which are learned and endued with excellent spirits, and amidst the honest recompences which they give unto virtue; but the false worship of idols, and the abominable superstitions they commit, force us to leave it. It is therefore time to part, to turn our thoughts elsewhere, and to employ our labours in a more religious occupation. We will do it, with the divine assistance of him who hath guided our works, having once related the ceremonies which are observed at the death and funerals of the sovereign princes of this great monarchy. When their king is dead, they wash his body in arromatical waters, they perfume his royal habits, and cloath him more sumptuously than ever he went living; they set him in his throne, to the end his

whole court may come and yield him their last duties, and deplore his loss. The first that present themselves are the princes his sons, if he had any; after them comes the queen his wife, with the nearest of his kindred; they kneel before his body, where they stay some time, and then retire with tears in their eyes, and sighs in their mouths; the chancellor, or president of his council, accompanied with all the counsellors of state, yield the like funeral honours: All the courtiers and servants of the royal palace are on their knees before the deceased, weeping for the loss of their lord. This sad ceremony being ended, they strip the body of his royal robes, and, from his throne, they put him into a coffin (it is the ordinary passage of the pomp of this world, from their greatness to the grave) made of rich odoriferous wood, shut up so close as the air cannot enter; they set it upon a table in the midst of the royal chamber, the which is most sumptuously hanged, and they lay upon it a white cloth hanging down to the ground, upon the which lies the picture of the deceased king drawn to the life. The chamber of presence is likewise richly furnished, and in it are set many tables with a great number of funeral tapers, with the which they serve a great quantity of meat, for the Priests and religious men of *China*, which come to sing after their manner, to pray, and to offer sacrifices for the rest of him that is dead in eternal unrest. To these vain devotions they add many forceries; they bring unto the coffin a great number of little papers painted, some of which they burn there presently, the rest they tie unto the coffin with little strings, the which they shake and move continually, with such fearful cries and howlings, as a man can hardly hear them without terror: They say, that by this frantick manner of succouring the dead, they send the soul of their deceased monarch into heaven, to the number of those which are happy. This howling and spiritual noise of the priests of *China* continues fifteen days, after which they conduct the king's body to the grave; the the convoy is made in this manner: Before the body, march as many priests and religious men as are found in court; they carry burning tapers in their hands; the prince's kinsmen follow the convoy, attired austerey in mourning; they have long cassocks of wool pitcht against their flesh, and girt about their loins with cords; their head is simply covered with a great bonnet of wool with broad brims, like to the hats which they did wear in *France* in the year 1625. the which is strictly observ'd: For in *China* the mourning consists not only in the outward shew, it passes beyond sighs and

and tears, which are not performed but for fashion sake: The greatest, to observe strictly the mourning for the death of a father or mother, deprive themselves of their offices; and the vice-roys, in the like heaviness, resign into the king's hands the governments which they had; to do otherwise were no less shameful and impious, than in our countries, for a son to dance, laugh, and rejoice publickly for the death of his father. The Council, with the honourable marks of their dignity, march immediately after them, and all the officers of the royal house and court assist in order, according to their places. In this pomp the body of the deceased king is carried to his tomb, but not buried without train; they burn, in laying him into his grave, the pictures of many slaves, of a great number of horses, of a heap of gold and silver, and of some pieces of silk, which they believe do follow the dead into another life. Verily, if these burnings in painting be the marks of the foolish superstitions of the *Chineze*, they are also of the mildness of their spirits, more human than some *Barbarians* their neighbours, who did really burn, at the interment of their princes, the women and men which had served them, and did prodigally cast into the fire the gold and silver, and the pre-

cious stones which they found in their coffers. This flash of fire ended, and the pictures reduced to ashes, they go down and shut him into a little earth, who commanded a world of men and countries, who might have crowned his head with fifteen diadems; for the provinces of *China*, which are so many, are in greatness and bounty so many realms; and in doing this, they reduce into dust the greatest and most glorious pomp in the world. And certainly, seeing that all things are but dust, and that of dust hath been made and framed the goodliest and noblest parts of the world, the men which are the kings of the world, in laying them in the grave they put dust into dust. For a lesson to sovereign monarchs, that in their stately thrones, the crown and royal mantle cover only a pile of earth animated, and a heap of living dust: If they have a great courage, a generous spirit, and a religious soul; then by these royal and excellent qualities, they shall free their names from the dust of forgetfulness: And if by the common law of nature, the body which is but dust descends into dust, the spirit which was never dusty, shall go and receive in heaven the immortal crowns, which those kings deserve which are generous and pious.



AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
EMPIRE
OF
CHINA:

Wherein is Describ'd

The Country of CHINA, with the Provinces and
States subject to that Extensive Empire.

ALSO

An Account of its Climate, Product, Navigation, Cities, Temples, Buildings,
Letters, Figures, Genius, Studies, Government, Religion, Rites and Cere-
monies; and of the Complexion, Apparel and Conditions of the People.

To which is prefix'd,

A Discourse of the Navigation which the *Portugueze* do make to
the Realms and Provinces of the East Parts of the World.

Written by BARNARDINE of *Escalanta*, of the Realm of *Galicia*, Priest.

Translated out of Spanish into English, by JOHN FRAMPTON.

With several APPENDIXES.

To the Right Worshipful

EDWARD DYER, *Esq;*

JOHN FRAMPTON wisheth Increase of Worship and all Felicity.

HERE was brought me not long ago, right worshipful Sir, out of Spain, a discourse in the Spanish tongue, of the navigation that the Portugueze have to the kingdoms and provinces of the east parts of the world, and of the intelligence of the same Portugueze nation, which they now of late have gotten in those parts, of the greatness of the dominion and politic government of that famous country China: And finding in the same discourse a verification, by new, late, and present experience of this our age and present time, of many things written long ago by Paulus Venetus, which work of Paulus I did translate, and about a year past dedicated to your Worship: I became the more desirous also to translate this into the English, and the rather because this work seemed to have a certain affinity in matter, and also contained great variety of things not contained in the work of the said Paulus Venetus: And finding now in England many excellent men in the art of navigation, and as well able to endure extreme heat as extreme cold, and to cross the burnt line; as also able to pass the cold zone and frozen sea, and with all youth and fry of the realm, both infinitely abounding; and also exceedingly inflamed with desire to attempt new discoveries; I the rather decreed the translation hereof, and was fully persuaded that the great Almighty God hath wrought the one and the other, to the end that he would have his son Jesus, that hath brought salvation unto the world, known to nations not yet discovered: For what more pleasant sacrifice can we offer in this life unto our God, than to labour in all that ever we may to bring the barbarous to civility, the rude to knowledge, the superstitious to the true and lively worship of his name, to win them from darkness to light, from cruelty to courtesy, from vanity to verity, from death unto life? If we be not born to profit ourselves, but to seek the advancement of God's

glory, how commendable an enterprize is that? how highly to be wish'd? how much to be furthered, which not only encreaseth the profit of our country, but augmenteth the number of the faithful?

Therefore God having decreed to make himself known, as well by our English nation in some quarters of the unknown world, as he hath of late years been by the Spaniard in the west, and by the Portugueze in the east. And being moved to take in hand this small translation, by persons of sundry callings, and especially by divers most excellent pilots, masters, and towards young mariners, much exceeding in knowledge and goodly life many of that profession that have been heretofore, I have other needful business set apart, performed their request, and the thing that I much desired, for the love I bear to good discoveries; and now dedicate the same to your worship, as a special favourer of all good knowledges, and of all enterprizes tending to the glory of God, the honour of your prince, and the publick benefit of your country, beseeching your worship to take the same, this my translation, in good part, as a poor shew of a mind willing to requite some part of your bounty, and benefit received at your hands; not doubting but that this may give light to our nation, and work in many respects benefit to all such as shall, by the north-east, or by the north-west, attempt discoveries of dominions and territories within the circle Artic, or without the same to the tropic of Cancer.

And thus wishing unto your worship the favour of Almighty God, with encrease of all knowledge divine and human, I take my leave, and cease to trouble you.

London, Oct. 1.

1579.

Your worship's, in that
he may, at commandment,

JOHN FRAMPTON.

To the Excellent Lord

Don CHRISTOPHER de ROIAS,
SANDOVAL, Archbishop of Seville,

BARNARDINE of Escalanta, wilheth all Honour, &c.

MOST EXCELLENT LORD,

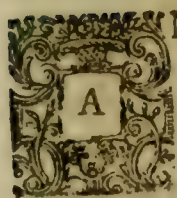
THE haughty and high purposes, and the wonderful enterprizes of our Spaniards have been so great, that they have not well near suffered, in all the compass of the whole world, any seas, any islands, or territories, that they have not run unto, and whereof they have not won some knowledge, against the opinion of the old philosophers and cosmographers; wherein they have found such diversity of people, and so many differences of laws and superstitions, and so many sorts of governments, and such diversity of manners, that they have no small admiration to think of the same, and namely of that which they do report of the majesty and power of the king of China, who being a prince given to idolatry, and that way most vain; as also his subjects, in the observation of the Gentiles laws, are notwithstanding endued

with so great wisdom and discretion in natural things, and in the government of their common-wealths, that no other nations (be they never so politic) seem to pass them, or have the advantage of them, nor yet to have the like wits for all manner of arts, which have been the causes that move me to write the things of this realm (which have been known as well by relation of persons of credit that have been in it, and also of some of the natural people of that country of China, that have been brought into Portugal) and to dedicate the same to your excellent lordship, acknowledging myself in all things most bound unto you, my lord. I desire your lordship to accept of this little service supplied with good-will, as of a poor token of my good grateful mind, which only hath been but to give all honour to your name.

A Discourse of the Navigation which the Portugueze do make to the Realms and Provinces of the East Parts of the World, and of the Knowledge which they have of the great Things that are in the Realm of CHINA.

C H A P. I.

Sheweth of the Beginning that the Kingdom of Portugal had; and of the Success it had from the Time that the King Don JOHN I. did conquer Ceuta in Barbary.



Amongst many knights of the states of *Almane*, *Flanders* and *France*, which came unto the long wars that the kings of *Spain* had with the *Moors*, which had conquered the greatest part of *Spain*, after the overthrow of that unfortunate king *Don Rodrigo*, there continued in the time of the king *Don Alonso VI.* of *Castile* and *Leon*, which got *Toledo*, the earl *Don Ramon*, son to *William* earl of *Burgundy*; and *Don Ramon*, earl of *Tolosa* and *St. Gill* in *France*; and *Don Henry* of *Vezancon*, his cousin, according to the opinion of some writers, as christian princes desirous of honour and fame, that came to serve him, with many other knights in those wars that he had against *Lucef-Abendefim*, king of the *Amorabides*, who at that time had past from *Africa*, and had made himself lord of the *Moors* of *Spain* which were resident in *Andalusia*; and to shew himself thankful to these lords, after they had shewed their valiantness and virtue on their meetings and fights that they had with the *Amorabides*, and to bind them to greater enterprizes, and to allure other strange princes and knights also to come to his aid, he joined himself to them in marriage and affinity, marrying the earl *Don Ramon* of *Burgundy*, with the lady *Urraca*, his legitimate daughter and inheritor of his realms, giving him the title of the earl and governor of *Galicia*, and the earl of *Tolosa*, and *Don Henry*, with the lady *Elvira*, and the lady *Teresa*, his bastard-daughters, which he had of lady *Ximena muvez de Guzman*;

giving to *Don Henry* certain land which the king *Don Fernando* his father, the first king of *Castile*, and other kings his predecessors, had gotten of the *Moors* in the borders of the realms of *Leon* and *Galicia*, which were the cities of *Coimbra*, *Viseo*, and *Lanego*, with the province of *Vera*, and the cities of the port *Braga* and *Guimareus*, and all that precinct which is between the two rivers, *Duero* and *Minon*, with the title of earl of *Portugal*, because he should be a defender of them, making to him a firm gift of the right of the inheritance, to him and his succession descending of this matrimony; with condition that they should be bound in knowledge of superiority, to go to the parliaments of *Leon* (into whose precinct that country doth fall) and at all times when the kings had wars with the *Moors*, that they should be bound to go and serve them with three hundred horsemen, which was at that time all the power that might be in *Portugal*; and that they should also pay certain yearly tribute upon pain, and that if they failed any thing of this, they should lose the state, and that it should be returned back to the kingdom of *Leon*.

And although that all these burdens were set at liberty, by a gift that the king *Don Alonso* the wise made in *Seville*, against the will of the earl *Don Nunon de Lara*, and of other knights being *Spaniards*, to the infant *Don Dionis*, son to the lady *Beateris*, his natural daughter, which he had by the lady *Mayor Guillen de Gusman*, and of *Don Alonso* the fifth king of *Portugal*,
 An. 1279.

tugal, which married with her, and had in dowry the countries of *Algarve*, which the king *Don Alonso* and the holy king *Don Fernando* gave. The king *Don Dionis* and his successors, as catholic and true princes, continued the wars against the *Moors* of *Spain*, finding themselves sometimes in the favour of the kings of *Castile*, and particularly the king *Don Alonso*, called the brave, when he gave the battle near to *Tarifa*, until that the king *Don John* the famous, being the first of this name, by the battle of *Alubarota*, and by other subtle practices worthy of his name; he determined, as a most warlike prince,

to pass into *Africa*, and to conquer the towns of the sea-coast near adjoining to him on the west side, carrying with him in his company the infants *Don Edward*, his eldest son and heir apparent, and *Don Peter* duke of *Coimbra*, and *Don Henry* his other sons, and many other lords and knights of his realm, wherewithal he might get the city of *Ceuta*, standing in the streight, where the two seas do meet, the ocean and the *Mediterranean*, and where *Africa* and *Europe* are divided, right over against *Gibraltar*, in the distance of four leagues athwart.

CHAP. II.

Sheweth of the Diligence that the Infant Don Henry did use, as well to know of the Moors of Ceuta, and the Provinces of the black People of Ialofe; as also for his armed Ships which he sent in the Discovery of the Coast of Guiney, even unto his Death, &c.

HE that did best shew himself for the getting of *Ceuta*, was infant *Don Henry*, with the knights and gentlemen of his band. And as he was a prince most religious, and desirous to augment the christian faith with his valiantness; so he endeavoured to enquire of the *Moors*, the provinces and nations nearest adjoining to them, whereof he came to have knowledge, and especially of the *Moors* nearest adjoining to the deserts, which they call *Sabara*, and of the *Azeneges*, with the black people of *Ialofe*, and he did it with the better will, because he would have his name spread abroad in the world by so great an enterprize, so taken in hand, and also by sending ships in the discovery of the coast of *Guinea*, whereof he had some knowledge by geography, to which he was affectioned. And so in returning the king his former victories to *Portugal*, he went to be resident in *Algarve*, in a small town of his own, to give order for this navigation, for the which certain captains of his did continue there for certain years, and durst not pass from the cape *Boiador*, which lieth in twenty-seven degrees and a half of height on the north side, east and west from the *Gran Canaria*, in thirteen leagues athwart, and for to come forth of the sight of the coast, which they leave behind them more than forty leagues into the sea, in the west course, with a certain point under that water which doth come forth, in length six leagues; that by reason of the tides that runneth there, the water is so moved, and in such sort, that

it seemeth to leap and to see the, which did put them in great fear, thinking that they had been shoals, and then it was a new thing for them, and difficult that they had so gone from the land for to double it, wherewithal they returned without hope to pass forward, making some entrance into the habitations of the *Moors* that dwelt on the sea coast for to satisfy the infant.

In one of these voyages, they discovered in foul weather, which did open unto them from the firm land, the islands which are called *Puerto Santo*, and the *Madera*, which islands the infant did command to inhabit, because he was certified that they were temperate and fruitful, and for that they were not inhabited with the people that were barbarous, as the islands of *Canaria* were; the which islands they had knowledge of, how that they were discovered by a *French* knight, called *John de Betancur*, which had conquered them with the licence of the tutors of the king *Don John II.* of *Castile*, which were the queen, lady *Catharine* his mother, and the infant *Don Fernando* his uncle of good memory, who came to be king of *Aragon*, and father of the kings *Don Alonso* of *Naples*, and *Don John* his brother, which did succeed in that of *Aragon* and *Sicilia*, and grandfather to the king *Don Fernando* the catholic. These islands stand in the thirty-three degrees of height north-east and south-west, from the bar of *Lishebron*, in one hundred and fifty leagues traverse, and be distant from the *Canaria*, at the least,

least, eighty leagues north, north-west and south south-east. The infant caused the discovery of them to be known to pope *Martin V.* who, at that time, was president in the catholic church, and two other princes of christendom; of the which there was restraint for certain years; until that one *Gill Yannez*, being born in the town of *Logos*, would pass the cape *Boia-dor*, being a fearful thing in the opinion of sailors of that time, who was cause from that time forward that navigation was continued the longer; and other captains coming to the river which is called of *Gold*, because they brought from thence the first that came into *Portugal*, and it standeth under the tropick of *Cancer*, in the twenty third degree and a half of height, and the cape of *Blanco* and islands of *Arguin* standeth in twenty, where the king *Don Alonso*, his cousin, did command after that to build a fort; and beyond the river

which the natural people of the country do call *Obedec*, and the *Portuguese* do call *savage*, which divide the countries of the *Moors*, *Azeneves* and the *Jalofes*, even unto the *Capeverds*, which is of the most known places in the west ocean; in the fifteenth degree of the north-side, and to the west-part of him are within one hundred leagues of *Travissim*, the islands which are of *Gill Yannez*, and threescore leagues beyond that, is the great river, and eighty beyond, that of *Nunno*, and in seven degrees and two terces the mountain *Lioa*, which was the last time that any discovery was made in the life of this most christian infant; leaving to the king his cousin, and to his successors, the open way for the great navigations and roads, which his subjects have made, and do make by all the east countries, with great praise and estimation of the *Portuguese* nation.

C H A P. III.

Of the Discovery which was made of the Coasts of Guiney, in the Time of King Don Alonso unto his Death; and of the Persons that the King Don John, his Son, sent by the Sea Mediterranean, whereby they might bring Relation of the States and Trades of India, and of the Embassage he sent to the king of Ethiopia.

THE infant being dead, it did seem to the king *Don Alonso*, that it would be a lett to him, if he should understand farther in these discoveries, by reason he minded to conquer *Tangier* and *Arzila*, and other forces that were near to the *Streights*; which with great courage he got of the *Moors*; and for the pretence that he had of the realms of *Castile*; for his cousin the lady *Jane*, daughter to the queen his sister, the second wife of the king *Don Henry IV.* with whom he minded to marry, he gave the discovery for rent to a subject of his, called *John Gomez*, dwelling in *Lisbon*, for two thousand five hundred ducats for five years; with condition, that he should be bound to discover within the said time five hundred leagues of coast beyond the mountain *Lioa*. This man which was so bound, did accomplish his band very well, discovering all these coasts, which they call the *Mina*, which stretch in length in course of the east and west, until they came to the cape of saint *Catherin*, that standeth in two degrees and a half of height towards the south-side, so there remaineth behind, discovered the islands of the prince, and of *Fernando*, and those of

Sancto Thoma, being under the line equinoctial.

In this time died the king *Don Alonso*; An. 1401. and *Don John* the second, his son, succeeded him, who sent forth with a captain of his called *Diego de Acambina*, with a great number of ships to this conquest, who caused to be built the castle of saint *George* with consent of the prince *Caramansa*, lord of that country. Other captains of his discovered the realms of *Congo* and of *Beni*, and the rest of the same coast, which is to be understood from the north to the south until they pass the famous cape of *Buena Esperanca*, being the first, *Bartholomew Dias* one of the officers of his house. Of some embassadors of these black knights which they sent to *Portugal*, and particularly of those of the king of *Beni*, the king *Don John* had knowledge, that far within the country, there was a mighty prince, unto whom some of them gave obedience, and by the manners and tokens that he declared of him, it seemed that he was a christian, whereof it came to be agreed upon that he should be *Prester John*, of whom then there was knowledge of, and of the trade and riches of the *India*, by means of certain

certain religious men, *Spaniards* that had been at *Hierusalem*, and likewise of others that were come into *Spain*. And for to certify himself the better of the trade and navigation, and ports of the *India*, and of the power of *Prester John*, and of his religion, of whom he minded to favour himself, for the trade of the spicery, he sent one *Peter de Covillana*, servant of his house, and also *Alonso de Paiba* by the way of *Italy*, that he might bring him a true relation of all. These men went to *Naples*, and from thence they embarked themselves for the *Rhodes*, and from thence to *Alexandria* and to *Cario*, which at that time was a royal seat of the *Soldans* of *Egypt* until a few years after, in the year one thousand five hundred and sixteen. *Selim*, emperor of the *Turks*, overcame and slew in a battle near to *Damasco*, the *Soldan Campson Gaurio*, and made himself lord of all those realms; and from thence they went to the city of *Adem*, which standeth at the entry of *Sinus Arabicos*, which is called the *Red-Sea*, in the part of *Arabia Felix*, where they departed one from another; the *Paiba* towards *Ethiopia*, and the *Covillana* towards the *India*, where they agreed together to return and join themselves again at a certain time in the city of *Cairo*.

An. 1516.

Covillana did embark himself in a small ship of the *Moors*, and came to *Cananor*, and from thence to *Calicut* and *Soa*, the most principal ports of that coast of the *India*; and having well inform'd himself to the states traffick and riches thereof, he returned from thence to the mine of *Zofala*, which is in *Ethiopia* above *Egypt*, in nineteen degrees of the height of the south-side, between *Musambike* and the cape of *Buena Esperanca*, and from thence he returned to *Aden* and to *Cairo*, where he understood that *Paiba* his companion, died a few days before in that city.

And being ready to depart for *Portugal*, he met with two *Jews* of that realm, which went to seek after him with the king *Don John* his order, because that one of them had been in *Babylon*, which are called *Bagodad* amongst those small rivers of the river *Euphrates*, that do run jointly with that of *Tiger* into *Sinus Persicos*, he should inform him of the trade and traffick of the island of *Armos*, which was in the entry of it in twenty and nine degrees of height of the north-side, where he said that thither came all the spices and riches of the *India*, with expresse commandment to *Covillana*, that if he had not found *Prester John*, he should not return without knowledge of him; and that with the other *Jew* he would send him relation of all that he had seen and understood in his

voyage, the which he did very effectually; and when he had dispatched him, he returned with the other to *Adem*, where they did embark themselves to return to *Ormos*. And the things of that island being noted, he left him there, that he might return by land with the *Cafilas*, which are carriers that carried spices from thence to the cities of *Alexandria* *Damasco* in *Suria*, and that he should continue going upon his journey until he came to *Portugal*. He returned to the *Red-Sea*, and went towards the court of the emperor of *Ethiopia*, called by his own people *Alexander*, of whom he was received with countenance of great contentment, esteeming much the embassy, because it came from a christian prince from the parts of *Europe*. And although that with all speed *Covillana* returned, yet he had not in this good hap; for that within a few days died the emperor *Alexander*; and *Nant* his brother, which did succeed him, kept him there by force, wherewithal he lost the hope to return any more to *Portugal*. And by the advice and relation he sent with the *Jews*, and with others by divers ways, the king *Don John* determined to send some ships by the navigation of the cape of *Buena Esperanca* unto the trade of the spicery of the *India*.

And because that in this time, which An. 1492. was in the year of one thousand four hundred ninety and two, they begun to discover the *West-Indies*, by *Christopher Colon* being a *Genoeze* born, who was the first that durst take so valiant an enterprize in hand by the commandment of the catholick kings *Don Fernando* and lady *Elizabeth*. These kings, for the avoiding of differences, made suit to the high bishop *Alexander VI.* (who then was president in the catholick church) that it would please him to appoint out, and confirm to them their discoveries. And the *Pope* being inform'd, did grant to the kings of *Castile* the conquest of the *Indies*, islands and lands that should be discovered in the west parts; and to the kings of *Portugal* that of *Africa*, and the countries of the east parts in equal portions; so that it might be understood the navigation from one hundred leagues more to the westward of the islands of *Capeverds*; whereof the king *Don John* found himself aggrieved, because he gave him no more space or circuit towards the west; and so it was granted with the will and consent of the catholick kings other three hundred and sixty leagues more towards the west. The king *Don John* not understanding at that time how hurtful it would be to his successors for the pretence of the islands of *Malucas*; and because his life is waxed short, it fortun-

tuned not in his time this navigation should be begun, but was reserved by a divine providence for the king *Don Emanuel*,

his cousin, that should succeed him in those realms.

CHAP. IV.

How that the King Don Emanuel sent, by the Way of Cape Buena Esperanca, Don Vasco de Gama with an Embassage to the King of Calcut, and of the Success he had until he returned to Portugal.

AND although that the king *Don John* had prepared ships for the navigation of the *Indies*; when he died, yet the king *Don John Emanuel* could not set forward this journey until the second year of his reign, which was in the year 1491, when as he sent, although that they of his council were of contrary opinion; yet then I say he sent *Don Vasco de Gama*, a knight of his house, and other two captains, in three ships, with embassage unto the king of *Calicut*, to the end he might be in league with him and with other kings of the same coast of *India*, to obtain of them that he and his successors might have the trade of the spice granted unto them.

Now you shall understand that the said *Don Vasco* departed with these ships, leaving the king and his court, and all others, very sad, because he went upon a voyage so long, so dangerous, and so unknown; and he was five months in the sea before he could get as far as the cape of *Buena Esperanca*, by reason in those days the *Portuguese* sailed not by the bowling in the high seas, in such sort as they do now, but always went near to the coast of *Guiney*: For altho' that in the time of the king *Don John* they had knowledge of degrees, and of the astrolabe, yet the pilots which they carried with them durst not put themselves into any gulf, as they now do, which do run from the time that they depart from *Lisbebron* towards the southwest, until they pass the islands of *Puerto Santo* and the *Madera*, and from thence towards the south-south-east to the sight of the islands of *Cannaria*, and then south passing between the firm land and the islands of *Cape Verde*, and south and by east until they put themselves in the height of the line; and altho' that the cape of *Buena Esperanca* do fall south-east of them, they cannot make their way good, by reason that in those seas are many levants which are east-south-east and south-east winds, that doth cause them to fall over near to the coast of *Brasil*; and therefore they go by the bowling running towards the south-south-east, south, and southwest, according as wind and wea-

ther do give them leave, until they put themselves into thirty-six degrees, sometimes in sight of the islands of *Tristan de Acunna*, which lie from the west part of the cape *Buena Esperanca* four hundred and fifty leagues, and at other times they run into forty, and forty-five degrees, until they find westerly winds, wherewith they return and run towards the east and east-north-east to seek the cape. When *Don Vasco de Gama* pass'd, he ran towards the north-east along the coast, and because he would put himself into the sea when he came to the cape of the currents or tides, for fear he should put himself into any bay or shallow place, and because he would pass along the coast with all the vantage he could, he pass'd and had no sight of the inhabitants of *Zofala*, between the island of *Sante Lorence* and the firm land, until he came to *Moscambique*, which standeth in fifteen degrees of height of the south side, six hundred leagues beyond the cape of *Buena Esperanca*, which place is now the most principal port that the *Portuguese* have in all those seas.

Don Vasco tarried a small time in this place, because it was then inhabited with merchants of the sect of *Mahoma*, which were come thither in the trade of merchandise, and so he ran along the coast and touched in *Mombasa*, and in *Melinde*, where he was well received of the king, although he was a *Moor*, with whom he concluded a peace and amity in the name of king *Don Emanuel* his lord and master: And having well informed and instructed himself of the coast of the *India*, he took expert pilots for the navigation, and went along upon his voyage, passing over a gulph of seven hundred leagues in twenty-two days, until he came to the city of *Calicut*, put in eleven degrees and a quarter of the north-side, with great joy and gladness, to see himself at the end of his journey. And being at anchor without, he sent word to the king of his coming, where he was in a place five leagues from the city, who sent him word that he was very glad of his coming, and of his embassage; and took order that he should pass his ships to the port of *Capocate*, a place most

most sure, where they might ride at anchor by reason that it was in the month of *May*, which is in that country the coldest and hardest time of winter in the year, and when he thought good he would advise him to come to the court.

This region that is commonly called *India*, is the country within which is contained the two famous rivers, *Indus* and *Ganges*, which do spring in the two mountains *Dalanguer* and *Nangracot*; so being joined one to the other that they are thought to be one, and the people of that country do think that they spring out of one common vein, and so run into the great ocean seas. The river *Indus*, of whom all this province took the name, by the realm of *Guacarate*, which commonly is called the west part of *Cambaya*, and the river *Ganges* by that of *Beugala*, towards the east parts, lying east and west, under the tropic of *Cancer*, in travise of three hundred leagues from one mouth to the other; from the which cometh out a point of the land far into the sea, and sheweth itself very sharp, even until it come to the cape *Camori*, which lieth north and south from the fountains of these rivers, in distance of 400 leagues of length, in seven degrees, and two terces of height of the north-side. And although that amongst the princes of these countries there are but two differences of laws, idolaters and *Mahomets*, all the country is divided into many realms and states: For although they are very warlike and of little faith, yet the height and sharpness of the hills and mountains, and the great number of fierce beasts which are not to be made tame, and the rivers and the entering of the seas, do make it invincible, and is the cause that all this region is not brought subject to the prince which is of most power, and principally by reason of a long tract and row of mountains, which the natural people of the country do call *Gates*, stretching from the north to the south, in the length of two hundred leagues from one coast to the other; as doth the high mountains *Apenino* in *Italy*, beginning at the west part, at the river *Caruants*, and passed unto the mountain called *Delii*, very well known of the sailors of that coast, which standeth in twelve degrees and a half in height of the north-side, where is a plain piece of ground overflown with water of six or ten leagues, as it seemeth by the bays near adjoining thereunto, which may be eighty leagues long, and the natural people of the country do call it *Malabar*, where standeth the realm and city of *Calicut*; this king being the greatest in power of those of this province, and therefore he is intitled *Camori*, which is as much as to say emperor.

VOL. II.

Two days after that *Don Vasco* had placed his ships in the port of *Capacote*, there came for him a servant of the king to bring him to his presence, whom they call their *Catual*, accompanied with two hundred men of his guard, who put himself into his journey, carrying with him only 12 *Portugueze* and one *Moor*, called *Monzaide*. This *Monzaide* was of the realm of *Tunez*, who did him great pleasure, by reason he was a faithful interpreter, of whom he understood the secrets of the land, and the government thereof; and in the way came to receive him another *Catual* of higher degree, who did accompany him until he came to the king, who when he should receive him, put himself for majesty at the end of a great chamber, in a bed which they call *Catel*, appareled with a certain kind of fine cloath made of cotton-wool burnished, and set with roses of beaten gold, and on his head a long high cap of cloth of gold, of the fashion of a close mitre, full of pearls, and on his legs and arms he had great store of bracelets of gold and stone; he had his head lying upon a pillow of plain silk wrought with gold, frilled; and there was leaning to the bed a gentleman, which held a plater of gold in his hands with the leaf of *Betely*, with which kind of leaf they use to comfort the stomach: And *Don Vasco* entering into the chamber, there rose very near unto the king a man of great years with white garments, representing great honour, who was his high priest, being the chief of the religious men of his gentility, and took him by the hand and carried him to the king's presence, who received him with a merry countenance, and with a shew of great and severe majesty, without moving himself more than lifting up his head a little from the pillow; and when he laid down his head again, he made signs to the high priest that he should cause him to sit down by the bed-side; and having spoken certain general words with *Don Vasco*, and received the letter of *Don Emanuel*, he said that he would see it, and would hear him when he was at more leisure, and for that time he should go to take his rest, commanding a gentleman to have care to lodge him and see him well used with good entertainment. The next day *Don Vasco* would return to speak with him, and declare his embassy, but the gentleman which kept him company kept him back, declaring to him, that the ambassadors which came to that country were accustomed not to go to speak with the king but when it pleased his majesty to call them: But the *Moor*, *Monzaide*, as one which knew well the order that was used in these causes, said unto him,

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that

that the most certain order and custom of that prince, and of the other princes of those countries, was, to hear no man if they did not first give and present him with some present; and the more strange the ambassador was, the longer time they caused him to tarry; and if he will be dispatched shortly, that he should use that way which he had told him, giving some gift to the officers which had most authority, and especially in business of the estate: The which he forthwith put in practice, excusing himself with the king and with the nobility, that by reason of the uncertainty of the voyage and long navigation, the things which he offered to them were not of the estimation or value that he wished; but in the end they were taken as sufficient, and were carried to the king, and he was received with more familiarity and gladness than the first time, signifying to him, that by the letter of the king *Don Emanuel*, he had understood the cause of his coming, and thereupon he should speak what he would. Then *Don Vasco* began, with great discretion and wisdom, asking the liberty and trade of the spices, and the intercourse of the trade of merchandice, from one realm to the other. The king answered with shows of gladness, that he would dispatch him well, and in short time.

And altho' that this prince was an idolater, yet he did suffer in his towns to dwell people of the sect of *Mahomet*, and especially in the ports of the sea-coast, where many came for the trade of the spicery from *Mecca*, and other ports of *Arabia-Felix*, as well from the *Red-sea* as from the sea called *Sinus-Perficis*; which people were much aggrieved at the embassy and pretence of *Don Vasco*, understanding the hurt and losses which would ensue unto them in their trades, if that the trade of merchandice should remain established as the king was purposed and resolved to have it.

Whereupon they made many consulta-

tions, in order to kill the *Portugueze* and to sink their ships, but they durst not, guiding it by the most sure way, giving bribes to the *Catual*, who was a gentleman that had the charge of the *Portugueze*, that with false reasons and deceits the king might be angry and displeased with them; yet this gentleman used the matter so discreetly, that (altho' that the king was very wise, and understood well the profit that might follow by this trade, for the dispatch of the merchandice of his realm) he was persuaded to believe this *Catual*, and to take the *Portugueze* for spies.

And hereupon the king commanded *Don Vasco*, general of the *Portugueze*, to be called before him, and so he asked him many questions; and altho' he had satisfied him of all that was demanded him, yet there was no remedy, but, in fine, he counsel'd him that he should forthwith go aboard his ships, lest he should receive any hurt of the *Moors*, pretending that they were ready to make an insurrection against him, and promised that he would send him to his ships the answer of his embassy in a letter to the king *Don Emanuel* his lord and master; wherein he said, that the cause wherefore his ambassador departed so discontent from his country, was by reason of the old controversies that were between the *Moors* and the Christians, and that he would receive great contentment with his friendship, and with the trade of the merchandice of his realm, so that it might not be done with reproach, considering that he took the *Moors* for natural people of his country, and that ordinarily they came to his ports in the trade of spicery; whereupon forthwith *Don Vasco* made sail towards *Portugal* by the same way that he went, where he arrived at the end of two years, and a few days after he departed from *Lishebron*, being received of the king *Don Emanuel* with great honour, rewarding him and his great service.

CHAP. V.

Sheweth how the King Don Emanuel did send a great Fleet of Ships to the Indies, with a Knight called Pedralvarez Cabral, and how he discovered in this Voyage the Coast of Brasil, and of other Armies of Ships which are sent after until the Time he gat Malaca, and had Knowledge of the Realm of CHINA.

AND the king *Don Emanuel* being informed by *Don Vasco de Gama*, of all things which happened to him in his voyage, he determined to send to the *India* thirteen sail of ships so well furnished and provided both of men and munition, that if it

happened when they should come to the king of *Calicut*, and to the rest of the lords of those countries, that they should be defended from their ports, that then his power and force should be shewed, and that *Padralvarez Cabral*, a knight of great wisdom,

wisdom, and valiant, should go for general of the said fleet of ships, who departed from *Lishebron* the ninth day of *March*, in the year one thousand five hundred; to whom there happened, between the islands of cape *Verde*, such a vehement storm, that one of the ships departed from the rest of her company, and returned back again; and with the rest he took his course, and sailed far into the sea, because he would fly away from the calms which are accustomed to be upon the coast of *Guiney*, and that he might with more assurance double the cape of *Buena Esperanca*, running towards the south south-west, as near as the east south-east and south-east winds would give them leave.

And at the end of one month running that course, they found themselves so much to leeward, by reason of the tides, which run towards the north-west, that they came to discover another coast of firm land towards the west; and according to the judgment of the pilots, it seem'd to them that it might be distant from the coast of *Guiney* four hundred and fifty leagues, in ten degrees towards the south-side; and to put them out of doubt, if it should be any great island, they ran along by the coast all one day; and finding a place for their purpose, where they might cast anchor, they caused one boat to be hoisted out, for to discover what land it might be: And immediately did appear unto them by the river where they were, many naked people, which did differ from those of *Guiney*, in colour, hair, and faces, and they procured to speak with them, and to know what people they were; but they could not, for they retired all to the mountains, and so the *Portugueze* returned to their ships without any knowledge, and departed the same night, being forced with a storm which caused them to depart without order, and sailed towards the south until they came into a bay, where they harboured themselves, which they nam'd *Puerto Segnero*, and is as much as to say, the sure port or haven, which standeth in seventy degrees and a half of height, and forthwith *Pedralvarez* commanded to hoist out the boats, and he went to land in them, where he caused service to be said at the foot of a tree with great devotion of them all; giving thanks unto God, that they had departed from that unknown country, where they were before. And the barbarous people of that province did not marvel to see the *Portugueze*, as they of the other country did; but rather, when they saw them kneel on their knees in the time of service, they kneeled down after the same manner, making the said shew of prayers. At the which sight, the said *Pe-*

drualvarez, and all the rest of his people, marvelled much, and were very glad to see them offer themselves to receive their doctrine of salvation, if they had had any to instruct them; and because he could not remain there, nor let to follow his journey, he dispatched forthwith the captain *Gasper de Glemos*, that with his small ship he might return back to *Portugal*, to give news to the king *Don Emanuel* of the discovery of that country, which he had named *Sancta Cruz*, which now is called the *Brasil*, by the name of the wood that is brought from thence. And when he had taken in fresh water, and saw the weather fair, he determined to depart from thence towards the cape of *Buena Esperanca*; and there happened to him in the gulph so great storms of weather, that in his sight the sea did swallow up four of his ships without the escaping of any of the people of the same; and with the rest he ran many days without bearing any sail; until the sixteenth day of *July* he found himself only with six of his ships, a great way beyond the cape in the coast of *Zofala*, so beaten with weather, and spoiled of their masts, yards, sails, and tackle, that they were more likely to return, than to pass forth upon their voyage. But the general being a man of great courage, did set little by all these inconveniencies, and so they came to *Mosambique*, where they did repair themselves of the hurts which they had receiv'd in the torments of weather; as also they were better receiv'd of the king, than *Don Vasco de Gama* was.

They continued from thence their voyage, touching in *Quiloa*, where they fell out with the king, who was a *Moor*, and that grieved to see any christians in that coast. But the king of *Melindes*, who was their friend, receiv'd them with great contentment, confirming anew the friendship and the trade that *Don Vasco* had agreed upon with him; and from thence they ran athwart over the gulph, until they came to *Calicut*; and although they were well received of the king, yet things did happen in such sort, that *Pedralvarez* fell out with him, and in the end there were slain certain *Portugueze* which were a land; and for to revenge their deaths, he set fire on all the ships that he found in the port, shot at the city, and killed many of the people, threw down many houses and buildings, and so made sail towards *Cochin*, which was thirty leagues distant from that place lower in the course towards the south; where he was well received of the king, who offer'd to him all the spicery which he had need of to lade his ships. Also the king of *Cananor* sent him the like word, because these princes were

were enemies of the king of *Calicut*, who was a greater lord than they were, and they did acknowledge unto him superiority. And because they thought that the trade with the *Portuguese* would be profitable for them, *Pedraluarez* did lade his ships of as much as they could carry, wherewith he returned into *Portugal* by the same way he came, which is different of that as is now used; for that they do return among an infinite number of islands of *Maldivia*, and those of the seven brethren running to the south south-west, south-west, and to the west south-west, having sight of many other islands which are in those seas. And so they came along towards the cape of *Buena Esperanca*, leaving the island of saint *Laurence* north of the side of the land. And when *Pedraluarez* came to *Portugal*, the king had sent the captain *John de Nova a Gallego* borne with four ships unto the same trade of the spicery. And from that time forwards they continued more and more in the said navigation, having always ships of war in those *Indian* seas against the *Moors* of the streight of *Mecha*, and the rest of the ports of *Arabia*, and against the king of *Calicut*, who came and made war with him of *Cochin*, for the friendship and trade he had with the *Portuguese*; and the captain *Edward Pacheco*, shewed himself very valiant in his defence, who was left there with certain soldiers for that purpose; and *Alonso Alberquerque*, the most valiant knight, and of most wisdom, of as many of the governors as have gone out of *Portugal* to that country; for he being captain general of the ships of war of that sea, did conquer the city of *Ormos*, and many other places, as well as those which are in the coast of *Arabia*, as of *Persia*, and made the king *Zofadin* to pay tribute, who at that time was lord of that realm, and he

burned and destroy'd *Calicut* and gate of the *Moors*, the city of *Goa*, which is now the most principal place that the kings of *Portugal* have in the *India*, which standeth more toward the north than *Calicut*, in the same coast in fifteen degrees of height, and *Malaca* standeth in that famous point in two degrees and a half of the north-side; the which *Ptolomy*, and the rest of the ancient geographers did entitle *Aurea Chersonesus*, in respect of the island *Samatra*, which is near to him, and one channel doth divide them, understanding that they were joined in one, even as the *Morea* is with the firm land.

The longest part of this island lieth north-west, and south-east, and the equinoxial line standeth over the midst of it. And there remaineth behind towards the west, near to the cape *Camorie* in the same coast the island called *Zeilan*, and by *Ptolomy* named *Taprobana*, in distance of four hundred leagues from the one to the other, according to the opinion of *Portugal* sailors, and not by situation geographical, by reason that the course lieth east and west. Between the which there is a great bay, which is called the gulph of *Bengal*, which is the realm that *Ganges* doth run through all along the coast, from the cape *Cannori* four hundred and ten leagues towards the north-east unto the mouth of him, and from them it returneth, running towards the south unto the point of *Malaca*, where *Alonso de Alberquerque* had knowledge of the *Malucas*, and of the rest of the islands and realms of that sea, and particularly of the great realm of *China*, which standeth in the same coast, beginning his limits five hundred leagues more forward towards the west, and there remaining in the midst of this precinct, the realms of *Siam*, *Cambaia*, *Champa*, and *Guachinchina*.

CHAP. VI.

Sheweth of the Description of the Land of China, and the notable Provinces and Realms that are in it contained.

THIS great kingdom which the natural people of the country do call *Tame*, and they are called *Tangis*, is a country which lieth most easterly of all *Asia*, those of the *India*, *Malaca*, *Samatra*, *Sian*, and *Pegu*, and the rest of the islands and realms of that sea are called *China*. it is said that in respect of that realm of *Guachinchina*, which is neighbour to it on the west-side, and payeth tribute, keeping

* *Al Cochín Chioa*, now called *Tchoume*, or the fixed in the middle of the world.

in all things their laws and customs; and the greatest part of it is wash'd over with the easterly ocean sea; beginning from the island *Anan*, adjoining to *Guachinchina*, which is in the nineteen degrees of the north-side, shewing itself by the south part in the course of the east north-east, gathering itself towards the north-east, unto a point which is most easterly that it hath, where standeth the city of *Nimpo*, which

middle kingdom; because they thought themselves

the *Portugueze* do call *Liampo*, and from thence it returneth towards the north-west, and to the north, making a great bay far into the land, and carrying on high upon itself, and other coast set upon that which standeth above, and the higher country remaining under the cold clouds of the north, where the *Tartars* do dwell, with whom they have continual wars.

By the west part it bordereth, as it hath been related, with the realm of *Guachinchina*, and higher towards the north with the *Laos Osioens Maos*, and with the *Bramenes*, which are a multitude of people, and very rich of gold and stones, and especially of rubies.

These are approved people, valiant, and tall of body, and sometimes have war with the people of *China*, but it is not ordinarily, by reason of the great hills and sharp mountains that is between them.

Then followeth forthwith the *Patanes* and *Mogores*, whose realm is very great, and innumerable of people, and of such as be very warlike; they fight with bows and arrows on horseback, they wear murrions and other things of defence.

The chief of that realm, is the great *Samarcan*, they be the true *Massagetes*, by whom it is affirmed, that no other nation have had them in subjection. They are a tall people, well proportioned, and white for the most part, by reason they dwell in a cold country. And from them forwards you turn to meet with the *Tartars**, which

people are tawny and not white; from the waste upward - they go naked, they eat raw flesh, and they anoint themselves with the blood thereof, because they would make themselves to be wonder'd at. And therefore commonly they have such a filthy smell, that when they war against the people of *China*, if the wind comes of their side, they are discover'd by the smell; they fight on horseback with bows, arrows, and spears, as the *Massagetes* do. In all this description of the country, which hath been spoken of, without doubt it is as great or greater than *Europe*. Therein are contained fifteen provinces, and every one of them is greater than most kingdoms that we know. They name some of them under the name of *Metropolitana*, where their governors and presidents are resident; they are named *Canton*, *Foquien*, *Chequeam*, *Xanton*, *Nanquil*, *Quinquii*; these are bordering upon the sea coast; *Quicheu*, *Iunna*, *Quancii*, *Sujuam*, *Fuquam*, *Cansii*, *Xianxii*, *Honan*, and *Sancii*†: These are in the country within, well near all these provinces, and particularly those of the sea coast are compased about with rivers very deep, large, and navigable of the fresh water; and also replenished with small rivers and brooks, which doth maintain the sea, with the entrance of them into it, and they run far within that country; and because the country is plain, it seemeth as though it were-flown, but it is not.

* The *Tartars* are now become masters of this vast empire, which tho' it was submitted to voluntarily, and by choice, as a continual vexation to the ancient *Chinese* inhabitants; therefore I shall give a short relation how this great revolution happened.

One of the petty kings of the eastern *Tartary*, called by his subjects, *Monancheon*, receiving no satisfaction of a complaint he had made at *Pekin* against some *Chinese* merchants, entered the province of *Leaotum* with a great army. The war continued a long time, without much advantage on either side. But one *L—J*, a *Chinese*, took that opportunity to foment a rebellion, and was soon enabled by the conflux of men of desperate fortunes, and evil minds, to seize upon the greatest cities, and to drive the whole country before them; and *Pekin* itself being left unguarded, but by such as the arch rebel had corrupted, fell a prey to their fury; which attack was attended with this remarkable tragedy: The emperor seeing himself forsaken, even by his own guards, retired with his only daughter into the garden of his palace, and there, having wrote with his own blood these words on the border of his vest: *My subjects have basely forsaken me, spend thy rage upon my body, but spare my people*: He first stabbed the princess, and then hang'd himself on a tree.

None now durst oppose the usurper, but *Ousanguye*, commander in chief of those forces, which the deceased emperor sent against the *Tartars*; and the usurper finding, that even a profer to divide the empire with him could not bring him to a compliance with his usurpation, besieged him in the province of *Leaotum*, and to engage him to surrender, shewed him his father in irons, protesting he would put him to death, unless he would submit immediately. *Ousanguye* contemned the insult; and to revenge his sovereign's, and his father's blood, made peace with the *Tartars*, on condition they should join and assist him in that cause. But what ensued: The rebel fled to *Pekin*; and after he had burnt the palace, and intirely ruined that fine city, he escaped to a retirement that was never found out. It was in this deplorable and distressed state, when the *Tartars*, under the direction of *Ousanguye*, entered the city, and the despairing *Chinese* left without a head, and destroy'd by their own people, begg'd their new guests, whom a little before they would have been ashamed to own for their subjects, to take upon them the care and government of their empire.

† These provinces are now commonly called *Quantum*, *Fokien*, *Chekiam*, *Nankin*, *Xantum*, *Pekin*, on the eastern ocean; *Xansi*, *Xensi*, *Sucheum*, *Yunnan*, and *Quamsi*, which extend from N. to S. on the western side: *Queycheu*, *Kiansi*, *Huquam*, and *Honan*, in the middle between the forementioned.

And now to these fifteen provinces we must add the accession of the vast country of *Tartary*; for tho' all *Tartary* does not belong to *China*, yet most is tributary to it, and united with all the *Chinese* provinces, makes a prodigious empire, being at least 900 leagues in length, from the most southerly point of *Haynan*, to the utmost limits of that part of *Tartary*, which belongs now to the emperor of *China*.

C H A P. VII.

Sheweth of the Temperature of the Country, and the notable Things that it bringeth forth.

THE temperature of this country is divers, by reason that it doth stretch far from the south to the north, so much that the islands *Ainan* doth stand in nineteen degrees of height. It is also known, that some provinces do stand in fifteen degrees, and others much more above, in the borders of the *Tartars*; and this is well to be seen by the difference that is of the inhabitants of *Canton*, and of the rest of the places of that coast, which are base people, as those which are in *Barbary*, and do run the race that they do. And the rest of the people of the provinces of the land within are white and red, as in *Almanie* although that generally there is not in all of it extreme heat, nor cold, because it is shut up within the region which the geographers do call temperate, and it standeth under the same climate that *Spain*, *France*, and *Italy* do stand in; whereby the fruitfulness of it may be understood, that without all doubt it is the greatest and most abundant that is known in the wide world, by reason that the natural people of the country do procure to live by their own industry, and continual labour; not sparing mountains, valleys, nor rivers, that is not all planted and set with sundry sorts of fruits, and with great sowing of wheat, barley, rice, and other things, according to the commodity and situation. And it is easy to them, by reason that they enjoy freely of their own substance, without any molestation of impositions and tributes. And also they do not suffer, nor permit in the country any vagabonds, nor idle people, nor do they suffer any of the natural people of the country to go forth of the realm; there are an infinite number of people of all kind of arts, and offices; and because they are inclined to eat and drink well, to make much of themselves, and to have their houses very gorgeously dres'd and repaired, they give themselves to labour, and to procure it, flying from infamy, and shunning little estimation, the things wherewith idle men are there reproached withal. This realm doth bring forth as great abundance of all kinds of fruits, and garden herbs, as *Europe*, and as sweet, and with as good taste as those of *Spain*, and better; for in the sweet oranges, there is three differences of marvellous taste, and a

kind of plumbs, that are well near round, which are called *Lechias*, which are of an excellent taste, without giving any loathsomeness, without taking away the desire of the stomach, and without doing any hurt, although you eat many. Of the mellons, and of a certain kind of apples, they report wonders, and their chestnuts they prefer without any comparison to be made of ours with them. They have great store of sugar, and great store of worms which breed silk, which is one of the greatest trades that is in that realm; and great store of flax to make linnen cloth of divers sorts for their wearing. In the dry countries, they sow wheat and barley, and in the moist and overflown grounds, they sow rice, and they are accustomed to gather it three or four times in the year, and so it is the most ordinary and common meat they have. The high countries, which are not good for wheat, they set and plant with pine apple-trees in such sort, that no ground remaineth unlaboured that is able to give fruit; the rest of the fields are most fair to the sight, and sweet, by reason of the great store of roses, and of other sweet flowers which they bring forth, and it maketh the orchards pleasant, which standeth by small brooks and rivers, and the gardens and houses of pleasure, which are spread abroad by the said fields, which they use much for their recreations. There are also certain bushy mountains and woods, where doth breed great store of wild pigs, and also deer, hares, and conies, and other divers kinds of beasts; of whose skins they have marvellous plenty of furs; and especially of the martins, which are many in number of a certain kind of beasts, as great as foxes; they make the musk, whereof they have great abundance; they beat them with strokes until they kill them, and afterward they together the skin, the flesh, and the bones also beaten, in little hillocks, or mole-hills, until they be all rotten; then they cut them, and in this sort they sell them to strangers. The *Portuguese* do call them *Papos*, and they take it for better and more fine musk, than that which they bring from those parts in powder. The most common and ordinary cattle, which they eat, are kine, hogs, mutton, and goats of the

the which there are great abundance in the mountains and meadows. The fowl is so much, and specially that which was brought up in great standing waters and rivers, that they account it a small matter to spend ordinarily every day, in only one of the least cities of that realm, which is *Canton*, ten or twelve thousand ducks, not accounting any other sort of birds.

The abundance of fish, as well of shell-fish, as also of all other sorts of fish, is most great, not only in the sea-coasts, but also in the provinces that are in the further-

most part of inland, because the rivers are all great, navigable, or portable, by reason of the greatness.

Of all kinds of drugs there are great abundance, and particularly of rhubarb, and many mines of silver and gold, of the which is gathered great quantity in the rivers, and likewise of copper, iron, and other metals, in such sort that they have great plenty of all things, and lack nothing that is necessary for the common use of the life of man.

C H A P. VIII.

Skeweth of the Greatness of the Cities, Temples, and Buildings that are in it, and that be in all the Country of CHINA.

THERE are in this realm many cities, and very populous, insomuch that in a card geographical made by the said people of *China*, which was brought into *Portugal* to the power of *John de Barros*, a most learned historian of that nation: There came marked two hundred forty-four famous cities, and they are numbered and noted out with this syllable *fu*, which is as much as to say, as a city like to *Canton-fu*, *Panquin-fu*, al. *Pekin*; and the towns (which are very many in number) with this syllable *cheu*. The villages are innumerable, and of great husbandry, and some of them are of more than three thousand inhabitants, and the difference which they have is that they be not compassed about with walls as the towns are. All the cities for the most part are set and planted by great rivers, which are navigable, and incompassed about with deep and broad marish grounds, which do make them most strong. The walls are made of great stones the height of a man, and from thence upwards of brick made of the same clay that the earthen dishes that they bring from thence is made of, which is so strong that with great difficulty it can be broken with pick-axes. In some cities they are very high and broad, in such sort that there may march four or six men in a rank or front upon them.

They are beautified with many bulwarks and towers from one side to the other, covered with most fair and beautiful coverings, and compassed about with galleries, where their governors and ministers are accustomed to go to recreate themselves with the sight of the fields and rivers, and of other great buildings which from thence are discovered. And there is a certain space of ground between the walls and the

marish ground, upon which six men on horseback may march; and in the innermost part of the walls on the other side there is as much more void ground unto the houses, that they may pass the watch without any impediment. The walls are so whole, and without clift or rift, or shew thereof, as if they were but new made; and yet having in many cities memory of two thousand years since they were made; and the cause thereof is, that in every city and town the king hath an officer with great wages, which doth not occupy himself specially in any thing other than in continual surveying of them, and to cause them to be renewed. And therefore they have order, that he which is treasurer and receiver of the king's rents in such cities, and the like places, doth give to him all that is necessary and needful for the repairing of them. This is so precise a matter, that the like officers are visited and chastened if they have not fulfilled all things, which they are bound unto in their office. The entrance of these cities are sumptuous, and of great shew and majesty, with three and four gates most strong, and all things to them appertaining, of iron.

The streets are well paved with stone, and stand right, without declining to one side more than to the other, where you may see from one gate to the other; and in the most of them may pass in a front ten and fifteen men on horseback one by the other; and yet there remaineth in one side and the other great windows, and stalls for the service of them that keep shops of merchandise; they be so broad, that there is built in them triumphant arches of great beauty and shew, whereby the cities be much decked and adorned; and the said arches

arches are set some upon timber and others upon free stone, which are much painted with gallant shews, covered with tiles made of the earth which the fine white dishes are made of. And by reason the streets are so broad, they make them with three gates, and those which are in the midst are greater than those which are at the ends. The arches are broad, and so far out into the streets, and so made, that the people are defended from the rain and the sun, and under them is sold much fruit and other fine trinks, and jewels of all sorts.

The houses where the king's officers are resident in, are sumptuous and of a strong building, and so broad that some of them have more room than is in a good town: And the cause thereof is the great gardens and parks which are compass'd about, that is within them, wherein is great store of deer, and of other game of divers sorts, and all kind of wild fowl.

In towns that are near the sea-coast, all the houses for the most part be low, and within the land they raise their chambers aloft, and of fair buildings. They have generally at their doors, trees of beauty set in a row, one by another in order, which are set with equal distance, and by line, which are green all the year, because they should yield them shadow, and also beautify the streets.

There are in that country some cities in which the barks may sail within them, like as in the town of *Bruges* in *Flanders*; in the which river do barks pass laden with all kind of victuals and merchandise, and the streets stand on both sides of the channels where they sail, and come to the wharfs and bridges of goodly building, and specially at the going out of the cities for to pass the fens and the rivers. When they be so great and deep that none can go over them, they make bridges upon many boats or barks, after the fashion of the bridge of *Seville*, tied with strong chains; and when the fresh waters are very great, they undo them, and then they take barks, which they row with oars, and do use them to pass the people, and all other things they have to pass, at the king's cost; this order is in all the country, altho' it be in places not inhabited.

In the hills and mountains where people commonly do journey, there are made causeys, that are highest in the midst, and well repaired, which is one of the most notable buildings for common use that is in all *China*.

The villages, for the most part, are all compassed about with trees, which do hide them, because the houses be low, unless it be the houses of some rich farmers, whose houses are very high, and decked with

towers, and which are to be discovered far off by many parts, because the country is much replenished with villages and houses of pleasure, of great recreation, where they have gardens and parks of deer and wild fowl, and ponds of fish of all sorts. And by reason they are blind in religion, and without light of the knowledge of the true God, and of feeling of everlasting life, they endeavour the rather to pass the temporal life with great ease and contentment, reposing their chief felicity in things temporal, and in things of most pleasure in this life.

There are many other buildings of great admiration in those cities, and specially in the province of *Fucheo*. And certain *Portuguese*, which were carried prisoners thither, do affirm, that they saw a tower before the house of the kings treasurer in that province, built upon forty whole arches, and every pillar of the arches had in length forty pawns, and in compass twelve; and the rest of the building was so sumptuous and fair that therewith they were amazed; and it seemed to them, that, in respect of that, all was little which they could see in all *Europe*.

And because you may better understand the majesty of this empire, and the riches and greatness of it, the *Portuguese* do make particular relation of the city of *Canton*, which is one of the least of that realm; of the which city they have most knowledge, by reason of the ordinary trade of shipping that they have to that place and port with their merchandise, which, in respect of the rest, is as the city of *Cadiz*, in respect of the rest of the great cities of *Spain*: And they say, that this city of *Canton* standeth before the island called *Ainan*, in the same coast, in twenty-seven degrees, scarce of height of the north-side, in a plain fair field, and delectable to the sight; for the trees and fruits that it hath, and all kind of husbandry, being placed among the small rivers, being branches of a great river which goeth spreading in breadth two hundred paces, and in depth from three to seven fathom; and by the sides of these rivers are planted many small villages and fair houses of great pleasure, until you come to the sea, which is near unto it. At the entry in, towards the city, are certain islands inhabited with husbandmen, which only do live by husbandry: It is compassed about on the part and side where the river is not, with a broad deep ditch or trench, whereunto cometh great store of water, which maketh it strong, and it is navigable: The walls are built with stone, lime, and brick, upon the face of the earth, without any foundation, but filled up full of earth and broad. There are in the

walls eighty-three bulwarks. *John de Barros* doth say, that they are ninety of a great shew, and compassed about with galleries, which do beautify the city very much. It hath in circuit twelve thousand three hundred and fifty paces, besides the suburbs, which are great and much inhabited; the walls are whole and sound, altho' that they do affirm, that it is one thousand eight hundred years * since they were built, by reason of the great care they have to repair them.

The good fashion that the streets have, do cause the city to shew very fair, by reason they are long and straight. And the said city hath seven gates, and they are seen from the one to the other, by reason the streets are so broad that ten men on horseback may pass in front one by another, and there remaineth at the one side and the other, shops where they sell merchandice and all kind of victuals. The said streets are very well paved, high by the sides, and low by the midst, that the water may void away, and being so long they have throughout great number of triumphant arches, made very sumptuous, as before is declared. At the going forth of the gates to go over the marsh ground, there are bridges of free stone, very broad, where is sold many things to be eaten, and others.

The houses where the presidents are lodged, that do govern this province, are the king's houses, and are of great majesty, and do occupy much room with the courts and gardens, and great houses where the counsellors do sit and determine causes, and do provide things for the government of the rest of the cities, and those for the estate of the wars, and for the king's rents.

This province and that of *Cansie*, by reason they be less than the rest, are provided with one only governor, which they call *Tutam*, and is as much to say among us as vice-roy; and for this cause he is resident in a city called *Doucheo*, which is in the borders and precinct of them both. The ordinary and common houses of this city are in outward shew of small beauty, because they are low, by reason of the heat which is great in that place, but within they are very beautiful and goodly to be seen, because they are made as white as milk, in such sort that it seemeth as if they were set forth with shining paper burnished; and the floors of the ground are made of stones four-square.

Timber
dyed.

The timber that these houses are made of is smooth, very equal, and well wrought, dyed with certain waters, which sheweth as if it were the colour of damask, well near of the colour of gold, and it hath a beautiful

shew; and in all houses, at the entry in at the door, and in the pavement or court, are flowers set, and green things for their recreation, and a small pond with fish, and a linnen-cloth four-square, according to the measure of the court or pavement that is within the door, wrought all upon as tho' they were counting-houses, and upon them are set many idols of their gentility †, made of clay or of wood, more or less, very curious, according to the ability of every one. In all the other square places or lodgings they have things painted, and divers other curiosities.

The roofs of the houses are very well built and covered with tiles, made of the same clay that the *Porcelines* † are made of: Those which receive the water are broad and short, and those which do lie upon and shut the canals are narrow and long. In the ends towards the streets, the tiles are garnished with very fine things and gallant, made of lime, and they have no need to tile them anew in many years; for the tiles be not brittle, as ours are, nor sharp, but smooth, that they do not breed any filthy thing. Tile not gathering filth.

At the gates they have trees set, which serveth them for shadow, and it beautifieth the streets. There are in the city many temples of their idolatry, very great and sumptuous, and chiefly one that is in the midst of the city with many towers and pinacles, which do shew over all the city. At one side of the river there is a great tower hard by the wall, and thither goeth the presidents and other officers to make merry, and to see the city, the fields and the rivers. The suburbs that it hath are very great, by means of the trade of the sea, and by reason that the most part of all the strangers and men of trade and of business do lodge in them. A tower.

They have also the streets very broad with some triumphant arches, as well in them as within the city, there be a great number of places for men to lodge in, and victualling-houses, where they have meat dress'd, where is great plenty of flesh and fish, as well shell-fish as other fish, and fruits and wines made with confections of great delicateness, that it bringeth great admiration to note it, and it is all needful, according to the great trade of buying and selling that is there.

They do affirm, that making enquiry of the things which ordinarily is eaten every day, it was found that there was from five to six thousand hogs, and from ten to eleven thousand ducks, besides a great number of kine, and an infinite number of other birds and hens, and also conies and fish, as well shell-fish as other fish, and fruits and frogs,

M

and

* This account was first printed in 1595.

† Viz. Gentilism, or heathen Superstition.

† China-Ware.

also dogs, which they slay and skin or scald like pigs, and the base and poor people do eat them; and they do confess that this city of *Canton* is much greater than their

Lisbon, the chief city of *Portugal*, which is esteemed and taken for one of the greatest cities of *Europe*.

CHAP. IX.

Sheweth of the Countenance and Apparel of the People, and their Conditions and Manners.

ALL the people of *China* generally have broad faces, small eyes, plain noses, with very little hair in their beards; and some there are that have their faces well made and proportioned, with great eyes, and with their beards well set; but there are very few of these. It is thought that those comelier sort did descend of strange people that in old time matched themselves with them, when they went forth of the realm and were conversant with other people. In *Canton*, and all other places of that coast, they are tawny, like unto those of *Fez* and *Morocco*, but all within the land are of the colour like unto those of *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Flanders*, white and red, and of good growth. The noble people of the land, and those that serve in the wars, do apparel themselves with silks of divers colours, and the poorer sort of people with black, and with serge, linnen-cloth, and cotton-wool, dyed, because they make no woollen-clothes, altho' they have great store of wools. They have their coats made of such fashion as others were in old time, with many plaits, long fawls and broad sleeves, and they make them fast upon the left side, and do gird their said apparel with that that their garments are made of, according to the degree and ability of every one of them.

They that be of the blood-royal, and also such as be placed in the chief offices of honour and authority, differ from all others in apparel, for they go all beset with gold and silver round about their waists, and all other gentlemen do carry their ears garnished therewith. Their hose are very well made and stich'd, and their boots and shoes are made of silk very curious and fine. In the winter-season they fur their apparel with furs of beasts, as of martens and fables, and do bring them ordinarily about their necks.

They suffer their hair to grow long, wherein they have great superstition, saying that they shall be carried thereby to heaven; and they colour it like as women do, and do gather it together in the highest part of the head with a string,

wherein they put through a nail of silver. Those that are not married are different from them that are; wherefore they wear their hair curled upon their forehead, and wear on their head certain high coives, and round, made of small sticks, very fine, and wrought upon with black silk. The women are commonly very fair, except those that are dwelling at the sea-coast, of the part that is towards the south, and those that dwell in the hills and mountains: The rest are very white and fair in their fashion, and some with goodly eyes, and their noses very slender and comely. All are apparelled with silk, and the poorest sort with serge and linnen cloth. The coats which they use be of the fashion of them that are here, and the petticoats with broad sleeves. They dress their hair with most great care; they carry it gathered together on the higher part of the head, fast bound with a broad lace of silk, garnished with stones and pieces of gold. They paint themselves with the like curiosity as they do in *Spain*; they hold it for a gallant thing to have their feet very little; and therefore from the time that they be little children, they bind their feet very much with clothes, for because that such as have little feet are much esteemed.

They live very closely in their houses, for they are little seen; their husbands wills is that they should so do, for they are very jealous. When they go forth of their houses, they are carried in chairs, with curtains compassed about, with servants and familiar friends that do carry them, and that do accompany them, in such sort that none are seen by the streets but people of low and base degree.

The men do buy the women when they marry them, and pay for them to their fathers much or little money, according to their degrees. And altho' that it be lawful for them to have as many as they can maintain, yet they dwell with one alone, which is the chiefest in reputation, and the rest they lodge in divers houses. And if they be men of trade, and merchants that are traders, they do place them in such towns where

where their business and trade lieth. They do not suffer within the cities that any common women should inhabit, but in the suburbs, where is appointed unto them publick streets for their habitation. All these, for the most part, are slaves bought from the power of their mothers when they were children; for because it is permitted by law unto widows that do remain poor, when they have not wherewithal to sustain them, to sell their children for their relief; being oppressed with necessities, they go to rich merchants, and offer their daughters that they may buy them. The which merchants, moved with covetousness, do teach these young maids to play on the virginals and citterns, and other such instruments; and after growing to ripe years, they put them into the streets to raise a gain of their whoredoms. There is an account taken by an officer of the king's, which is appointed for this cause, unto whom the master of these maids doth pay so much by the year, after the manner of tribute, and they to their masters every month as much as they do agree upon; and those which do play on the instruments and sing well, be more esteemed, and of greater price. When they are old, they make them look young again, with ointments, oils, waters, and with colours; and when they are old, and of no more profit, they remain free, without any longer bondage unto their masters, or any else, maintaining themselves of that which they have gotten in their youth with their naughty trade.

And the boys do serve all kind of service in their houses, until they be of years to marry, and then their masters are bound to seek them wives, and to provide them houses, and to give them trade, or order how they may get their living, and these servants must give their masters every year so much in knowledge of their bondage, but the children of these slaves remain free.

They do celebrate all their holy-days in the night, and principally at the time of the new moons, as people that walk in darkness, with great shews and many inventions, and with much musick; and specially they do solemnize the first day of the year, which is amongst them at the time of the new moon of *March*; and therefore they trim and deck up their houses and doors with many carpets and clothes of silk, and of divers kinds of roses and flowers, planting in all the streets trees most high with their bows cut off, whereupon they hang many lights; and also of the triumphant arches which in these days they deck with bows, paint them, and hang them with clothes of damask, and divers other silks. The priests do assist in these

holy days, being richly appareled, and do offer sacrifices to their idols, singing according to their fashion, and they are all joyful with the musick; they sing very unlike one another in their voices, and use divers kinds of instruments like to citterns, viols, and viols of the bow, claricords and flutes; and altho' they be not of the self-same making as ours are here, yet they are much like to them, and are very curious, and their voices do agree with the instruments marvellously, and they make a marvellous accord in the sound. They have many shews or plays very pleasant of great entertainment for such as do understand them; they do them very naturally with great preparation, and very like to the matter which they do present them for. And all the time that these festival days do continue, they have their tables set full of meat of divers sorts, as well of flesh as of fish, and of all kind of fruits, and of most rich wines of marvellous taste, and they and their priests do nothing else but eat and drink at discretion until they cannot stand; and in that point neither the *Flemmings* nor *Almanes* do pass them.

In the principal days or feasts that every one doth keep, as in the day of his birth, they do invite their kinsfolks and friends, and bid one another, and they send delicacies and things to help them to make their feasts. There are great expences in these banquets, and those which make them for their pastimes, they spend frankly their goods in them, they are served with marvellous policy, and with strange order; and if there be one hundred guests, every one eateth alone, or by two and two, upon little tables most gallant, so gilded and painted with wild-fowl, deer, and all other sorts of birds, that they cover no table with clothes, but only compasseth the table with a border or a frontal of damask in every one, that reacheth to the ground in the ends and sides. Round about the tables they put many little baskets very curiously decked with flowers, with divers different fruits, and in the midst the meat very orderly, and prepared as well of flesh of fish; broths of divers sorts, served in rich dishes made of the white clay called *Porcelaine*, or of silver. They eat very cleanly, for they touch not their meat with their hands, but with small sticks gilded that they hold between their fingers, and with forks of silver. They drink many times, but little in quantity, and they drink it out of little cups made of the fine white earth that the *Porcelines* are made of, to the end that they would drink very little at a time. Women do help to serve in the meat and drink, and to wait at their tables; and when the tables are served, the said women do the office

office of jesters to make them merry and joyful.

They have musicians in all these banquets, and players upon divers instruments, dancers, and representers of comedies, wherewith they be recreated as people without care, and without light of the glory of heaven, not directing to any other end but to the contentment and felicity of this world, whereof they enjoy the full. The lords and the people of estimation are served with much more majesty and curiosity, for they give to them at every time they change their meat, clean napkins, knives, forks, and spoons. They use great courtesies, and good behaviour one with the other in their quaffing and drinking, making much one of another; and they are so jealous, that they suffer not their wives to eat with them in these feasts and assemblies, but they agree and eat together in some other place apart from them; and there goeth no man into the place where they are, but certain blind men that are musicians to make them merry. They use a certain curresey at their meeting, very strange; they shut their left-hand, and cover it with the right, and hold them up many times upon their breast, in token that they have them fast shut up in their hearts, and to this moving of hands they add words of courtesy. And amongst the common people that which they commonly speak when they meet any strange friends, that have not seen one the other many days before, is, that they do ask them if they have eaten; and if they do answer they have not, they carry them to the victualing houses, and make them great cheer, and do banquet them at their discretion: For, as I have said, in all places and streets, as well within the city as without, there are a great number of victualing houses, where they sell meat and drink abundantly, and many sorts of meats; and if they say that they have eaten, they carry them to other houses, where only they are served with conserves, and fruits, and shell-fish, and sundry sorts of wines, wherewithal they banquet and recreate themselves; and if there come any guests newly forth of any other place to their houses, if they find them not with their best apparel that they use to wear at a festival time, they speak not unto them, nor make any reckoning of them, until they come in the most rich apparel they have; and in apparelling themselves so, they receive them with great mirth and gladness, and great courtesy: For they have an opinion, that it is not lawful, nor that they are not bound to receive any guests which wear their common apparel, but such as do come with their festival apparel, and the best they have, to

shew them that they have caused with their coming great feasts and gladness in their houses.

They use to make very much of them at their coming, and their kinsfolk, neighbours and friends come to see them, and carry them a water made of certain herbs sodden, that is somewhat bitter, and of a red colour, which is very healthful, and such as they use ordinarily for to preserve them in health.

All people in general give themselves to labour, as well in tilling the fields as in other sciences and arts, and in the trade of merchandise, not permitting any idle men: Neither is there any poor people that do beg among them, nor do they give them any alms, for they will that all get their living with their labour. And therefore they have this order, if there be any that are lame and cripple, or of grievous diseases, and have of their kindred that are able to sustain them, and do it not, the chief treasurer of the king and other officers in that place do force them to do it, and so they give them what they have need of, according to the ability that every one hath; and if they have no kinsfolks that are of wealth, then they command to prove the same before their officers or ministers of justice, that they may command them to be received into hospitals that the king hath to this end in every place, with ordinary officers that do minister and give to every one what they have need of abundantly, which cost proceedeth of his rents, and for the most part all these are incurable until they die, they have their names set down in their rolls, and they themselves and the chief treasurer, and keeper of the accompts of the king's rents do visit the officers, and do take account of the charges and provision of the sick people. And if they find that they have not done their duties as they are bound to do, in serving and cherishing them, they are chastened without any forgiveness. And for the blind men being poor, they ordain that they labour and work, and get their meat in grinding of wheat and rice in mills, in place of moiles. And the blind women which are strumpets, they appoint other women to govern, trim, and deck them, which have their sight, and have left this kind of naughty living. They are all very ingenious and fine of wit, to do any thing with their hands, and chiefly they which use to paint pictures, for they are marvellous painters of all kind of birds, as it is well seen by the beds, tables, windows, targets, and other like, which they bring from thence to *Portugal*, and very quick of natural understanding, and to find out all kind of art. They have many coaches and waggons, carried with horses.

No beggars.

They

They use abroad in towns and villages waggons that are carried under sail with the wind, and they govern them as easily as barks in the water. I saw many *Portugueze* that did affirm this which had been in that country, and it proveth to be so; for in some linnen cloths are painted, which they bring from thence that I saw in *Lisbon*, there cometh painted the fashion that they are of. They have such discretion and cunning in the trade of merchandize *, that such as do use it, are commonly false liars, and full of mischief; for they do not endeavour any thing so much as to deceive them with whom they trade, as people without conscience, and clothed in deceit. There are many that go ranging from province to province, with their merchandize, carrying from one to the other the things they want, and go down to the ports of the sea to sell to strangers of the islands and realms near adjoining to them. Others there are which live continually in the cities and towns, where they have great lodges in the publick streets under those arches, and at the gate a table set, wherein they have written all the merchandize they have. That which commonly they sell, is cloth of gold and pieces of silk of divers sorts, and very curious, whereof are many crimsons, damasks, and taffetas, of so high a price, that the *Portugueze* dare not give for them that which they are worth, although it be a merchandize that most of all others they buy to carry to *Malaca*, and to other parts and realms of that sea coast, and to the *Indies*, and to *Portugal*. Their merchants of lower degree, do sell fine and coarse serge of all colours, and pieces of linnen cloth, and cotton wool, whereof the poor people do apparel themselves. They which have simple medicines, have their sign set at their doors. Within the land is great store of rubarb, but it is brought to *Canton* sodden, and not raw. They sell the *Porcelans*, which is the fine dishes made of white clay, at the gates of the city; there are of divers sorts; those which are most fine are not commonly sold, nor they are not brought into these parts; for the governors, presidents, and lords, are served with them; they are red, green, gilded, and some yellow; they are made of a white soft stone, and some are red,

but the red is not so good, because it is of a more strong and base clay, which being ground, is laid in certain ponds of water, which they have made of free-stone, and some are limed upon, but very clean; and after they have it well wet, and turned to and fro in the water, of the cream or skim that remains upon the water, they make those which are most fine, and the lower they go so much the more coarse; and of that which remaineth lowest, they make the grossest or coarsest, whereof the common people are served; and they are fashioned even in the sort and manner as our earthen dishes are made here; and they dry them in the sun, and after they paint them, as they list, with the ink of *Anil*, which is fine, as by them you may perceive; and when they are dry, they glaze them, and they bake them. In the province called *Saxij*, are made the best, and the greatest fair and sale of them, where they are most sold is *Liampo*, which is a city of the same province. The artificers and craftsmen are dwelling in the open places and streets, as they are here. There are goldsmiths, that work upon gold and silver curiously, and marvellous gilders and gravers of gold, which have great shops full of compting-houses, and painted and garnished chests; and many chairs gilded with gold, and some with silver, of such as they carry their governors and other chief officers of their common-wealths on their shoulders, which are very rich and of great price, and especially one sort of them which are made very high, and are covered with windows made with a lattice of ivory, that they which are within may see those that are without, and they not seen. These do serve to carry women when they pass in the city. They have many rich beds, tables, stools, and small chests, so gilded and curiously wrought and painted with gold, and other materials, that it is wonderful to our great artificers that we have here. I had in my custody a small compting chest, and I shewed it in *Lisbon*, where I bought it, and in *Seville* unto the most curious men, and of most knowledge in all arts that were in those cities at that present; and with great admiration they said to me, that in all *Europe* was none that would take upon them

* I must add here what a modern traveller has said on the same head: No nation, says *Le Comte*, is more fit for commerce and traffick, and understand it better; one can hardly conceive by what arts they will insinuate into the affections of those with whom they deal, to manage a fair opportunity to over-reach them; every thing serves their turn, and is precious to them; because there is nothing but what they know how to improve; and if their labour and natural industry were accompanied with a little more honesty, no merchants in the world could vye with them; But their essential quality is to deceive and cosen, when it lies in their power, and there is nothing capable of being falsified, but they will do it: Nay, says he, they can even counterfeit a gammon of bacon so well, that often when the buyer has boiled it a sufficient time, and set to be eaten, he finds it to be no better than a large piece of wood under a Hog-skin. *Le Comte's Character of the Chinezse*, p. 240, 241.

them to make the like, nor understand the work that was in it.

There are many workmen of latten, which do work an infinite number of all sorts of vessels, of the which they serve and provide all the islands of those seas, and of other vessels of iron, whereof they are cunning artificers, and they melt them according as they melt the latten in *Norway*, but it is more like to glass, for it breaketh easily.

There are more shoe-makers than of any other science, because it is a thing that is much used and spent. In the city of *Canton*, there are two great streets of them without any other person of any other occupation that dwell amongst them, but there are many scattered abroad in other places of the city. In one of these streets are sold rich stuff, wherewith they make boots and shoes that are covered without with silk of colours, with rich strings, which is made very gallantly. There are boots of ten ducats price, and of one ducat, according to their goodness, and shoes of two ducats, and so downwards unto a marvedy, which is the sixth part of a penny, and are of straw, that the rich and poor may wear every one as he listeth, and as their ability serveth.

In all other arts there are a great number of craftsmen very curious, and of all things great abundance. And they are so given to their own profit, that of dog's bones, and of other beasts, they serve themselves therewith instead of ivory, and of old rags and rinds of trees, and of canes, they make paper, and of small pieces of silk; of this they serve themselves to write upon, and the rest for to roll pieces of damask, and taffetees, and other silks in. They buy the dung of the houses for their ground in the fields, and especially for their garden-herbs. They bring up birds to sing, and they teach them to make visages; they apparel themselves of divers fashions. They make all these inventions and many

other to get money wherewithal to pass their life.

The money that is among them is of copper, but that which most runneth amongst them is gold * and silver, which is changed for the value in weight, as it is in *Peru*. All of them bring their balance and broken silver to buy meat, and the rest of the things which they have need of. And when they buy any thing of great quantity, they have balances in their houses, and great weights made just and marked †. They bring their silver commonly full of dross, to make it increase, which is the cause that altho' they have many mines, they carry it as merchandise from *Japan*, and much gold out of the islands called *Lechios*. These islands are one hundred leagues more towards the east from the city of *Chincheo*, which is in the province of *Fo-quiem*.

The first island standeth in twenty-five degrees of height, and there are many other following in the course of the east north-east; towards the north they are all fruitful and temperate, and of marvellous good waters. The people that dwell on them are more white than tawny, and well apparelled, and use armour. They were subject in the old time to the people of *China*, and therefore they are much of their manners; but now they are of themselves, and being in the midst of the sea, yet they give themselves little to navigation. Of the fruits that the people of *China* do gather, and the merchandise which they trade in, they pay to the king a tribute very easy. The greatest burden they have is, that they which keep houses by themselves, do pay for every person of their household the value of threescore marvedies, which is here eleven pence. And with this all their goods and lands are free to do with them what they list, and to leave them to their children, and childrens children after their deaths, which is the cause that they labour so much as they do to increase them.

* *Le Comte* says, that gold is no more current in *China*, than precious stones are in *Europe*, and that the silver money hath no regular figure, and that its value is only known by weight.

† The *Chinese* divide their pound-weight, as we do, into sixteen ounces, each ounce into ten parts, called *Tien*; each of these into ten penny-weights, and each penny-weight into ten grains; and to these must be added other smaller divisions, which decrease in the same proportion, that one has to ten, but our language has no name for them. *Le Comte, ib.*

C H A P. X.

Sheweth of the Navigation that the People of China have in the Seas, and also in the Rivers.

THERE are in this realm an infinite number of ships and barks*, wherein they sail by the islands and coasts of the same, which are large, and by those great rivers which do run thro' many parts of the same, in such sort as it is thought there do dwell few less people on the water than on the land, the great store of timber that they have do help them much thereunto; and the minerals of iron, and other necessary things for the art of navigation, by the abundance whereof it is easy to make their ships and barks with very little cost. The greatest ships they have are called *Juncos*, which are very great, and are made for the wars, with castles very high in the poop and prore, like to the ships of *Levant*. There are so many of these, that it is easy for any general of the sea to join together in little time a navy from five hundred to a thousand of them, of the same making and greatness. They have others for loading, but they are lower of poop and prore.

Other smaller ships they have, which

they call *Bancoens*, which do carry three great oars in every side, with four or six men to every oar, and such serveth them much for to go in, and come forth of the hard havens. And others there are called *Lanteas*, that row with seven or eight oars. These two sorts of small ships (altho' they be for lading) yet the pirates and thieves use them, for there are many in all these coasts and islands, by reason they sail well. Also they use other small ships, that are long like to gallies, wherein they load great store of merchandice, to carry up and down by the rivers within the land: These draw little water, after the fashion of *Flanders* hoys.

There are another sort of small ships and barks different to these, and such great numbers be of them that is wonderful, but the relation thereof is known notoriously, and all serveth to carry merchandise from one place to another within the said realm; because it is forbidden that any man shall go forth of it for any foreign place, altho' that in old time † they sailed much abroad, and

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* There is yet, says *Le Comte*, such a great number of them in all the southern provinces, that they always keep nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine ready equipped, amongst those that are design'd for the emperor, or so prodigious a number that they cannot be reckoned.

† There are some, says *Le Comte*, who pretend that the *Chineze*, a long time before the birth of our Saviour *Christ*, had sailed all the seas of *India*, and discovered the *Cape of Good Hope*. However that be, it is most certain, that from all antiquity they had always stout ships; and albeit they have not perfected the art of navigation, no more than they have done the sciences, yet did they understand much more of it than the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and at this day they sail as securely as the *Portugueze*.

Their vessels are like ours of all rates, but the model is not so fine; they are all flat bottom'd; the fore-castle is cut short without a stern, the stern open in the middle to the end, that the rudder, which they shut up as in a chamber, may be defended on the sides from the waves; This rudder, much longer than ours, is strongly tied to the stern-post by two cables that pass under the whole length of the vessel to the fore-part; two other such cables hold it up, and facilitate the hoisting or lowering it, as occasion serves; the bar is as long as is necessary for the guiding it; the seamen at the helm are also assisted by ropes fastened to the larboard and starboard, and rolled upon the extremity of the bar they hold in their hand, which they fasten or slacken as they see occasion, to thrust or stop the helm.

The misen-mast is quite towards the fore-part, the main-mast is not far from the place where we place our mizens. A cord that goes from starboard to larboard, according as the wind chops about, serves them for a stay and shrouds; the bolt-sprit, which is very weak, is at the larboard, at a considerable distance from the middle, where we are wont to place them. The round tops they use are very short, but the main-mast is of a prodigious height and thickness; it is strongly seized, as far as the upper part of the deck, by two side beams, that strengthen it wonderfully; yea, and deprive it of playing, which we leave to ours, because it serves to give the vessel air, and to quicken its motion.

The low sails are of very thick matt, trimm'd up with laths and long poles to strengthen them, from two feet to two feet, fastened to the whole length of the masts by several little loops; they are not fastened in the middle, but have three quarters of their breadth loose, that they may be accommodated to the wind, and readily tack about as occasion serves. A great many small cords hanging at the sides of the sail, where they are placed at several distances from the sail-yard to the bottom, are gathered up, and keep tight the whole length of the matt, and further the motion when the ship's course is to be changed.

As for the okam to caulk withal, they do not use melted pitch and tar, but a composition made of lime and oil, or rather of a particular gum with flax of rasped bambou; this matter is not subject to the accidents of fire, and the okam is so good that the vessel seldom or never leaks; neither do they ever use the pump, a well or two serves to keep the keel dry. In your huge vessels the anchors are of iron; in the middle sort they are of an hard, heavy wood, and they only strengthen the ends; but I have observed this is not sufficient; for a spring-tide, or a fresh gale of wind, runs the ship a-drift, when it is not well anchored; and, to spare the cost of an iron anchor, they often run the risk of being cast away. As for the cables, they are of flax of coco, canvas, or rotin.

conquering the islands and realms of that sea, until they came to the *Indies*; and at this day there is memory of them in the coast of *Coromandel*, which is over against the realm of *Narvinga*, on the side of the sea of *Bengal*, where *St. Thomas* built his house, where, by report, remains to this day the relicks of his body.

There is a great temple of idols, which serveth for a mark to such as do sail in that sea-coast, which is low as *Holland* is, and is called the coast of the *Chineze*, because the people of *China* built it in times past. And in the realm of *Calicut* are trees of fruit, which have been there of long time, and the natural born people of the country do say that their nation planted them. And in the shoulds of *Chiloe* which doth extend unto the island of *Ceylam* towards the west part of *Coromandel*, it is affirmed by those of the land, that there was lost a great fleet of their ships which came upon the *Indies*, by means they were not perfect in the navigation of those seas. And it is also said, that they were lords of *Laoa*, and of the realms of *Malaca*, *Siam*, and *Chapan*, as commonly it is affirmed. And it seemeth to be so, by reason that all the people of these realms are in manners and conditions like to those of the *Chineze*. But in this point as it seemeth they had more wisdom than the *Greeks*, *Carthaginians*, and *Romans*, the which for to conquer other strange countries far off, went so far from their way, that they came to lose their own countries at home. And considering this, they would not so experiment their harms and hurts any longer; but seeing how the *Indians* did consume them much people, and also great riches of their own realm, and that they were much troubled and tired of their neighbours, at such time as they went abroad conquering other king's lands, and having in their own country gold, silver, and all other metal, and much natural riches of their own country, and such great store of merchandize, that all other foreign nations did profit by, and themselves not profit of the benefits of any other country. All the governors of these provinces determined to consult hereabout, and to be humble suitors to their own king, which at that time was to yield a remedy in this case; who did establish by law, and at this day it is kept very precisely, that no subject of his should sail forth of his realm upon pain of his life; and that neither by sea nor land, no stranger should come to his land, without the express licence of the governors of the country where they arrive. With this order and

All politic law concerning strangers of very great advantage to a nation.

manner the *Portuguese*, and all other nations which go thither, do now trade; and when the natural people of the country will go from one province to another, they give sureties to return within a certain time which is appointed them. And they suffer them not to carry with them any ships above the burthen of one hundred tons, or one hundred and fifty, because they should not go far off. And to the end the ships of the realm, and other strange ships that come thither in the trade of merchandize, may go safe and come safe; for that purpose the king hath great ships armed and warlike, which run by all these coasts and islands to seek out thieves and pirates; and within the rivers they have for this purpose, many small armed ships very good of sail, and especially those that run by the province of *Cansi*, which standeth right over against the *Laos* and the *Bramenez* their enemies, and also by other provinces where need is, for to assure in safety such as are traders with their goods and merchandizes; and because they may have good dispatch in the ports, they have established by law of the realm, and the first ship which shall come in, shall first be laden and dispatched, and the rest as they come in by their order. They carry in all these ships galleries very curious in the poop over the helm, and by imitation whereof the *Portuguese* do use the like now in their galleons and ships that go for the *Indies*. And also they use a kind of *Bitumen*, or pitch, which they learned of them, which they call the pitch that is made of lime and oil of fish, and common sort of pitch, made very small, and so incorporate, which is put between the sides of the ships, and another new lining of boards, that is made upon the old unto the place where the waters do ordinarily come, which is as much as to say, the leading mark when they are laden; and after that in place of pitch, they turn to cover the new lining with the said new kind of pitch, which is so profitable to the board or table, that never after it entereth any worm, and within short time it is made so hard with the water as a stone. And with this the ships of *China* endure a long time, in such sort that they have put some of their ships called *Iuncos* the same sort of pitch four or five times, that their side is as hard as a wall; but they remain with this kind of fortification very heavy to go with the sail. They use a certain kind of pumps made of many pieces, like to *Anarias* of *Spain*, put along by the ship's sides within, so artificially, that one man sitting and moving his feet continual-

* *Le Comte* says, as noted before, that they never use a pump, for that a well or two serves to keep the keel dry.

ly as one that goes up a pair of stairs, pumpeth a great ship in a little time, altho' she make very much water.

The great store of barks that are for service in rivers are innumerable, and it is to the barkmen an inheritance and continuation. They carry in them their wives and children in one side of them, covered like a house, and in the other side they have made a place for the ease of their passengers. And as the rivers are very great, and broad and navigable, there are in them continually many barks like to victualing-houses, where is to be had meat and drink very delicious; and there are likewise to be sold all fine sorts of merchandize that are to be found in the great cities. Also there are many poor people of the village, which are sitting at the river sides; they dwell also in barks in the water, without having any other place to go unto; the men, their wives, and children, they bring their covering for to defend them from the rain, and from the sun, and they breed in them hens, geese, and pigeons, and in the out-side they make a little garden, wherein they plant flowers, and some garden herbs. These get their living in going to work in the country in the small villages at all kind of work. And the women they pass over by bark the way-faring men, if any come, and they also go up and down the river with great long canes, and certain small baskets made of twigs tied at the end, wherewithal they catch shell-fish for to sustain themselves. In other greater barks goeth people of wealth, and some barks do appertain to rich men, where their servants are; they have in them certain great cages, made of canes as long as the bark, wherein they are accustomed to bring up three or four thousand ducks, which they bring up in this manner: When it is day, they give them sod rice, not so much as may fill them, and immediately they set open the door where they are, that they may cast themselves in the river, by a door that is made of the same canes; and it is a marvellous thing to see the haste how they go out one upon another, until they come to land, where they go feeding all the day until night in the places where roses do grow. The owners of the roses do give the barkmen rewards, because they make clean the places where the roses grow of the grass that grows among them, and at night they make a sign or noise with a small drum, and then they come all home. And although there are divers barks together, they know to which bark they should go, by reason of

the sound, and they return into the same bark with the like fury they went forth. And because there may be moved some question after what sort they rise and breed such great multitudes of ducks and water-fowl, you shall understand that in the summer time they put two or three thousand eggs into dung, and with continual warmth and gentle heat thereof, and with the time, there cometh forth this brood, as the chickens do in *Grand Cairo* in *Egypt* *; and in the winter they make a great hearth, upon the which they put a great number of eggs, and underneath they make a soft, mild, and gentle fire, and so it continueth in one sort for certain days, until these broods come forth; and this is the cause that there is such multitudes of them. The barks of these fishers, as well in the sea, as in the rivers, are innumerable; for the which cause it is manifest, that it is the best provided country of fish that is in the whole world; for, as I have said, although it be five hundred leagues within the land, they eat every day fresh fish of the sea. And because this should not seem incredible, I will refer me to the order that they have there for every year in the months of *February* and *March*, and part of *April*, when the great freshes do come. The fish of the sea do come to cast their spawn or eggs, at the going forth of the rivers, which is the cause that there doth breed great store of small fish in the creeks thereof, to which places all the fishermen do come that dwell along the coast, with their barks and nets with them; they fish of this fish, and they cast them into certain ponds, which they make in the water, after the manner of a round circle, upon great rods and coarse nets, where they live and are sustained until the fishing be done, which dureth certain days. In this time there they use to come down a great multitude of barks of all the provinces of the *Chineze*, of the innermost part of the land, in the which barks they bring many baskets made of twigs, and lined with paper laid upon with oil, that the water may not come forth, and every one of these do buy the fish that they have need of, according to the baskets that they do bring, and forthwith they return again into the land, moving them every day into other water, for to sell them where best they may be paid for them; and all men that are of ability do buy of these baskets for the storing of their ponds, which they have at their houses, and places of their inheritance. And they are made to grow and in-

* See this method of hatching chickens, &c. particularly described in *Timberlake's journey to Jerusalem*, in the first volume of the *Harleian Miscellany*, p. 327.

crease in short time with the dung of kine; and in all the ditches of the city there is cast in, and do breed after this sort great quantities, the which the governors and officers of the king do enjoy, whereby is understood the marvellous industry which they use for to enjoy the great abundance thereof. And the king hath for these fishings in all the cities that are built upon the rivers sides, many sea ravens or cormorants put into cubes, where they breed and multiply, with the which cormorants there is made a great fishing *. And the barks that are appointed for this fishing do come together, and are put in compass in the midst of the river, and they do bind fast the gorges or maws of these birds, because the fish should not descend down to the guts, and they cast them out to fish, and to swallow down until they fill their maws of small fishes, and if they meet with any great one, they take him out of his bill, wherewithal they return into the bark to cast out all he hath taken. After this sort

they continue their fishing, until they have what they will, and then they unloose them, and do return them to their places, that they may fill themselves at their own will, and so they put them into their cubes as before. Some part of these fishes the king doth give to his officers, and the rest is distributed for the provision of the cities for to increase his revenues. The barks wherein the governors and the officers do sail in, have their coverings high, and their cabins very well wrought, and gilded both without and within, with their windows and casements adorned with fine shews. And the barks of the officers of lower degree, are well near built after the same manner, and with as much gallantry. There are so many barks of the one sort and of the other, that they say commonly that their king may make a bridge upon barks, that will reach from *China* to *Malaca*, which is five hundred leagues distant.

A strange thing worthy the noting.

CHAP. XI.

Sheweth of the Letters, Cyphers, and Figures, of the People of CHINA, and of their Studies in general.

THE people of *China* have no number of letters in their A, B, C, for all that they write is by figures, signifying the heaven, which they call *Guant*; by one only figure, which is this † And the king which they call *Bontai*, which is this ♪. And in like order ♡ the earth, the sea, and the rest of the elements, and names, using more than five thousand

cyphers or figures †, different one from the other, which they make very readily. I saw a *Chineze* do it, and I requested him to write certain names, and he shewed to me the numbers that they do account withal, and they were easy to understand, and to sum and rest any manner of accompt by arithmetick by them as well as by those of our cyphers; they make the lines

* This extraordinary way of fishing is still in use among them, which is thus described by Mr. *Le Comte*, who takes no notice of the former method, and adds some other particulars as follows: Besides the line, nets, and the ordinary instruments we make use of in *Europe*, which they employ as well as we, they have moreover two ways of catching fish, that seem to me very singular and odd: The first is practised in the night, when it is moon-shine; they have two very long strait boats, upon the sides of which they nail, from one end to the other, a board about two foot broad, upon which they have rubbed white varnish, very smooth and shining; this plank is inclined outward, and almost toucheth the surface of the water: That it may serve their turn, it is requisite to turn it towards the moon-shine, to the end that the reflection of the moon may increase its brightness; the fish playing and sporting, and mistaking the colour of the plank for that of the water, jerk out that way, and tumble before they are aware, either upon the plank or into the boat, so that the fisherman, almost without taking any pains, hath in a little time his small bark quite full.

The second manner of fishing is yet more pleasant: They breed in divers provinces, cormorants, which they order and manage as we do dogs, or even as we do hawks for the game; one fisherman can very easily look after an hundred; he keeps them perched upon the sides of his boat, quiet, and waiting patiently for orders, till they are come at the place designed for fishing; then at the very first signal that is given them, each takes its flight, and flies towards the way that is assign'd it. 'Tis a very pleasant thing to behold how they divide amongst them the whole breadth of the river, or of the lake; they seek up and down, they dive, and come and go upon the water an hundred times, till they have spy'd their prey; they do then seize it with their beak, and immediately bring it to their master. When the fish is too big, they help one another interchangeably, one takes it by the tail, another by the head, and go after that manner in company to the boat, the men hold out long oars to them, upon which they perch themselves with their fish, and they suffer the fishermen to take the prey from them, that they may go seek for another. When they are weary, they let them rest a while, but give them nothing to eat till the fishing is over; during which time, their throats is tied with a small cord, for fear they should swallow the little fish, and when they have filled their bellies, refuse to work longer.

† See the appendix to this chapter.

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throughout both above and beneath very equal and with great order, beginning contrary to us. After the self same order they have in their impressi^{on}, which they used many years before it was used in *Europe*. Of their printed books which doth treat of their histories, there were two of those books in the power of the most excellent queen of *Portugal* the lady *Katherine*, that now liveth. And that which seemeth most to be marvelled at is, that they speaking different languages in the most part of their provinces, and the one understand not the other by speech, more than the *Gascoigns* do understand the *Valentians*, yet generally they understand one another by writing; for one manner of figure or cypher doth serve every one of them, and to signify to them any manner of name; and although they declare one to another of them any word that is strange, yet they understand that it signifieth the self-same thing, because they see plainly, that it doth signify a city, which is this 4 9 r, and some call it *Leombi*, and others *Fu*, the one and the other do understand that it is to be understood a city, and the like followeth in all other names. And in this sort they talk with one another in writing; those of *Lapaon*, and islands of the *Leebios*, and the realm of *Guachinchina*, without understanding any word the one with another when they speak. In all cities the king hath general schools at his own cost, and to them do come an infinite number of scholars to be taught. A friar, named *Gasper de la Cruz*, being a religious man of *Portugal*, of the order of saint *Dominick*, that was in that country in the city of *Canton*, and that wrote plentifully the things he saw, and that which happened to him in the voyage, saith, that they teach in these their schools, only the laws of their realm and no other science. But there be some learned men that have knowledge of the course of the heavens, whereby they know the eclipses of the sun and of the moon, and these teach to particular persons of their own free-will. And *John de Barros* doth say, that besides the teaching of their own laws, they also teach natural philosophy, and that they are great astrologers, which he knoweth by relation of others, and by a book they brought him from thence of these imitations of the country, with a commentary upon the same after the manner of an itinerary, with a map or card

Strange effect in their writing.

Free-schools.

Their laws taught in schools.

Astronomers.

geographical made by the said people of the *Chineze*, wherein is mention made of one wall which beginneth from the city of *O-coioy*, and standeth between two very high mountains, even like unto a way, A notable passage, or gate, that passeth through that wall. whole region, which doth run from forty-three to forty-five degrees from west to the east, and until it meets with another great hill, which runneth out into the easterly seas, after the manner of a head-land, or cape, and seemeth to be in length more than two hundred leagues, which the king in times past did command to build, for to defend the incursions of the *Tartars* from his country, their antient mortal enemies. And all those mountains, rivers, cities, and towns, with their names, which card or map did answer well to the book, after the manner as they use there, is after three sorts, that is, by stature, league, and journey, and we use the like. And the first and least distance they call *Lij*, which have so much space as in a plain ground, and in a calm day the voice of a man may be heard, and ten of these *Lij*'s do make one *Pu*, which do answer little more than a league of our's of *Spain*; and ten *Pu*'s do make a day's journey, which they call *Ichan*. And it is not to be marvelled at, that they do not situate the distance of the land with degrees answering to the celestial orb, seeing that at the time of *Ptolomy* it was not used of the geographers, notwithstanding that he saith they have this use in their *Oroscopos*, when they use their astrology.

The king doth send to these scholars every year visitors to examine the students, Visitors of to see and understand if they profit in learn- schools. ing: And those which are able and learn well, they honour with words of commendation, and do animate them that they go forward in their study, offering them to increase their livings; and those which do not profit in learning, they command to be put in prison, and they whip them; and when they are altogether unprofitable, they dispatch them away every three years. The visitors use this kind of examination, when they come to take residence of the judges and the king's officers; and they bring power and authority to graduate such as are able men, and of sufficient knowledge in the law, which is to make them sufficient for to serve the king in offices and governments, as it is more at large declared in another chapter following.

APPENDIX to CHAP. XI. Concerning the Language and Characters of the Chineze.

THE *Chineze* language hath no analogy with any of those that are in vogue in the world, no affinity neither in

the sound, in the pronunciation of the words, nor yet in the disposing and ranging of the conceptions. Every thing is mysterious

mysterious therein, and you will, no question, stand amazed, to understand that all the words of it may be learnt in two hours, altho' there is required several years study to speak it: that one may be ready to read all the books, and to understand them perfectly, without apprehending any thing, if another read it; that a doctor may compose a book with all the elaborateness possible, and this very same doctor may not know enough of it to explain himself in ordinary conversation; that a mute, instructed in the characters, might, with his fingers without writing, speak as fast as his auditors can conveniently hear him. In a word that the self-same words do often signify quite different things, and of two persons that shall pronounce them, it will be a compliment in the mouth of the one, and foul

language in the mouth of the other. These paradoxes, how surprising soever they may seem, are very true; and you will grant it, if you please to give yourself never so little trouble, to cast your eyes upon what follows.

This tongue contains no more than *three hundred and thirty words*, or thereabouts, all of one syllable, or at least they seem to be so, because they pronounce them so succinctly, that a man can scarce distinguish the syllables: altho' it be a tedious thing to read the whole series of them, yet I shall describe them in this place, as well to let you understand the tone, as to give you the satisfaction to see, at one view, comprised in one single page, a language so ancient, so famous, and I may say, so eloquent as this is.

A LIST of all the Words that form the Chineze Tongue.

Ca	guei	ie	lié	ngai	pouen	ta	tfiou
cai	hai	ien	lien	ngan	poum	taï	tfo
cam	ham	iéou	lieou	ngao	pouon	tam	tfou
can	han	im	lim	ngue	qua	tan	tsu
cao	hao	in	lin	nguen	quoue	tao	tsui
co	he	io	lio	ngeou	quouai	te	tsoum
cou	hem	iu	liu	ngeou	quouam	tem	tsun
coue	hen	iue	lo	ngo	quoueï	teou	tsuon
coum	heou	iuen	lou	ni	quouen	ti	tcha
cha	hi	iun	louï	niam	qouo	tiao	tchai
chay	hia	iun	loun	niau	quouon	tie	tcham
cham	hiai	ke	louan	niao	fa	tien	thcan
chan	hiam	kem	louon	ni	faï	tieou	tchao
chao	hiao	ken	lun	nien	fam	tim	tché
ché	hie	keou	ma	nieou	fan	to	tchen
chin	hien	ki	maï	nio	fao	tou	tcheou
chéou	hieou	kia	mam	nim	fé	touï	tchi
chï	him	kiao	man	niu	fem	toum	tchim
chiao	hin	kié	mao	no	fen	tun	tchin
chim	hio	kien	mau	nou	feou	touon	tcho
chin	hiu	kïeou	me	noui	fi	tfa	tchoua
cho	hiuè	kim	mem	noum	fiam	tfaï	tchouam
choa	hieuen	kin	men	nouon	fiao	tfam	tchu
chou	hioum	kio	meou	nun	fié	rfan	tchoua
chouaon	hiun	kiu	mi	o, ou	fien	tfao	tchouen
choue	ho	kiue	miao	pa	fiéou	tfé	tchouè
choui	hao	kïeuen	mié	paï	fim	tfem	tchoum
choum	haoï	kioum	mien	pam	fin	tféou	tchun
choun	hoam	kiun	min	pan	fio	tfi	üa
fa	hoan	la	mo	pao	fiou	tfiam	vaï
fam	hoé	laï	mou	pe	fiuè	tfiao	vai
fan	hoei	lam	mouen	peou	fiuen	tfié	vam
féou	hoen	lan	moui	pi	fiun	tfien	van
fi	hou	lao	moum	piao	fo	tfieou	ven
fo	houm	le	mouon	pié	fou	tfim	ve
foe	houon	leam	na	pïen	fiu	tfin	vi
foi	y	leao	naï	pim	foui	tfio	vo
fou	ya	lem	nam	pin	fu	tfiu	von
fouen	yai	leou	nan	po	foum	tfiue	vou
foum	yam	lh	nao	poi	fun	tfiuen	voum
mim	iao	li	nem	pou	fouon	tfioum	oum

These few words will not be sufficient to express a man's self aptly upon all subjects, to supply words for arts and sciences, to maintain eloquence in discourse, or in writing, which is very different among the *Chineze*, if they had not an art to multiply the sense, without multiplying the words. This art chiefly consists in the accents they give them; the same word pronounced with a stronger or weaker inflexion of the voice hath divers significations; so that the *Chineze* language, when it is spoken exactly, is a kind of musick, and contains a real harmony, which composeth the essence and particular character of it.

There are five tones applied to each word, according to the sense one means to give it. The first is an uniform pronunciation without lightening or falling the voice, as if one should continue for some time the first note of our musick; the second raiseth the voice notably higher; the third is very acute; in the fourth you descend all on a sudden to a grave tone; in the fifth you pass to a more deep note, if I may presume so to express myself, by hollowing and framing a kind of base. It is very hard to explain my meaning herein any other way than by the language itself.

However, you already see, that, by this diversity of pronunciation, 333 words are made 1665; besides, one may pronounce smoothly, or asperate each word, which is very usual, and does still increase the language by half. Sometimes these monosyllables are joined together, as we put our letters together, thereby to compose different words: Nay, they do more than all that, for sometimes a whole phrase, according as it follows or goes before another, hath a quite different sense; so it plainly appears, that this tongue, so poor, so seemingly barren, yet for all that is indeed very rich and copious in furnishing us with variety of words.

But these riches cost foreigners dear to come by them; for, to make yourself understood in *Chineze*, you must give each word its peculiar accent; vary but never so little, and you fall into another tone that makes a ridiculous counter-sense: thus, if you have not a care, you may call a man Beast, when you mean to call him Sir, because the word that is common to them both hath a different sense, only by the different tone they give it: so that it is properly in this language that one may say, the tone is all in all.

This is that also that makes the *Chineze* tongue more difficult than others. When a stranger, that hath but a smattering, intends to speak *French*, says *Le Comte*, if he pronounces some words but never so little well, we easily guess at those he speaks ill,

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and we know his meaning; but in *China*, one single word, badly pronounced, is enough to render the whole phrase unintelligible; and one phrase at the beginning, that is not well heard and understood, hinders the understanding of what follows. So when one chances to come into a company where they have already begun to speak about some business, one stares about a good while without understanding, till such time as by degrees they put him in the way, and till he gets hold of the thread of the discourse.

Besides what I have been saying, this tongue hath particular characters that distinguish it from all others. First of all, they do not speak as they write, and the most quaint discourse is barbarous, harsh, and unpleasant when printed. If you would write well, you must use more proper terms, more noble expressions, more particular turns, than do occur in common discourse, and which are proper only for writing, the style of which is more different from the common elocution, than our obscurest *Latin* poets are from the smoothest and most natural prose.

Secondly, eloquence does not consist in a certain disposition of periods, such as orators affect, who, to impose upon the auditors, stuff it sometimes only with words, because they have but few things to tell them. The *Chineze* are eloquent by their lively expressions, noble metaphors, bold and succinct comparisons, and above all, by abundance of sentences and passages taken from the antients, which amongst them are of great moment: They deliver a great many things in a few words, their style is close and mysterious, obscure and not continued, they seldom make use of those particles that illustrate and connect our discourse. They seem sometimes to speak not to be understood, oftentimes they expect you should understand several things, altho' they do not mention them; so much sense and thought do they inclose in a few words!

It is true, this obscurity almost quite vanishes in respect of those who have a perfect knowledge in the characters; and a learned man, that reads a work, is seldom mistaken in it, but in speaking, one is often at a stand: and I, says the jesuit *Le Comte*, have convers'd with some doctors, who, to understand one another in familiar discourses, were obliged to describe with their finger in the air the particular letter that express'd their words, whose sense could not be determined by the pronunciation.

Thirdly, the sound of words is pretty pleasing to the ear, especially in the province of *Nankim*, where the accent is more correct than in any other part; for there,

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many pronounce the different tones so fine and delicately, that a stranger hath much ado to perceive it. Besides, they never use R, which contributes not a little to mollify that language; yet must it be allowed, that most part of the *Chineze* that pretend to speak correctly, speak very unmusically, they drawl out their words intolerably; and tho' they be all monosyllables, yet by mere extending them, they make words infinite, and like to entire phrases.

They have a termination which often occurs which we express commonly by a double *ll*; the sound comes from the bottom of the *aspera arteria*, so uncouth and unnatural, that that alone is capable of spoiling a language: but as certain forced asperations in the *Castilian* tongue do notwithstanding please the *Spaniards*, so the *Chineze* are persuaded that these same gutturals that displease us are a real grace; and that these more masculine and stronger tones give a body to their language, without which it would be apt to degenerate into an effeminate softness, which would at best have no grace but in the mouths of women and children.

Fourthly, they want abundance of sounds which we express by our letters; for example, they do not pronounce *A, b, d, o, r, x, z*, after the manner as we do in *France*; and when any one forces them to pronounce them, they always make some alteration, and use sounds that in their language come the nearest to them, never being able almost to express them exactly; which proved formerly a great difficulty for the *Chineze* priests in consecrating the host, who could not say mass in *Latin*, without falling into a ridiculous jargon. Yet there was so much pains taken to frame their tongue, that at length they have succeeded to admiration; so that the *Latin* in their mouths is not much more different from that of the *Portuguese*, than that of the *Portuguese* is from the *French*.

All that I have been saying, is to be understood of the *Mandarine* language, that is current all over the empire, which is universally understood every where; for the common people at *Fokien*, besides that, speak a particular tongue, that hath no affinity with the same, who look upon it in *China*, as we do upon the *Biscay* language, or *Basbetron* in *France*.

What relates to the *China* character is no less singular than their tongue; they have not any alphabet as we have, that contains the elements, and, as it were, the principles of the words; nay, they cannot so much as comprehend how we are able, with so small a number of figures, each of which signifies nothing, to express upon a piece of paper all our conceptions, to compose such an infinite number of books as to

stock whole libraries. This art of putting letters together, to compose words of them, to combine them both into a prodigious number of senses, is to them a hidden mystery; and that, which is so common amongst other nations, never obtained amongst them, either through the little converse they have had with other neighbouring nations, or through the small account they made of foreign inventions.

Instead of characters, at the beginning of their monarchy, they used hieroglyphicks; they painted rather than wrote; and by the natural images of things, which they drew upon paper, they endeavoured to express and convey their ideas to others; so that to write a bird, they painted its figure, and to signify a forest, they represented a great company of trees; a circle signified the sun, and a crescent the moon.

This sort of writing was not only imperfect, but very inconvenient; for besides that one express'd his thoughts but by halves, even those few, that were express'd, were never perfectly conceived, and it was, besides, utterly impossible to avoid mistakes: moreover, there needed whole volumes to express a few things, because the painting took up a great deal of room; insomuch, that the *Chineze* by little and little changed their writing, and composed more simple figures, tho' less natural: They likewise invented many to express some things that painting could not represent, as the voice, smell, senses, conceptions, passions, and a thousand other objects that have neither body nor figure; of several simple draughts they after made compound ones, and at this rate they multiplied their characters *ad infinitum*, because they destined one or more of them for each particular word.

This abundance of letters is, in my opinion, the source of the *Chineze* ignorance, because they imploy all their days in this study, and have no leisure so much as to think of other sciences, fancying themselves learned enough if they can but read. However, they are far from understanding all their letters: it is very much, if, after several years indefatigable study, they are able to understand fifteen or twenty thousand. The vulgar sort of the learned content themselves with less; and I cannot believe, that there was ever any doctor that understood the third part, for they reckon upwards of twenty-four thousand.

Amongst these characters, there are some of divers sorts. The first are almost out of use, and they preserve them only out of veneration to antiquity. The second, not so ancient by far, take place only in publick inscriptions; when there is occasion for them, they consult books, and, by the help of a dictionary, it is easy to decypher them.

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The third, much more regular and fair, serve for the impresson, and also for the ordinary writing; nevertheless, the strokes and draughts of them being very exact and curious, there needs a considerable time to write them. And for that reason, they have contrived a fourth kind of writing, the strokes whereof being more joined, and less distinguish'd one from another, facilitate the writing faster; for that reason they are called voluble letters: These three last characters do much resemble one another, and do answer to our capital letters, to the printed letters, and ordinary writing.

Instead of a pen, they use a pencil, held in the hand, not obliquely, as our painters, but directly, as if the paper were to be prick'd. The *Chineze* always write from top to bottom, and begin their first letter where ours end; so that, to read their

books, the last page must first be sought for, which with them is the beginning: Their paper being very thin and transparent, they are fain to double it, for fear lest the letters do run into one another when they write on the backside: but these doubled leaves are so even, that one can hardly perceive it.

Every body is ambitious to write fair; and, before one stands candidate to be admitted to the first degree of learning, he must give a specimen of his fair hand. A letter ill cut in a composition, in a work, in a petition, is a considerable fault; and because one stroke often alters the whole sense, there needs no more to make one, upon examination, to lose the degree of doctor, and consequently to ruin his fortune. So that all the *Mandarines* write fair, and the emperor excels in that, as in all other things.

C H A P. XII.

Sheweth how that of all this great Realm of China one only Prince is King and Lord; and of his Council and Majesty, of his House and Court.

ALL this great realm is subject to one only king and monarch, which doth govern and reign in it. And there doth succeed in the realm from fathers to sons, and for lack of them it goeth to the next in kindred; but, as they marry many wives, according to the manner of the *Turkish* emperors, very seldom times they lack successors. The first child that is born of any of his divers wives is of force inheritor of the realm; and to the rest of the children after they are married, there is appointed to them cities, wherein they shall live privately, where they are provided of all things that are needful for them, according to their degrees, with expresse commandment that they go not forth of them, nor evermore after to come at the court, upon pain of loss of their lives. And when in old time the kings married their sons, they made a solemn banquet unto all the knights and principal lords of his court, and did command to carry with them their sons and daughters richly appareled and trimmed; and in this congregation came the princes, where all the ladies were joined in company, and there they chose for their wives such as to them seemed best and fairest, and the young women did the like of the young men; but now they marry themselves with those of their own kindred. This same-self rigour that is used of shutting them up, all the rest of the king's kindred do suffer the like, being re-

sident for the most part in the city of *Canchi*, with commandment that some do never go forth of their houses to avoid all manner of occasion and suspicion of alteration.

The dwelling-houses where these princes dwell are very great, for within them they have all the pleasure and contentment that is to be thought, as well of gardens, orchards, ponds of fish of divers sorts, as also of parks, where they have divers kind of deer and fowl, such as may be had in mountains and rivers, all compassed about with walls, which maketh more compass than a great town. And as they understand in nothing else but in making much of themselves, they are commonly fat, of good conditions, peaceable, and liberal with strangers. They give themselves much to musick, wherewithal they pass the time, and in other quiet exercises. The governors and the king's officers are bound to visit them in all their festival days; and if they ride along by their doors on horseback, they alight down; and if they be carried in chairs, they descend down also, and they pass by making little noise, as men that make no shew of their authority, nor ordinary pomp as they are accustomed to do: And for this cause they have their gates of these houses painted with red oker, because they shall be known. There is not in all this realm any lord that hath subjects, or jurisdiction, or other

Ample houses with princely pleasures.

Painted gates.

other title, than of an officer, which is the most honourable title they have, and it doth signify in their language as much as if we in our language should say, lord and knight. It is gotten by study, and sufficiency in the laws of the realm, and by worthiness in the field, and by particular service made to the king or to the common-wealth. Those which are chosen for the laws of the realm, and for men of war, are extolled according to the deserts that every one do, until they come to be presidents and governors of the provinces, and general captains in the sea and in the land; and they are occupied also in other offices of the house and court of this prince, and to be of the king's council, which is the highest office that is. Those which they make sufficient in learning they chuse in this manner.

The king doth send every three years a *Chaen*, which is as one should say, a judge of residence to every province, that he may visit the governors and officers thereof. And this visitation being ended, he doth command that in the chief city there be joined the most learned students of the most cities of that jurisdiction, and with the most learned lawyers, and of most authority, they are all examined, and such as they find sufficient, they do graduate with much solemnity, and with great ceremonies, making themselves merry in these feasts certain days with much musick, dances, comedies and banquets; wherewithal he sendeth them to the court that they may receive the signs of men of law, which are certain coys with ears, and also hats, and broad and long girdles, and there they remain until their letters patents of their offices be given them.

And such as are made for the wars, first they chuse the captains-general, exalting the valiantest soldiers with honourable and profitable rooms; for they do not let to esteem all such as do valiantly, and to reward them with great liberality, increasing their gifts according to their deserts. The rest of the offices are given by the king himself, but these rise no higher in degree, but to have this title of captain-general, for to enjoy many liberties, freedoms and gain, which is an ordinary thing to such.

This prince seldom or never goeth forth of his palace, for the conservation of his greatness, and the authority of his estate; but when he goeth to the wars, or do remove with his court. And he hath within the compass of his house all the pleasures and pastimes that may be devised for the content of mankind, and the lodgings of of his sons and kinsfolks are so great, as it is before said, whereof the majesty and greatness of his house may be imagined. And that it is not to be marveled that it is

so great, as some do say the city of *Pekin* ^{Between} is, where he is resident for the most part, ^{gate and} by reason of the great wars he hath with ^{gate more} the *Tartars*, that in one day, from sun to ^{than a days} sun, a man cannot ride from one gate to ^{journey on} another. And besides his palace, the houses ^{horseback.} are very great which appertain to those of his council, and the rest of his governors and captains, and of many other men of law, that are always resident in the court.

The same is said by the city of *Manquin*, ^{The city} where in old time the kings were accustomed to dwell and have their court, by reason ^{of Man-} it was set in a fruitful soil, fresh and calm. And in remembrance that he hath been continually resident there, they have in that city in the house of the treasurer of the king's rents in that province a table of ^{A table of} gold, wherein is written the name of the ^{gold in} king that then reigned, covered with a rich ^{that city.} curtain, and they go to it and reverence it, as tho' it were the king himself. And so all the officers and lawyers, and chief governors, are bound to draw the curtain aside in all festival days, that is in the time of the new moons, which amongst them is the first day of the month.

And in the rest of the provinces, there are other tables like to this, but they go not to them to make any reverence but when they do discover them; whereby you may understand the veneration that they give to their prince: And they give ^{The kings} him title of the Lord of the world, and the ^{title.} son of heaven.

The servants and such as serve in his house are gelded men, by reason of the number of wives they have, and so are the most part of his chief council, because that with more assurance they may go in to him, and consult with him in the business of the government of his realm, and estate of his wars, and no others do speak with him but those. His realm is so large ^{An argu-} and long, that for to go by journies from ^{ment of a} the city of *Canton* to his court, is four or ^{large do-} five months journey; and yet there are ^{minion.} other cities further. He hath knowledge every month, and relation of all things that do happen in every province, as well touching the state, wars, and rents, as of all other successes, with ordinary posts that the governors do dispatch to him for this effect. The same order of the post is as we have amongst us.

Barros doth write, that they run with collars of bells; and others that have been in the country say, they use to blow with a horn to ask horses, and to give knowledge to barks to pass rivers. The ambassadors of princes being his friends or enemies, are received with great veneration: They lodge them, and provide them of all things needful with great liberality; and when they

Graduat-
ing.

Choice of
the cap-
tains.

Rare co-
ming of
the king
abroad.

they come where the king is, all the lords and knights of the court go forth to receive them, and they give them great gifts and presents, and honour them with the title of lawyers. Some kings being far off from him, as the king of *Ana*, *Siam*, *Melitti*, *Bacham*, *Chabam*, and *Varagu*, which fall to the north parts of *Pegu*, and do acknowledge him obedience, in remembrance that in old time they were his subjects, they send him ordinarily their ambassadors with some present, and for the great journey they have to this king's court, they always send with the embassy four or five persons, every one with like authority, that if it happens some of them do die in the way, or until they be dispatched from thence; and they die not of any disease, they always poison one or two of them in some banquet, unto whom they make very sumptuous sepulchres, with epitaphs concerning what they were, and the cause of their coming, and by what prince they were sent; and this is for to continue the memory and greatness of the renown of his realm. The ambassadors of the rest of the princes are so privileged in such sort, that those of his council having condemned to death one *Bartholomew Perez*, and all the rest of his company that was sent to this country, by the governor of the *Indies*, as ambassador of the king *Don Emanuel* of *Portugal*, surmising that their embassy was false, and that they were spies, by reason of a certain relation given against them by the ambassadors of the king of *Malaca*; and the king himself understanding of the matter, did command that their embassy being false or true, it was suf-

ficient that there should be no hurt done to their persons, seeing they were entered within the realm with the title of ambassadors. Other there are that come for some common-wealths, which are lords that do owe obedience to him; they make entertainment to such, but use them with a strange kind of ceremony. When they say to them that they shall go to see the king, they appoint them the day and hour, and they cause them to go on foot, or on horseback, with bridles of straw for humility. And in coming to a great place that is before the king's house, they stay until there come unto them an officer of the king's, who doeth the office of the master of the ceremonies, and do command them to pass forwards. And at a certain place they kneel down, and hold up both their hands together, as though they pray'd to God, and they behold one quarter part of the houses of the king's palace, where they tell them that the king is, and at times in equal space, they make other five times their prayers, and without turning their shoulders, they return backwards with the like ceremonies; and this being done, they send them away. This, say they, is to go see the king. If they give them licence to say what they will, they remain in the last prayers on their knees, until there come to them an officer which is the secretary that writeth down all that they ask, and with saying to them that they will consult of it with the Lord of the world, they are sent away for that time, until they be dispatched with the determination and opinion of his chief council.

C H A P. XIII.

Sheweth of the Presidents and Officers, which are in every Province, and the Order which they have in the Government of them.

Three hundred officers in a province.

Five presidents.

THE king doth provide officers for the government of every province, besides ordinary judges, which are in some provinces more than three thousand; as also five presidents, and every one of them hath his jurisdiction by himself of divers causes; the chief of them is called the *Tutan*, which is a viceroy or governor of all the provinces, unto whom they come generally with the knowledge of all great griefs and small offences. And all the penalties thereof, the ordinary charges being taken away, he sendeth to the court, and with the relation of all the news that doth happen every month. His authority

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and majesty is so great, that he is not resident where the rest of the lawyers are; because he will not be visited and frequented of them. The second in dignity is the *Ponchasi*, which is as much as to say, the chief gatherer of the king's rents, and president of the council of the king's revenues. This office executeth he without the counsel of any lawyers. There are many other officers that do serve to recover the king's rents, with which they come to the *Tutan* as aforesaid, and it is at his charge to command to pay all mens wages, ordinary and extraordinary charges, and to take account of them, as head governor

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vernor of all inferior officers. The third in dignity is the *Anchasi*, which is the president of the civil and criminal justice, who doth see and determine with all his hearers and officers all wights and business, which go in degree of appellation to his tribunal from the rest of the ordinary judges of that province, and all other things which are convenient for the good government and expedition of justice. The fourth is the *Ayao*, who is the purveyor-general, and president of the council of wars, to whom doth appertain the living of men, and providing of ships, battles, and ammunitions, for the ships of war, that go to the sea, and for arms by land, and for ordinary garrisons of the cities and frontier towns, and to know what strangers do come, and from whence they came, and for what they will. The fifth is the *Luytisi*, which is the captain-general that doth put in execution that which is ordained by the *Ayao* and those of his council. And when there is given occasion of any wars of importance with any mighty prince, then goeth this president in person to rule or govern in them. All these officers are of great authority; and such as are officers under them, are well taken, and of great estimation. Every one of them, except the *Luytisi*, have ten hearers, or judges, in his council, which do assist him, ordinarily for the dispatching of business, which are men of great authority and estimation; and when they be in counsel, five of them do sit of the right side of the president, and five of the left. Those that sit on the right side be of more preheminance than the other five, in that they wear girdles of gold, and yellow hats; and they of the left side, do wear girdles of silver, and their hats are blue. And it is not permitted that any other judges of the law wear these girdles of gold and silver, and hats of these colours, unless they be such as are captains or other officers of the men of war. And if by chance the president die, there doth succeed in his place the most antient judge next to him. And where there is any need to go to visit the province, there goeth one of them with the authority that every one of them have to put order in the thing that is convenient to be reformed. These presidents and the other judges do bring in their shoulders and breasts the king's arms, and they are a certain kind of serpents woven with threads of gold. They have many other inferior officers; and although they be but lawyers, they always speak to them kneeling on their knees, except only the head keeper of the prisons, which is an office amongst them of much estimation. This man when he cometh in kneeleth down,

and riseth up again when he speaketh to them. And when these judges come newly to the provinces, there go forth to receive them all the men of the war with many banners and other soldierlike shews, and all the rest of the lawyers and officers with great mirth and joy. They have on these days all the streets very much decked with divers sorts of silk, and with bows and branches, and with divers sorts of flowers of most sweet smell, and they accompany them unto the streets, where they must lodge, with much musick and divers sorts of instruments; likewise the king doth command to provide, with the opinion of all his council, all the rest of the ordinary officers of the cities and towns of his realm, with consideration that they be not of the said country, whither they shall go to minister justice, that they be not moved by affection to do what they ought not, nor behave themselves with insolence, nor yet that they be not made mighty, with the authority in commanding, in such sort that they may cause some insurrection and alteration. These lawyers, nor the rest of the officers that are appointed to them, of these supreme offices, do not make any manner of preparation when they depart from the court, to the place of their governments, but only of apparel and a few servants that serveth them, for in all places where they shall pass through, the king hath at his cost houses appointed, and officers that shall lodge and serve them with all things necessary; and do provide for them horses and barks, if they have need of them. And for their meat it is appointed what shall be given to every one of them according to his degree and office. And this liberality they use with all the rest of the lawyers generally, although they go not provided of offices. At such time as they come, they ask them if they will have their stipend that is appointed for them, in meat or money; if they will have it in meat, they serve them very daintily, as to men as have authority to command to whip these officers, if they do not their duties. And when they will lodge in the house of some of their acquaintance or friends, because they will be at more liberty to be merry, then they give them that portion as is appointed to them in money. All these houses are very well provided for, by such as have the charge of them; it toucheth the *Ponchasi* of the province, for that he must take account of such as are officers, of the expences that are made of all these victualing and lodging-houses. In all these houses they lodge all the ordinary officers, that they may exercise their offices, as votaries, serjeants, porters, even unto the executors of justice, unto whom the king

Their authority.

Wear the king's arms.

How respected by the lawyers.

How provided for on their circuits.

doth give meat and wages sufficiently, and are paid every month, because they should not carry nor take any bribes of any person. And for this they have an order, that none of these lawyers can provide or command any thing in justice; but that it must pass before all these officers, and in publick audience, which is done in this manner: The judge is set down in his tribunal, and at the entering in at the hall, stand the porters, which declare with loud voice, the person's name that cometh in to ask justice, and what he demandeth; who falleth down on his knees a good way from the judge, and doth propound with a loud voice his cause, or telleth them in writing what he would have. And this petition one of the votaries doth take and read with a loud voice; and being seen and heard, he doth provide and command justice to be done thereupon, and doth sign with his own hand with red ink; and if he do not so, then he doth remit to another inferior judge, that he may do it. This manner of order is kept so precisely, that by no means they can be bribed, unless the officers should understand it; and as they shall be by them absolved or condemned in their residences, they fear them; all these are very precise to execute that which they are commanded, as well votaries and serjeants as the rest. And if any of them do make any fault in their office, even at the very hour there is put in their hands a little banner, and so do hold it in their hands kneeling, until all business at that audience be dispatched and concluded. And forthwith the lawyer doth command the executioner that he gives him as many whips as to him seemeth good, which are such as shall hereafter be declared; in such sort that all those officers go always for the most part with plaisters and marks; and this is so ordinary among them, that they take it for no shame to go in that sort. When one of these judges do walk in the city, he goeth as accompanied with these ministers, officers, and other people among them; and there goeth before him eight officers by both sides of the streets; the two foremost go with maces of silver made as ours are, put into certain long staves, and they signify that these judges and lawyers are in their office in place of the king; the other two that follow, do carry two long canes in their hands on high, which do represent the true and rightful justice they ought to do; and the other two that follow after these, do carry other two canes, hailing them upon the ground, and knit to them certain long red girdles, and in the point of them certain tassels, which are the instruments of justice wherewithal they whip.

Manner of trial or passing judgment.

Corruption of justice how punished.

How the judges walk abroad.

And the two porters go with certain tables lifted up after the fashion and making of a target; wherein is written the name of the justice, and the charge and office that he hath; and those that go before these do bid with a loud voice, that they give place, because it is not permitted that any man of what degree soever he be, should pass athwart the street nor walk, as long as these judges pass, upon pain to be whipped without remission that should do against it. This prince hath so great care, that his judges and officers, as well the governors as presidents, and the rest should use their offices well, as they ought to do, that although he do send from three years to three years, officers which are called *Chænes* to take account of the judges; yet besides that from six months to six months, or from year to year, he doth dispatch with all other secrecy extraordinary judges which are called *Leachis*, and are men that he hath great trust in, and those that are very familiar with him, that they may visit those provinces with so great jurisdiction and authority, that without returning to him, they may chasten all manner of offices be they never so great, and put out of office all judges and officers at their will. And because they should execute this with the more justice, there is taken of them an oath of their faithfulness and secrecy, giving them to drink three times of the wine they use commonly to drink of, which is the manner of their oath. And because he may go with more secrecy, the secretaries do make the letters patent without any name of him that shall go, nor whither he shall go, more than to shew in the letters patent that in what place soever that lawyer shall come and present those letters patents, be he obey'd as the king himself, unto whom he sheweth by word of mouth in secret, the province whither he shall go. And so he departeth unknown, without telling unto any other whither he shall go. And coming unto the place, he teacheth and understandeth all things that are used there, and no man knoweth what he is, nor what he pretendeth, and in what sort all officers do minister justice. And this not giving knowledge of any thing what his coming is, he stayeth until a day that the presidents do join together with the *Tutam*, to make a general consultation, which is once every month. Then he goeth in to present his letters patents, and presently they arise every one of them, and go aside with great humility to hear judgment against themselves, and forthwith they are executed. And if there be any suspension, then he provides in their places other new officers; and if he find that they have served well, he

The punishment of those that interrupt them in their provision.

Changed every three years.

Judges extraordinary.

Their jurisdiction and authority.

Their oath how given.

Form of their letters patents.

Execution immediately follows judgment.

he doth honour them much, and doth remove them to better places, and of more trust. These are wont to visit the schools, and examine the students; and such as do not learn, he commandeth them to be whipt, and to be put in prison, and the unprofitable are put out of their places, and such as are virtuous, he offereth them favour, and promiseth them hope of exhibition. There is another office or dignity above all these, which is that of the *Quinchai*, and is as much as to say, the sell of gold. This man goeth not out of the court, but when any great matter doth concern the king, and of the good government, and quietness of the whole realm.

A superior officer called *Quinchai*.

His office.

In all causes, as well civil as criminal, the judges do proceed orderly in their causes, and do make their acts, and do examine two witnesses in publick before their officers and ministers, because there shall be no falshood nor deceit used in the asking of that which they know, nor in writing thereof. They examine every witness by himself, and if they do agree in their declarations and depositions, they put them aside, and do ask the one and the other, until they come to differ among themselves, because by reason that the one and the other do alledge they may come to declare the truth the better. And when they cannot understand the certainty, they whip them, and give them torment in such sort, that by one way or other, they may declare the truth effectually. They have great respect in these causes to men of estimation, of whom they presume that they are not persons that will lie. In causes of great importance, and that doth touch grave persons, the judges do not trust their votaries to write the informations, but they with their hands do set down all the acts. Of such as are prisoners for debt, there is a time appointed, wherein they shall pay them; and if they perform not, they command that there be given to them many whips, and they turn and command anew. Another time, and if they pay not, they return to whip them again; and in this sort they proceed with them until they die with stripes, if their kinsfolk do not pay for them. When any dweller will pass to another habitation in some other street, than where he dwelt before, or go to some other town, they have a custom to ring upon an empty bason, by all the neighbours, with a common crier, which shall say that such a person doth remove, and to what place, that if he owe any thing, that they come to demand it before he depart, because no person should lose any thing due to them: If this person do absent himself without making this diligence, the justices do compel all his neighbours to

Concerning prisoners for debt, how punished.

What must be done when one moves his neighbourhood.

pay all the debts that he owes, because they were so negligent, and did not advise the justice of his removing. Those which are prisoners for theft or murder, are kept perpetually in the prisons, until they die by whipping, or by hunger or cold. For although they be condemned to death, they do execute the judgment with such deliberation, that many years after they come to die for necessity, as is before declared, or of their natural death. And for this cause there is a great number of prisoners in every city and town. And it is affirmed, that only in the city of *Canton*, are accustomed to be more than fifteen thousand.

And by reason there are many people, and there is little alms given, the poor people do give themselves to steal. There is in this city, and in all the rest which are of the *Metropolitan*, thirteen prisons, and in every one of them a wall of a great circuit very high, and so large, that they have within them lodges for the head keeper and his officers, and for the soldiers of the watch, and ordinarily there are gardens, and streets and courts within, where the prisoners do walk by day, and there are many victualling-houses, where they dress meat, and do hire beds, and taylor's shops, and other arts that the prisoners do use, to sustain and maintain themselves. Of these thirteen prisons there are always occupied six of them with men, which are condemned to death, and in every one of them are an hundred soldiers and more with their captain, to keep the said prison. Every offender doth bring hanging at his neck a board, which cometh to his knees, and a span broad, wherein is written the fact wherefore he was condemned; they go with fetters, but in the day time they are taken off, by reason they may work to get wherewithal to sustain them, over and above that which the king doth give them, which is a certain measure of rice every day, unto such as are condemned to die; they shut them up in the night in certain lodges, which are near to the courts, and they make them lie upon their backs, and upon them do run certain iron chains, passed through certain collars that are between prison and prison; wherewith they are so fast made, that they cannot escape. And they lay upon them certain coverings made of timber, that there remaineth to them no more space than their length and breadth, which is a most painful imprisonment. They never execute the judgment that is given upon them, that are condemned to die, but when the *Chaenes* and *Leuchis* do go to take residence, and do make a secret visitation. Then these judges do ask for the rolls of them that are condemned, and

The penalty on the neighbourhood for neglect there of.

Punishment for theft and murder.

Prisons described, and how the prisoners are used.

When put to death, and the manner of proceeding thereon.

the causes. And altho' that their sentences are confirmed by the king and those of his council, they return to see again their sachiefs, with the rest of the lawyers that do govern; and being seen, they chuse among six or eight of those that do seem to them to be most culpable; and they command the head-keeper of the prisons that he give order to carry them to suffer execution. And this being done, they turn to see again anew the facts, that by any means or ways they may suspend the execution of some of them; and if they find any not so worthy of death as the rest, they command that he be put aside from the rest, and that there be shot off three pieces of ordnance, which is a sign or token that they take out of the prison such as shall die. They turn to consult again, to see if they can deliver any other; and when they come not, then they command to shoot off other three pieces, that they may be carried out to the fields; and before they go forth of council, they return to see their causes anew. In this time they are set upon a heap of ashes, and they give them meat, tarrying for the last resolution, wherein they are accustomed to deliver or relieve some: And because execution should be made in such as do remain, they command to shoot off other three pieces of ordnance, which is a sign that they should dispatch them. Forthwith there are rung all the bells, and there is thro' all the city a great rumour, as tho' they were all amazed, because it is a thing which is seldom times done.

The manner of execution.

In these days they shut up their shops, and no body do work, nor sell they any thing until sun-set, which is when they take the bodies, after execution done upon them, out of the fields for to bury them. And from that time they do any business, and do open their shops.

Also these judges of residence do see the roll of the thieves which still remain in prison, and in recompence of correction they command them always to be whipt. And they use in this case so much rigour, choler and haste, as they use charity and clemency with such as they put to death, for there is no fact so much abhorred as that is. The whips they give them are most cruel, and they give them upon the calfs of their legs, their shoulders turned downward, and their hands tied behind them, with canes as broad as a hand, and of the thickness of one finger, which they keep in water, that they may work the greater effect, in such sort, that at the first

The punishment of whipping.

stroke the blood cometh out; and the executioners do whip them together, one upon one leg and the other upon the other; and they do it with such dexterity and cunning, that of only two stripes, I know not who is able to suffer them; and of fifty or sixty, it happeneth that there die many, because their sinews are all loosed and undone.

Some *Portugueze* do affirm, that had been in those prisons, that there died every year more than two thousand men of these whippings, and some fell mad of them, and of hunger and cold which they suffered.

The said judges are present when they whip them; and all the time that it endureth, they are occupied in eating and drinking, and in pastimes, without any manner of grief therefore, and by reason it happeneth that sometimes some of these lawyers being bribed with great gifts and friendship, are accustomed to set at liberty some of these prisoners, and put others in their places; for there never lacketh some miserable people that for a little gain will put themselves to suffer these strokes, and do consent to take upon them the name of the offenders; and to remedy this, when the offences are grievous, they do set down in a book, that they have for this purpose, the signs of the face, and the manner of the colour and disposition of the offender, and they cause him to make his firm and sign, that there be not deceit used.

People hired by others to be whipt in their stead

The punishment which they ordinarily do use to give such as are offenders in small causes, are whippings few or many according to their fact; and some are put in the common streets to be shamed, hanging a great and square table at their necks, being three spans broad, or little more, made of pieces, and a hole in the midst which doth gird all the neck, wherein are written all their faults, and so they bring them forth, and carry them after this sort three or four days, according to the offences they did. Such prisoners as are very poor, and be prisoners for grievous offences, and have no science how to get their living, they give them leave for certain days that they go forth of the prison to ask alms in the city.

Such as do commit treason against the king, they burn them, because there shall remain no memory of the bones of them that do offend in this offence. They that sin in adultery suffer death: And such as do give this liberty to their wives, are grievously punished.

The punishment for high treason, for adultery, &c.

C H A P. XIV.

Sheweth of the Government and Foresight which the King hath and doth for the Causes of his Wars.

THE same care and diligence that this mighty prince hath, that there be good government and justice minister'd rightly in all his realm, the self-same care and much more hath he in foresight for the causes of his wars, that he hath continually with those princes which border near unto him, and especially that he hath with the *Tartars*: For which cause, as it is said, there is in every province a president, and counsellors of war, and general and ordinary captains, which do raise up people, and that do put in practice exercise both at the sea and land, according to the occasions which are offered. And also there are in the most cities, captains and officers, with soldiers and garisons, for to keep and defend them, where they watch and ward with all order of soldier-like discipline night and day, and with the squadrons which are necessary assisting at the gates, not letting any man come in nor go forth but that he is register'd. These gates are opened and shut with the order and licence of the captains, which do send to the soldiers written upon tables white limed, with their firms every day. When they shut them, they put within the joints of them a paper glewed and sealed upon with their seal, which is not taken away until the morning that they send to them to open them. In all the bulwarks wherein is watch kept, there do assist men of authority that do remove every quarter the body of the watch, which is ordinary; and the officers are going always in such business as they are appointed, with the number of the soldiers that seem good to them in the watch and counterwatch.

All these captains are of the same provinces, because the love of their country may cause them to serve truly, and cause them to labour the more to defend them. And because there may be more quietness, it is not permitted that any man shall carry any weapon to offend, nor to defend, but only such as are men of war. And besides these, there are in the frontier, towns and forts which they have in the confines of the *Laos*, and *Bramenes*, and *Tartares*, and *Massagetas*, ordinary garisons for the defence of them; and of the number which have been spoken of, was within the compass of

two hundred leagues; but this is done with advantage, by reason that in all parts of the country is great habitation, and having captains which do give them assaults, they come as many to the defence as is needful, until the king come with his great power, which he hath always in a readiness, of many footmen and horsemen for his guard and majesty, and to bridle the coming in of his enemies. And for this cause he is always resident in the city of *Pekin*, because it is a place that standeth most commodiously for the succour of all his towns that are next bordering upon any foreign prince.

The people of *China* are very prompt of wit, and stout in all the feats that doth appertain to the wars. And altho' they are stout men, and of great courage for to abide and to give battle to the enemy, yet they always use strange policies, and all kind of fire-works in their battles, both by sea and land, in such sort that there was nothing that did cause the *Portuguese* to marvel so much when they went thither the first time, as to see that they used artillery, whereof they came to understand that they had artillery among them many years before it was used in *Europe*; and it appeareth to be so, because that in the realm of *Pegu*, whether they came in old time, and where in their conquests and in their fortifications, amongst other things they left their artillery, and where there is found at this day bells and guns of metal, which they made. They use also of all kind of armour, and the most principal gentlemen of the country do carry four swords with them, and fight with two of them together with great cunning.

They enter into the wars compassed about with many servants and familiar friends, which are footmen, well armed, and very gallant, for it is so permitted to all soldiers, and men of war. And by reason this king is so mighty and rich, they which serve are paid at their time without any delay, and with great liberality. And all such as shew themselves valiant, are highly esteemed, and rewarded with great gifts. The *Tartars*, and other enemies which they take prisoners in their wars, they use them with no other captivity than to place them to serve

Military officers by sea and land.

Garisons how defended.

Their warlike disposition.

Use of artillery before used in Europe.

How they go to war.

How rewarded.

How they treat their prisoners.

serve for men of war in other frontiers of theirs, which do border over against other princes, and they are paid as he doth pay the rest of his subjects, and these wear certain red hats, and the rest of their apparel even after the fashion of the people of *Cbina*. The faced hats all people do wear which are judged for any offence to serve in any town that doth border over against any other prince, as those † which go to *Oran*, or *Melilla*, and so they say in their judgments that they banish them to wear red hats. This prince is served with some soldiers which are by nature of the high mountains of *Russia*, which are a free people, and live like to the warriors, like to the *Esquizaros*, which are mighty men,

and with red hair, and great beards, and they wear cut hose like to the *Tudesos*, and broad swords, and they are called *Alimenes*, whom some do think that they are *Almains*; but if it were so, there would have been knowledge of this great realm long before. Likewise he is served of other tall men of twelve or thirteen * pawns of height, and they do assist them in the defence of the towns that stand in greatest danger, of whom we cannot understand of what region they are: and they make so great account of their own wisdom, after the manner of the *Greeks*, that they say that they are those which have two eyes, and the people of *Europe* but one; and that all the rest of other nations are stark blind.

The APPENDIX to CHAP. xii, xiii, xiv.

OF all the accounts I have read concerning the policy and government of the ancient state of *Cbina*, I may venture to say, none has excelled this; or rather, that this has been the original and pattern from whence all that followed in the description of this country did take and copy their respective narrations, without shewing that due respect to our author as they ought to have done in point of honour. Nothing can be added to this plain account; yet I presume, that as that empire has changed hands, and received a *Tartar* upon the throne of *Cbina* since this accurate description was published, it will be proper and acceptable to the reader to add what follows concerning the present state of the POLICY and GOVERNMENT of the *Chineze*; at the same time taking leave to insert some particulars by way of illustration of what our author has more concisely delivered.

Amongst the several models and plans of government which the antients framed, we shall perhaps meet with none so perfect and exact as is that of the *Chineze* monarchy. The ancient lawgivers of this potent empire formed it in their days very little different from what it is in ours. Other states, according to the common fate of the things of this world, are sensible of the weakness of infancy, are born misshapen and imperfect; and, like men, they owe their perfection and maturity to time.

Cbina seems more exempted from the common laws of nature; and, as tho' God himself had founded their empire, the plan of their government was not a whit less perfect in its cradle, than it is now after the experience and trial of four thousand years. They look upon a republick to be a monster with many heads, formed by the am-

bition, headiness, and corrupt inclination of men in times of publick disorder and confusion.

As they bear an aversion to republican government, so are they yet more set against tyranny and oppression, which they say proceeds not from the absoluteness of the prince's power, for they cannot be too much their subjects masters; but from the prince's own wildness, which neither the voice of nature, nor the laws of God can ever countenance. The *Chineze* are of opinion, that the obligation which is laid on their kings not to abuse their power, is rather a means to confirm and establish them, than to occasion their ruin.

An unbounded authority which the laws give the emperor, and a necessity which the same laws lay upon him to use that authority with moderation and discretion, are the two props which have for so many ages supported this great fabrick of the *Chineze* monarchy. The first principle thereof, that is instilled into the people, is to respect their prince with so high a veneration as almost to adore him. They stile him the son of heaven, and the only master of the world. His commands are indisputable; his words carry no less authority with them than if they were oracles: in short, every thing that comes from him is sacred. He is seldom seen, and never spoken to but on the knees. The grandees of the court, the princes of the blood, nay, his own brothers, bow to the ground, not only when he is present, but even before his throne; and there are set days every week or month in which the nobility assemble, who meet in one of the courts of the palace, to acknowledge the authority of their prince by their most submissive adorations, tho' he perhaps be not there in person.

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† *Portuguese* that are banished for crimes.

* A *Portuguese* measure of about nine inches.

When he is ill, especially if dangerously, the palace is full of Mandarines of every order, who spend night and day in a large court, in habits proper for the occasion, to express their own grief, and to ask of heaven their prince's cure. Rain, snow, cold, or any other inconveniencies, excuse them not from the performance of this duty; and, as long as the emperor is in pain or in danger, any one that saw the people would think that they fear nothing but the loss of him.

All places in the empire are in his disposal, he bestows them on whom he thinks fit; and, besides, he is to be looked upon as the disposer of them the more, because none of them are ever sold. Merit, that is, honesty, learning, long experience, and especially a grave and sober behaviour, is the only thing considered in the candidates, and no other considerations can lay any claim to favour. Neither is this all, that he hath the choice of all officers of state; but, if he dislikes their management when chosen, he dismisses or changes them without more ado. A peccadillo has heretofore been thought enough to render a *Mandarine* incapable of continuing in his place; and I am told that a governor of one of their cities was turned out, because on a day of audience his clothes were thought too gay to become the gravity of his office; the emperor thinking a person of that humour not fit to fill such a place, or to act as a magistrate who represents his prince.

It was discovered that three *Colaos* (who are *Mandarines*, as honourable for their places amongst the *Chineze*, as our ministers of state are amongst us) had taken money underhand for some services done by them in the execution of their office. The emperor, who was informed of it, took away their salaries immediately, and ordered them without farther trouble to retire. What became of the two first, or how they were used, I cannot tell; but the other, who had a great while been a magistrate, and was as much esteemed for his understanding as he was respected for his age, was condemned to look after one of the palace gates amongst other common soldiers, in whose company he was lifted.

I saw him myself one day in this mean condition; he was upon duty as a common centinel: when I passed by him, I bowed to him, as indeed every one else did; for the *Chineze* still respected in him the slender remains of that honour which he had just before possessed.

I must confess, I soon left wondering, when I saw after what manner even the princes of the blood themselves were used. One of them was a mighty lover of sports,

especially of cock-fighting (which is an usual diversion in the east, and the obstinacy of those creatures, which, armed with gavelocks, fight till they die with an incredible skill and courage, is very surprising.) The emperor did not think it amiss that this prince should spend a few hours in such sort of diversions. Nevertheless, he could not bear to see him spend his whole time in things so much below his quality, and so unbecoming his years, he therefore told him of it; but, finding that this admonition did not work with him, the emperor resolved to make an example of him, and did therefore declare, that he had forfeited his title and honour of prince; he was, besides, deprived of his retinue, his salary, and his quality, until he should, by some great and extraordinary action, make it appear to the whole kingdom, that he was not unworthy of the blood from whence he sprang.

The emperor went yet a step farther; for perceiving that the number of the princes of the blood was very great, and that the ill conduct of many of them might in time bring their quality into contempt, he published an order, that none should hereafter bear that character, without his express leave, which he gave to none but to those who, by their virtue, understanding, and diligence in their offices, did very well deserve it.

You will have a plain proof of the absoluteness of the emperor's power, from a passage which happened in a late war with one of the kings of *Tartary*. The emperor sent a mighty army under his brother's command, to punish the vanity and rashness of that puny king, who had dared to make inroads into the countries of several of the allies of the empire. The *Tartar*, whose warlike troops sought only an opportunity of signalizing themselves, advanced to engage the imperial army, and set upon them with so much violence and vigour, that at last, notwithstanding he was so much inferior to them in number, he beat them from their ground, and forced them to retreat in disorder.

The emperor's father-in-law, an old *Tartar*, well versed in the trade of war, commanded the artillery, and play'd his part so well that he was killed at the head of a few, yet brave soldiers, whom he encouraged as well by his example as by his words; but the general was accused of flying first, and drawing by his flight the rest of the army after him. The emperor, who is himself a man of courage, and an admirer of glory, was less troubled at the loss of the battle, than he was at that of his brother's honour. He sent for him immediately

ately to court, to be tried before a council of the blood, whom he assembled in his palace.

The prince, who was on all other accounts a person of singular merit, surrendered himself with the same humility and submission as he could have done had he been the meanest officer in the army, and, without staying till sentence was pronounced, he condemned himself, and owned that he deserved death. *You deserve it, said the emperor, but you ought to recover your lost honour, to seek your death in the midst of the enemies troops, and not here amongst us in the midst of Pekin, where it can only increase your disgrace.*

At last, the emperor was inclinable to pardon him; but the princes, who thought themselves in some measure disgraced by this action, earnestly begged of the emperor to use the utmost of his power to punish him; and his uncle, who assisted at the council, treated him with so much scorn and contempt, that amongst us such usage would afflict any gentleman so sensibly as to go near to break his heart.

The emperor, who has power over the lives of the princes of the blood, can certainly dispose of his other subjects: The laws make him so far master of their lives, that neither viceroy, nor parliaments, nor any other sovereign court throughout the whole empire, can execute any criminal without express order from court. They are arraigned and tried up and down in the several provinces, but the sentence is always presented to the emperor, who either confirms it or rejects it as he pleases; most an end he agrees to it, but he very often cuts off part of the sentence, and makes it less rigorous.

Altho' every one be perfect master of his estate, and enjoys his lands free from disturbance and molestation; the emperor can nevertheless lay what taxes he thinks fit upon his subjects, to supply the pressing wants, and relieve the necessities of the state. This power indeed he seldom makes use of, whether it be that the standing revenue and ordinary taxes are sufficient to maintain a war abroad; or whether it be that in a civil war they are unwilling to run the hazard of provoking their subjects too much, by laying too great a load on them. They have likewise a custom of exempting every year one or two provinces from bearing their proportion in the tax, especially if any one of them have suffered thro' the sickness of the people, or if the lands, thro' unseasonable weather, have not yielded so good an increase as usual.

It is true, that the subsidies, which the laws grant, are so considerable, that, were the *Chineze* less industrious, or their lands

less fruitful, this empire, like the rest of the *Indian* kingdoms, would be only a society of poor and miserable wretches. It is this prodigious income that makes the prince so powerful, and that enables him, at an hour's warning, to raise a potent and a numerous army to keep his people in obedience.

It is very difficult to reckon what the revenue of this empire amounts to; because, besides the money that is raised in specie, vast sums are paid in in goods. After the best examination, both from the officers and from their books, I believe the treasury receives in money about 22,000,000 of *Chineze* crowns, which the *Portugueze* call Taëls, each of which in our money comes to about six shillings. But the rice, corn, salt, silks, cloths, varnish, and a hundred other commodities which they pay in kind, together with the customs and forfeited estates, amount to more than 50,000,000 of the *Chineze* crowns. So that, after having allowed for the goods received into the treasury their value in silver, and having made the nearest and most exact calculation possible, I find the ordinary revenues of the emperor to amount in our money to 21,600,000 *l.* at least.

The right of making peace and war is the emperor's, he may make treaties on what conditions he pleases, provided they be not such as are dishonourable to the kingdom. As for the judgments which he himself passes, they are irrevocable, and, to have them put in execution, he need only send them to his sovereign courts or viceroys, who dare not in the least delay registering and publishing them. When, on the other hand, the sentences pronounced by their parliaments or other magistrates, are no ways obligatory till approved and confirmed by the emperor.

Another instance of his supreme authority is this, that he has the liberty of making choice of his successor, which he may not only chuse from the royal family, but from amongst his other subjects. For some of these emperors finding none of their family, tho' numerous, able to support the weight of a crown, chuse for their successors persons mean as to their birth and fortunes, but eminent for their virtue, and admirable for their understanding. 'If, *said they*, a lofty title could create merit in those who had it not before, we should indeed injure our children in excluding them from the crown: But since it serves only to publish and spread their defects more abroad, we think ourselves obliged, by the kindness and tenderness which we bear to them, to keep them from that shame and disgrace which a crown would necessarily expose them to.

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However, examples of this nature have been very seldom known, for the emperors, for many ages, have bounded their choice within the compass of their own families; yet they do not always chuse the eldest. He who now reigns with so much wisdom, was a younger brother, and sees his elder brother as dutiful, and free from ambition as the meanest of his subjects.

The emperor, after he has made choice of, and publickly owned who shall be his successor, may afterwards exclude him, and renew his choice; but not unless he have very good reason for doing so, nor unless the sovereign courts of *Pekin* do in a manner give their consent to it. The grave itself cannot put an end to his power over his subjects, which is exercised even over the dead, whom he either disgraces or honours (as much as if they were alive) when he hath a mind either to reward or punish themselves or their families. He makes some after their decease, dukes, others counts, and confers upon them several other titles, which our language knows no name for. He may canonize them as saints, or, as they speak, may make them naked spirits. Sometimes he builds them temples, and if their ministry hath been very beneficial, or their virtues very eminent, he commands the people to honour them as gods. *Paganism* hath for many ages authorised and countenanced this abuse of religion; yet this reparation religion has from the empire of *China* for the fore-mentioned injury, that ever since the foundation of this empire, the emperor has been always look'd upon as the chief priest and principal servant of religion; for there are some ceremonies, and publick sacrifices, which he alone is thought worthy to offer up to the great Creator of Heaven.

The emperor hath power to change the figure and character of their letters, to abolish any characters already received, or to form any new one. He may likewise change the names of provinces, of cities, of families; he may likewise forbid the using of any expression, or manner of speaking; he may forbid the use of some expressions, which are generally received, and may bring into use and practice those ways of speaking, which have been look'd upon as obsolete and uncouth, and this either in common discourse or in writing.

One would imagine that this unlimited power should often occasion very unfortunate events in the government, and indeed sometimes it hath, as nothing in this world is without its alloy of inconvenience. Yet so many are the provisions,

and so wise the precautions which the laws have prescribed to prevent them, that a prince must be wholly insensible of his own reputation, and even interest, as well as of the publick good, who continue long in the abuse of his authority.

For, if he hath any regard for his reputation, there are three things which will prevail with him to govern by justice and not passion.

First, the old law-givers have from the first foundation of the government, made this a standing maxim, that kings are properly the fathers of their people, and not masters placed in the throne only to be served by slaves. Wherefore it is that in all ages their emperor is called Grandfather, and of all his titles of honour, there is none which he likes to be call'd by so well as this. *

Secondly, every *Mandarine* may tell the emperor of his faults, provided it be in such a submissive manner, as is agreeable to that veneration and profound respect which is due to him. The manner they usually take to bring it about is this: The *Mandarine*, who perceives any thing in the emperor's management disagreeable to their constitution or laws, draws up a request, in which, after having set forth the respect, which he bears towards his imperial majesty, he most humbly prays his prince, that he will please to reflect upon the ancient laws and good example of those holy princes his predecessors; afterwards he takes notice, wherein he apprehends, that his prince hath deviated from them.

This request lies upon a table, among many other petitions which are daily presented, and which the emperor is obliged to read; if he does not hereupon change his conduct, he is put in mind of it again, as often as the *Mandarine* hath zeal and courage to do it, for they had need of a great deal of both who dare venture thus to expose themselves to their prince's indignation.

This method hath been practised for a long time in *China*, and their histories take notice, that no means has been found so powerful as this to oblige their emperors, when they act amiss, to return to their duty, altho' this means proves often dangerous to those particular persons who make use of it.

Thirdly, if their princes have any regard for their reputation, the manner in which their histories are wrote, is alone sufficient to keep them within bounds. A certain number of men, who for their learning and impartiality are purposely chosen for this affair, remark with all the

* *Ta-fou.*

exactness possible, not only all their prince's actions, but also his words; each of these persons by himself, and without communication of the others, as things fall out, sets them down in a loose paper, and puts these papers through a chink into an office set apart for this purpose. In these papers both the emperor's virtues and faults are set down with the same liberty and impartiality. *Such a day, say they, the prince's behaviour was unseasonable and intemperate, he spoke after a manner which did not become his dignity. The punishment which he inflicted on such an officer was rather effect of his passion, than the result of his justice. In such an affair he stopp'd the sword of justice, and partially abrogated the sentence passed by the magistrates. Or else, He entered courageously into a war for the defence of his people, and for the maintenance of the honour of his kingdom. At such a time he made an honourable peace. He gave such and such marks of his love to his people. Notwithstanding the commendations given him by his flatterers, he was not puffed up, but behaved himself modestly, his words were tempered with all the sweetness and humility possible; which made him more loved and admired by his court than ever.* And in this manner they set down every thing that occurs in his administration.

But that neither fear on the one side, nor hope on the other, may byas these men to a partiality in the account they give of their prince, this office is never opened during that prince's life, or while any of his family sit in the throne. When the crown goes in another line, which often happens, all these loose memoirs are gathered together, and, after they have compared them, to come to the more certain knowledge of the truth, they from them compose the history of that emperor, to propose him as an example to posterity if he have acted wisely, or to expose him to the common censure and odium of the people, if he have been negligent of his own duty, and his peoples good. When a prince loves honour and glory, and sees that it is not in the power of flattery and imposture to persuade the people to give it him, he will then be circumspect and cautious how he behaves himself during the whole reign.

This is the ordinary form of government which the laws prescribe. The emperor hath two sovereign councils; the one is called the extraordinary council, and is composed of princes of the blood only; the other, called the council in ordinary, has, besides the princes, several ministers of state, named *Colaos*, admitted into it. These are they who examine all

the affairs of state, and make their report to the emperor, from whom they have their final determination. Besides these there are at *Pekin* six sovereign courts, whose authority extends over all the provinces of *China*; each of these courts have their different matters assigned to them, of which they are to take cognisance; the names of them, and what is committed to their judgment, are as follows:

The court called *Lipou*, presides over all the *Mandarines*, and does give them, and take away from them their offices. That called *Houpou* looks after the treasury, and takes care of raising the taxes. That called *Lipou* is to look after the ancient customs; to this court is also committed the care of religion, of sciences and arts, and of foreign affairs. That called *Pimpou* has charge over the soldiery and its officers. That called *Himpou* takes cognisance of all criminals. That called *Compou* looks after all publick buildings, and all the emperor's houses and palaces. Each of these courts is divided in several offices, some of them into fifteen; the principal of which offices is managed by the president and two assistants, who have the final inspection into those things which come under the notice of that court; the rest are under-offices, and consist of a president and several counsellors, all of which are subject to the president of the principal office, from whom there is no appeal.

But because it is the emperor's interest to keep such considerable bodies as these so far under, as that it may not lie in their power to weaken the emperor's authority, or to enterprize any thing against the state, care is taken, that though each of these six courts have their particular charges of which they are constituted sole judges, yet no considerable thing can be brought to perfection and maturity without the joint help and mutual concurrence of all these courts. I explain myself by the instance of war; the number of the troops, the quality of their officers, the march of their armies, are provided for by the fourth court, but the money to pay them must be had from the second; so that scarce any one thing of consequence to the state can be promoted without the inspection of many, and oftentimes of all the *Mandarines*.

The second means used by the emperor, for this purpose, is to place an officer in each of these courts, who has an eye to all their proceedings. He is not, its true, of the council, yet he is present at all their assemblies, and informed of all their proceedings; we may call this officer an inspector. He either privately advertises the court, or else openly accuses the *Mandarines*

rines of the faults which they commit in their private capacities, as well as of those which they commit in the execution of their office. He observes their actions, their behaviour, and even their words, so that nothing escapes his notice. I am told, that he who once undertakes this employ, can never quit it for any other, that so the hopes of a better preferment may never tempt him to be partial to any one, nor the fear of losing his place frighten him from accusing of those who misbehave themselves. Of these officers, whom they call *Colis*, even the princes of the blood stand in awe.

As for the provinces, they are under the immediate inspection of two sorts of viceroys. One sort has the government of one province only. Thus there is one viceroy at *Pekin*, at *Canton*, or at *Nankim*, or in any other town but a little distant from the chief city of the province. Besides this, these provinces are under the government of other viceroys, who are called *Tsounto*, and have under their jurisdiction two, or three, nay sometimes four provinces. There is no prince in *Europe*, whose dominions are of so large extent as is the jurisdiction of these general officers; yet how great soever their authority may seem to be, they do in no wise diminish that of the particular viceroys; and each of these two viceroys have their particular right so well settled and adjusted, that they never clash or contend with each other in their administrations.

These have all of them in their several lordships many courts, of the same nature with those of *Pekin* already described, but are subordinate to them, so that from these they appeal to them: There are besides these several other inferior offices for the preparing business, or for finishing it, according to the extent of their commissions. There are three sorts of towns, each of which have their particular governor, and a great number of *Mandarines* who administer justice; amongst which cities there is this difference, that those of the third sort or rank, are subordinate to those of the second, as those of the second are to them of the first; these of the first rank are subject to the jurisdiction of the general officers of the capital cities, according as the nature of things requires, and all the judges, be their quality what it will in the civil government, have their dependance on the viceroy, in whom resides the imperial authority. He, from time to time, convenes the principal *Mandarines* of his province, to take cognisance of the good or bad qualities of the governors, lieutenants, and even inferior officers; he sends private dispatches to

court, to inform the emperor who misbehave themselves, who are either therefore deprived of their offices, or else cited to appear and offer what they have to say in their justification.

On the other hand, the viceroy's power is counterpoised by that of the great *Mandarines*, who are about him, and who may accuse him when they are satisfied that it is necessary for the publick good. But that which principally keeps him upon his guard is, that the people when evil intreated or oppressed by him, may petition the emperor in person for his removal, and that another may be ordered them. The least insurrection or disturbance is laid at his door, which, if it continues three days, he must answer for at his peril. It is his fault, say the laws, if disturbances spring up in his family, that is, in the province over which he has the charge. He ought to regulate the conduct of the *Mandarines* under him, that so the people may not suffer by their ill management. When people like their masters, they do not desire to change them; and when the yoke is easy, it is a pleasure to bear it.

But because private persons cannot easily come at the court, and because the just complaints of his people cannot always reach the ears of their prince, (especially in *China*, where the governors easily corrupt with bribes the general officers, and they the supreme courts) the emperor disperses up and down secret spies, persons of known wisdom and reputation; these in every province, by their cunning management, inform themselves from the country-men, tradesmen, or others, after what manner the *Mandarines* behave themselves in the execution of their offices. When from their private, but certain informations, or rather by the publick voice, which seldom imposes on us, they are acquainted with any disorder, then they publicly own their commission from the emperor; they take up those criminal *Mandarines*, and manage the cause against them. This heretofore kept all the judges to their duty; but, since the *Tartars* have been masters of *China*, these officers have been laid aside; inasmuch as some of them abused their commission, enriching themselves, by taking money of the guilty to conceal their faults, and of the innocent, whom they threatened to accuse as criminal. Nevertheless, that so useful a means of keeping the magistrates to their duty may not be lost, the emperor himself, who has a tender love for his subjects, hath thought it his duty to visit in person each province, and to hear himself the complaints of his people; which he performs

with such a diligence, as makes him the terror of his *Mandarines*, and the delight of his people. Amongst the great variety of accidents, which have happened to him during those his progresses, they report, that being once separated from his attendants, he saw an old man weeping bitterly, of whom he enquired what was the occasion of his tears. ‘ Sir, *said the old man, who did not know to whom he spoke,* ‘ I had but one son, who was the comfort of my life, and on whom lay the care of my whole family; a *Mandarine* of *Tartary* has deprived me of him; which hath made me helpless at present, and will make me so as long as I live; for how can I, who am so poor and friendless, oblige so great a man as he, to make me restitution?’ ‘ That’s not so difficult as you imagine, *said the emperor,* ‘ get up behind me, and direct me to his house, who has done you this wrong.’ The good man complied without any ceremony, and in two hours time they both got to the *Mandarine’s* house, who little expected so extraordinary a visit. In the interim, the guards, and a great company of lords, after a great deal of search made, came thither; some of which attended without, others entered with the emperor, not knowing what the business was which brought him there. Where the emperor having convicted the *Mandarine* of the violence of which he was accused, condemned him on the spot to death; afterwards turning round to the afflicted father, who had lost his son: ‘ To make you a good recompence for your loss, *says he, after a grave and serious manner,* I give you the office of the criminal who is just now dead; but take care to execute it with equity, and let his punishment, as well as his crime, prove for your advantage, for fear lest you in your turn, are made an example to others.’

They have still a farther means to oblige the viceroys and other governors, to a strict care of their charge, which expedient I do not believe any government or kingdom, tho’ never so severe, did ever yet make use of. It is this, every governor is obliged from time to time with all humility and sincerity, to own and acknowledge the secret or publick faults committed by himself, in his administration, and to send the account in writing up to court. This is a more troublesome business to comply with, than any one readily imagines, for on one side it is an uneasy thing to accuse ourselves of those things which we know will be punished by the emperor, tho’ mildly. On the other side, it is more dangerous to dissemble them;

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for if by chance they are accused of them in the inspector’s advertisement, the least fault which the *Mandarine* shall have concealed, will be big enough to turn him out of his ministry. So that the best way is to make a sincere confession of one’s faults, and to purchase a pardon for them by money, which in *China* has the virtue of blotting out all crimes; which remedy notwithstanding is no small punishment for a *Chineze*; the fear of such a punishment makes him oftentimes exceeding circumspect and careful, and sometimes even virtuous against his own inclinations.

After these provisions, which the law makes, as I have said, they give the following directions how to proceed in the business of punishing criminals. There is no need of having a warrant to carry them before the magistrate, nor that the magistrate should sit in a court of justice to hear the accusation and plea of the criminal. Such formalities as these are not insisted on there. Wherever the magistrate sees a fault, there he has power to punish it on the spot, be it in the street, in the highway, or in a private house, it is all one; he may take up a gamester, a rook, or a debauchee, and without more formalities, he orders some of his attendants to give him twenty or thirty stripes; after which, as tho’ nothing extraordinary had happen’d, he goes on his journey without any concernment. Notwithstanding this punishment, the person damaged, may accuse the same criminal again in a superior court, where he is tried, the result of which is usually a farther punishment.

Farther, the plaintiff may in common cases bring his action in a higher magistrate’s court, even before it has been pleaded in an inferior court. I mean an inhabitant of a town of the first rank, may forthwith apply himself to the governor of the capital city of the province, or even to the viceroy, without having it examined before the governor of his own town; and when it once comes before a superior judge, the inferior ones may not take cognisance of it, unless it be deputed to them by those superior judges, as it often is. When the cause is of great consequence, there lies an appeal from the viceroy to one of the supreme courts at *Pekin*, according to the nature of the affair, where the cause is examined in one of the under-offices, who make their report to the president of the supreme office, who gives sentence after he has advised with his assistants, and communicated his opinion to the *Colaos*, who carry it to the emperor. Sometimes the emperor desires better information, sometimes gives sentence on the

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the spot, and in his name the supreme court makes a brief of the sentence, and sends it to the viceroys for them to put it in execution. A sentence pronounced in this manner is irrevocable, they call it the holy commandment; that is to say, the commandment which is without defect or partiality.

The principal maxims of their policy, are,

First, Never to give any one an office in his own province, and that for two reasons; because, first, a *Mandarine* of ordinary parentage is usually despised by those who know his family. Secondly, because being brought into favour and repute, by the great number of his kindred and friends, he might be enabled either to make or to support a rebellion, or at least it would be very difficult for him to execute justice with an universal impartiality.

The second maxim is, to retain at court the children of the *Mandarines* employed in the most considerable offices in the province, under pretence indeed of educating them well, but, in reality, keeping them as hostages, lest their fathers should fall from that duty which they owe the emperor.

The third maxim is, that when one goes to law, such a commissary is made use of as the emperor pleases to name, unless the office or quality of the criminal gives him the liberty to refuse him. If the emperor dislikes the first sentence, he may commission new judges to re-examine it until the sentence be agreeable to his mind; for, otherwise, it would be in the power of money or artifice, to save a man whose life would be noxious to the good of the state. On the other side, say they, we need not fear the prince's passion, who, if he have a mind to take off a good man, may find ways enough to do it, without going so openly about it. But it is but fitting that there should be a means efficacious enough to rid the empire of an ill man.

The fourth maxim of policy is, never to sell any place, but to bestow it always upon merit; that is, to those of good life, and who by a diligent study have acquainted themselves with the laws and customs of their country. To this end, informations are exhibited of the life and manners of the candidate, especially when a *Mandarine* is removed from an inferior to a superior office; as for their understanding the laws, they undergo so many examinations and trials of it, that it is impossible for an ignoramus to be thought understanding, so severe are the measures which they take.

When they resolve to set a child apart for learning, they put him to a master, for

the towns of *China* are full of schools, where reading and writing are taught, which, to learn well, will take up some years. When the youth has made a pretty good progress in this, he is presented to a *Mandarine* of the lower order to be examined. If he writes a good hand, and makes their characters handsomely, he is admitted among those who apply themselves to the knowledge of books, and endeavour to obtain a degree; of which there are three sorts, which answer to our batchelor, master of arts, and doctor. As the fortunes of the *Chinese* do wholly depend upon their capacity and understanding, so they spend their whole life in study. They say by heart all their staple books with a wonderful alacrity; they make comments on their laws; composition, eloquence, imitation and knowledge of their ancient doctors, and the delicacy and politeness of the modern ones, from six to sixty, are their constant employ. In some, the quickness and readiness of wit saves them a great deal of labour, for some have been doctors at an age when others can write but indifferently; but these are heroes amongst the *Chinese*, of which one in an age is enough.

The examinations are strict, masters of arts are created by the principal *Mandarines* of the province; batchelors, by those *Mandarines* assisted by a commissary from court; as for the doctors, they commence only at *Pekin*: but because some of them, who deserve this degree, have not wherewith to defray so expensive a journey, what is necessary for it is bestowed on them *gratis*, that so poverty may not deprive the state of the service of those men who may prove useful and beneficial to it.

Every one's character is taken from his ability to invent or compose. For this purpose the candidates are shut up in a close room, without books, without any other paper than what is necessary for them to write on. All the while they are forbidden all manner of correspondents; at the doors are placed by the *Mandarines* guards, whose fidelity no bribes can corrupt. The second examination is yet more strict, for, lest the commissary sent by the court should himself be byassed thro' favour or the hopes of gain, he is not suffered to see or speak with any person till the examination is over.

In creating the doctors, the emperor often engages himself; the present emperor is more feared by the candidates than any of the other posers, not only for his nice exactness and rigorous justice, but for his extraordinary abilities in judging of any thing of this nature. When the doctors

are named, they are presented to him; to three principal of which he gives garlands of flowers, or any other mark of honour, to distinguish them from the rest; some of them likewise he chuses for members of his royal academy, from whence they never remove, unless into posts of the greatest consideration and credit in the kingdom.

The great number of presents, which they receive from their kindred and friends, keeps the doctors from being poor. Every one hopes to make some advantage from his friendship; but, lest high promotion should make them negligent, and sit loose to their studies, they still undergo several examinations, where, if they appear to have been negligent, they certainly meet with severity and reproof; whereas, if they have still continued to forward and improve their studies, they meet with a suitable encouragement and reward.

No small share of the publick good is owing to this principle of policy. The youths, whom idleness and sloth never fail to corrupt, are by this constant employment diverted from ill courses; they have scarce time enough to follow their loose inclinations. Secondly, study forms and polishes their wits. People, who never engage in arts and sciences, are always blockish and stupid. Thirdly, all offices are filled by able men, and, if they can't prevent that injustice which proceeds from the covetousness and corrupt affections of officers, at least, they will take care to hinder that which arises from ignorance and immorality. Fourthly, since the places are given, the emperor may with greater justice turn out those officers whom he shall find undeserving. We ought indeed to punish every offender; yet, it would be natural to bear with a *Mandarine* who is negligent of his office for want of understanding or misapplication, who is too mild or over severe, if taking away his place would ruin his family, whose whole fortune, it may be, was laid out in the purchase of it; when as, if a place be dispos'd only by donation, the prince who gave it may easily, without any disturbance, take it from one and gratify another with it.

Lastly, no fees are paid for the administration of justice. The judge, whose office cost him nothing, and who has his salary stated, can require nothing of the parties at law; which impowers every poor man to prosecute his own rights, and frees him from being oppressed by the opulence of his adversary, who can't be brought to do justly and reasonably, because the other has not money.

The *Chineze* have established this as a fifth maxim of policy, never to suffer stran-

gers to have any share in their administration; the small esteem they bear them, makes the *Chineze* use them so coarsely. They fancy, that a mixture of natives and foreigners would bring them to contempt, and occasion nought but corruption and disorder. From thence also would spring particular grudges, making parties, and at last rebellions: For difference of people necessarily supposes difference of customs, languages, humour and religion.

Their sixth maxim is, that nobility is never hereditary, neither is there any distinction between the qualities of people, saving what the offices which they execute makes; so that, excepting the family of *Confucius*, the whole kingdom is divided into magistracy and commonalty. There are no lands but what are held by soccage tenure, not even those lands which are destined for the *Bonzes*, or which belong to the temples of the idols; so that their gods, as well as men, are subjected to the state, and are obliged by taxes and contributions to acknowledge the emperor's supremacy. When a viceroy or governor of a province is dead, his children, as well as others, have their fortunes to make; and if they inherit not their father's virtue and ingenuity, his name which they bear, be it never so famous, gives them no quality at all.

The advantages which the state makes of this maxim are, first, trading is in a more flourishing condition, which the laziness of the nobility is the likeliest means to ruin. Secondly, the emperor's revenues are increased by it, because no estates are tax-free. In towns which pay poll-money, no person is exempt. Thirdly, by this means families are hindered from ingratiating themselves with the populace, and so kept from establishing themselves so far in the people's favour, that it would be a difficulty to the prince himself to keep them within bounds. Lastly, it is a received opinion among the *Chineze*, that if an emperor would be obey'd, he must lay his commands upon his subjects, and not upon so many little kings.

Their seventh principle of policy is, to keep up in peace as well as war great armies, as well to maintain a credit and respect from the neighbours, as to stifle, or rather prevent any disturbance or insurrection which may happen at home. Heretofore a million of soldiers were set to guard their great wall. A less number than that also, to garison their frontiers and great towns, would have been too little. Now they think it enough to keep garisons in their most important towns.

Besides these standing forces, there are fifteen or twenty thousand men in each province,

province, under the command of private officers; they have also soldiers to keep their islands, especially *Haynan* and *Formosa*. The horse-guards of *Pekin* are above an hundred and sixty thousand; so that, I believe, in the greatest and securest peace, the emperor has in pay and at muster no less than fifty hundred thousand effective men, all armed according to the custom of the country with scymeters and darts. They have but a very small infantry, and of those which they have there, there are no pikemen, and very few musqueteers.

Their soldiers are very graceful, and pretty well disciplin'd; for the *Tartars* have almost degenerated into *Chineze*, and the *Chineze* continue as they always were, soft, effeminate, enemies of labour, better at making an handsome figure at muster, or in a march, than at behaving themselves gallantly in an action. The *Tartars* begin with heat and briskness, and if they can make their enemies give ground in the beginning, then they can make their advantage of it, otherwise they are unable to continue an attack a good while, or to bear up long against one, especially if made in order and with vigour.

The eighth maxim is concerning their rewards and punishments. Great men, who have faithfully served their country, never lose their reward; and because, be a prince never so opulent, he can never have enough to reward all his subjects, this defect is made up by marks and titles of honour, which are very acceptable to the subjects, and no charge to the prince.

These titles of honour are what they call the several orders of *Mandarines*. They say, such an one is a *Mandarine* of the first rank, or the emperor has placed such an one in the first class of the *Mandarines*, of the second rank, and in like manner of others.

This dignity, which is merely honorary, makes them take place in assemblies, visits, and councils, but is no profit to them. To make these rewards of greater extent, which the people chuse much sooner than pensions, they are sometimes bestowed even upon the dead, who are oftentimes made *Mandarines* after their funerals, who therefore fill sometimes the greatest places of honour amongst the nobility when the emperor can't bestow upon them the meanest place amongst the living. They have sometimes at the publick or prince's charge, lofty monuments raised for them, and that court which looks after the publick expences, judges what recompence shall be paid to their desert. These rewards are oftentimes accompanied with elogies in their praise, made by the emperor himself, which makes them and their family famous to all

posterity. But the highest honour is to make them saints, to build them temples, and offer them sacrifices as to the gods of the country. By this means, paganism has been mightily supported by the emperors, adoring themselves the works of their own hands, and paying worship and honour to them, who, when alive, would have been glad to be prostrate at their now worshipper's feet.

They reward also in private men those virtuous actions which bring no publick advantage to the state. We read in history, that temples have been raised to the memory of some maids, who all their lives kept their chastity inviolable.

If the *Chineze* are very liberal in their rewards, they are as severe in the punishments, even of the slightest faults; their punishments are adequate to their demerits. The usual punishment is the bastinado on the back. When they receive but forty or fifty blows, they call this a fatherly correction; to which as well *Mandarines* as others are subject. This punishment is not accounted very scandalous, and, after it is executed, the criminal must fall on his knees before the judge, and, if able, bow three times down to the ground, and give him humble thanks for taking this care of his education.

Yet this punishment is of that violence, that one stroke is enough to fell one that is of a tender constitution, and oftentimes persons die of it. It is true, there are ways of softening this punishment, when the execution of it is in court. The easiest is to bribe the executioners, for there are many of them; because, lest the executioner's weariness should lessen the punishment, after five or six strokes another succeeds, and so till the whole be performed. But when the criminal has by money made them his friends, they understand their business so well, that notwithstanding all the care which the *Mandarines* present can use, the punishment becomes light and almost nothing.

Besides this, in the courts there are persons to be hired, who keep a good-understanding with the officers; who, upon a signal given, take the place of the criminal, who escapes among the croud, and receives his punishment. For money, there are every where these sorts of vicarious persons to be met with; for it is a trade at *China*, where several persons are maintained by the blows of the cudgel.

By such a trick as this, *Yam quam-sien*, a famous prosecutor of christianity, escaped the just sentence of the judges. He engaged a poultry fellow for a large sum of money, to take upon him his name, and go to the court of justice in his stead. He

told him, that, let it come to the worst, it was but a good cudgeling, and, if after that he was imprisoned, there should be found out a way to redeem him thence. The poor fellow went according to agreement, and when the crier call'd out aloud, *Yam quam-sien*, the fellow answered as loud, Here. His sentence was pass'd, and the *Mandarine* condemned him to death. The officers, who had been bribed, seized on him immediately, and, according to custom, gaged him; for, after sentence, the criminal is not suffered to speak. Afterwards, he was brought to the place of execution, where the poor wretch suffered a miserable death.

The second sort of punishment is the *Carcan*, which differs from the former only in the place where the bastinadoes are given; in this, they are given the criminals at one of the city-gates, or in the highway: The punishment here is not so sharp, but the infamy is greater; and he, who has once undergone this punishment, can never more recover his reputation.

They have several different ways of inflicting death. Mean and ignoble persons have their heads cut off; for, in *China*, the separation of the head from the body is disgraceful. On the contrary, persons of quality are strangled, which, among them, is a death of more credit; if the crime be very notorious, they are punished like mean persons, and sometimes their heads are cut off and hang'd on a tree in the high-ways.

Rebels and traitors are punished with the utmost severity; that is, to speak as they do, they cut them into ten thousand pieces: For after that the executioner hath tied them to a post, he cuts off the skin all round their forehead, which he tears by force till it hangs over their eyes, that they may not see the torments they are to endure. Afterwards, he cuts their bodies in what places he thinks fit, and, when he is tired with this barbarous employment, he leaves them to the tyranny of their enemies, and the insults of the mob.

Often criminals are cruelly whipp'd till they expire. Lastly, the torture which is the cruelest of all deaths is here used; and generally the hands and feet suffer most in it.

Ninthly, They think it good policy to forbid women from all trade and commerce. And princesses never succeed to the crown, nor ever have the regency during the young prince's minority.

Lastly, Their tenth maxim is, to encourage trade as much as possible thro' the whole empire. All the other policy is conducive to the plenty or convenience of their country; but this is concerned for the very lives of the people, who would be soon reduced to the last extremity if trade should once fail. It is not the people's care only, but the *Mandarines* also, who put out their money to trusty traders to make the best advantage of it. By this private way, *Oufanguay*, the little king of *Xensi*, who brought the *Tartars* into *China*, made himself so rich and powerful, that he was able himself to support for a long time the war against the emperor.

To increase commerce, foreigners have been permitted to come into the ports of *China*, a thing till lately never known. On the other side, the *Chineze* spread themselves all over the *Indies*, where they carry silk, china, physical drugs, sugar, japan'd works, wine, and potters ware. They go to *Batavia*, *Siam*, to *Achim*, *Malacca*, and especially to *Jappon*, and *Manilla*; from which they are distant but a few days sail. From all these places they bring silver, all of which, that is brought from *Mexico* to the *Philippine* islands by the *Pacifick Ocean*, is carried from thence to *Canton*, whence it is spread thro' the whole empire.

But the greatest part of their trading lies within themselves, from one province to another, which, like so many kingdoms, communicate to each other their riches. That of *Huquam* sends rice, that of *Canton* sugar, from *Chequiam* comes good silk, from *Nankim* neat and handsome pieces of workmanship; *Xensi* and *Xansi* are rich in iron, horses, mules, camels, and firs. *Tokiem* yields tea, *Leaotum* drugs, and so the rest. This mutual commerce unites the people, and fills their towns with plenty.

These are not all the *Chineze* maxims; and there are a world of others, but I have wrote down these as the most known and most essential ones for the publick good.

C H A P. XV.

Sheweth of the Religion, Laws, and Ceremonies which they have and use.

IT is greatly to consider, that the *Chineze* being so wise in the government of their common-wealths, and of so subtile a wit for all arts, that they are so false of understanding, and so barbarous and blind in the worshipping of their false and vain idolatry: For they have no manner of knowledge of the true God, more than

Have no know-ledge of the true God.

Adore the heavens,

pictures & images,

the devil.

they imagine that all things which are created doth depend from above, from whence do come the conservation and government of them all, without knowing particularly who is the author, attributing it to the heaven itself, which they hold for the greatest of their gods, and so they signify it with the first figure of their A B C. They worship the moon, the sun, and stars, and all other images, which they make without respect, and some figures or shapes of lawyers, and of the priests of their idols which they were most affectioned to, in some principal service they had done. And likewise they worship any manner of stones that they set upon their altars, where they do make their sacrifices; and also the devil, which they paint after the same shape and manner as we do among us. The common sort of people do say, that they worship him for because the good people he maketh devils, and the evil people he converteth into kine, and other kind of beasts. The men of most knowledge, and that be most politic, they say they worship him and regard him, because he should do them no hurt.

They have in all cities and places of habitation, and also in the fields, a great number of sumptuous temples, and of goodly buildings, which are of great majesty.

Of their temples & priests.

Their dwellings and attire.

There are two sorts of priests, and they are contrary the one to the other in manners: The one sort goeth all shaven, and apparelled in white, and with certain high caps made of felt, somewhat piked before. These sort live in common together, and have their chambers and lodgings after the manner of our friers. The others do wear their hair long, and divided in the highest part of their head with a strike very curiously varnished with black, after the fashion of a hand closed together. They apparel themselves with silk or black serge, as all the rest of them do use. They dwell every one of them by themselves: they as-

sist in the service of the temples, and in the festival days and burying. The one and the other are not married, but they are evil-livers, and therefore they are not esteemed among the people, and they are punished with stripes amongst the judges for a small occasion. These people do offer in the mornings and evenings in their temples, incense, *Benjamin*, the wood of the eagle, and other things of different and sweet smells: And the place of prayer which they use in their house, is generally at the entry in of their gates, where their idols stand.

When they launch their ships into the sea at the first making, the priests go apparelled with long garments, being very rich of silk, to make their sacrifices in the poops of them, where the place of prayer is, and they offer painted figures, and they cut and burn them before their idols with certain ceremonies that they make, and sing songs with an unorderedly tone, sounding certain little bells. And they worship the devil, where they have him painted in the fore-part of the ship, because, as they say, he should do no hurt to the ships. In all this discourse they are eating and drinking at discretion.

Their office at the launching of a ship.

When they pretend to go upon any journey either by sea or land, or begin any business that seem difficult or hard, they use lots, and cast them before their idols.

Method of casting lots.

These are made of two sticks, after the fashion of two half nuts, round at the one side, and the other side plain. And before they be cast, they return to their idols with fair words, beseeching them to give good chance and fortune; for by them they think doth come good success or evil to them. And if it happen as they desire, then they will make to them great offerings; and with this they are cast; and if they fall with the plain side upward, or the one side round, and the other plain, they have it for an evil sign; and they return against the idols, and they speak to them shameful and dishonest words, calling them dishonest dogs. And when they be weary of calling them so any longer, then they turn again with fair and sweet words, and ask them pardon of that which they have said, and desire them to give them good fortune, promising them more than before they had offered them; whereupon they turn to cast anew,

anew, and by this order they proceed praising them, and setting naught by them. And when they tarry long, and if it be a matter of importance, they run to them, and take them, and cast them into the sea, and sometimes into the fire, suffering them to burn a little, and they whip them, and spurn at them with their feet, until it happen to them as they desire, that is, the round parts of these sticks to fall upward; and then they worship and praise them with much musick and songs, and carry to them offerings of hens, ducks, and rice, all dress'd, and a pig's head sodden, which they much esteem, and a great jar of wine, and of all this they set some part of it upon the altar in a platter, wherein is the tops or points of the pigs ears and snout, and the nails of ducks and hens, and a few grains of the rice, and some drops of wine, and all the rest they themselves eat before the idols, with much mirth and joy.

Manner of
burials. When there dieth any married man that hath a wife and children, and family, immediately after he is dead they apparel him with the best apparel he had, and they set him on a chair, and there cometh to him his wife, and doth put herself upon her knees before him, to take her leave of him, with many tears and pitiful words she speaketh, and consequently his children and kinsfolks after the like order, and all the rest of his household following. And this ceremony being done, they put him into a coffin made of the wood of *Canfora*, which is conservative and of sweet smell, well made fast in all points, because he should not smell. After this they put him into a chamber, which is hanged with white hangings of linnen-cloth upon two banks, and do cover him with a cloth even to the ground, wherein is shaped and formed the dead men, very naturally made. And in another place of the house without, or in the gate-house coming in, they do put for ceremony a table with candles lighted thereupon, all full of bread, and of sundry sorts of fruits. And in this sort they keep him fifteen days, in the which time there do come at the night-season priests continually to offer up their sacrifices, and to pray their own inventions after the manner of *Gentiles*. They bring many papers painted, and with certain ceremonies they make they burn some of them there, and the rest they hang up in cords athwart for this cause, and they cast them together, making noise that they send the dead men to heaven. All their superstitions done, they take the coffin, and carry him to the field, where the rest of the dead bodies are, where in time they are consumed. In all these days there are in the house the

tables set with many kind of meats, that the priests may eat and drink, and their friends and acquaintance that do visit them.

The mourning apparel which they use Mourning is most sharp, because they bring their clothes made of most coarse wool, nearest to the flesh, girt with hard cords, and on their heads certain night-caps of the said cloth, with edges like to hats, which falleth down upon their ears. They wear this for father or mother two or three years: And if they have any son that is a lawyer, he doth let the exercise of his office which he hath, and doth retire himself all this time until he hath done, and then he returneth afresh to the court, to do as he did before. But those that are not so near in kindred, do apparel themselves with raw linnen-cloth, not very coarse.

They do easily believe lies and feigned Believe transmi- fables or tales, that men be converted into gration. beasts, and beasts into men, and other ignorant toys like to these. It is not known certainly that any have preached to them the gospel until the *Portugueze* came thither, more than in the coast of *Molea*, which is the *Indies*, of the side of the sea of *Bengal*, which they call now *St. Thomas*. Thither came an *Armenian* on pilgrimage, and did affirm to the *Portugueze* that at that time were there resident, that in the publick writings which the *Armenians* had, there was relation and memory that before this glorious apostle did suffer martyrdom, he pass'd to *China*, and there did preach the gospel: And because he wrought little fruit in them he returned to *Molea*, leaving some disciples that he had converted in that country; of the which there is no knowledge found amongst them more than this religious man hath declared and said, that he had been in *Canton*, and from thence pass'd to a small island that standeth in the midst of the river before the city, where there is a monastery of those priests gathered together, and therein he saw a chapel built high from the ground, very well made with certain windows gilded, wherein was the image of a woman marvellously well made, with a child at her neck, and had before it the sign of a lamp burning; and suspecting if it might be of any rase of christianity, he did ask of those priests, and of other people that were there, what that image did signify, and no body could tell him, nor give him any reason thereof; and so it could not be determined, if by chance it was not the image of our lady that the disciples of *St. Thomas* did set there.

There is not in all this realm any *Jews*, nor rase of them; and it may be well understood, seeing that the most meat they eat is pork-flesh: Neither yet is there any Have no *Jews* nor *Moors*.
Moors,

Moors, altho' there are some that have descended of them that are arrived thither from the realm of *Samarean*, by trade of merchandise, and of such as were converted of the country, but the most part of them died by justice. These which are now, are descended of such as were banished for no great offence into divers provinces,

and therefore there are some in *Canton*, and others in *Canfi*; but as now they are few, and the children, and childrens children of those which were banished, and born of women of the country of *China*, all of them do eat pork, and drink wine; and there is no man of remembrance of the sect of *Mahomet*.

The APPENDIX to CHAP. XV.

CHINA, happier in its foundation than any other nation under the sun, drew in the chief of the holy maxims of their ancient religion from the fountain-head. The children of *Noah*, who were scattered all over the eastern parts of *Asia*, and, in all probability, founded this empire, being themselves in the time of the deluge witnesses of the omnipotence of their Creator, transmitted the knowledge of him, and instilled the fear of him into all their descendants; the footsteps, which we find in their histories, will not let us doubt the truth of this.

Fohi, the first emperor of *China*, carefully bred up seven sorts of creatures, which he used to sacrifice to the supreme Spirit of heaven and earth. For this reason some called him *Paohi*, that is, *oblation*; a name which the greatest saints of the old and new testament would have been proud to have, and which was reserved for him alone, who made himself an oblation both for saints and sinners.

Hoamti, the third emperor, built a temple to the sovereign Lord of heaven; and altho' *Judea* had the honour of consecrating to him one more rich and magnificent, hallowed even by the presence of our Creator, and the prayers of our Redeemer, it is no small glory to *China*, to have sacrificed to their Creator in the most ancient temple of the world.

Tcquen bio, the fifth emperor, thought afterwards, that one place was too narrow to contain the services paid to the lord of the universe. He therefore instituted priests or ecclesiastical *Mandarines* in several provinces, to preside over the sacrifices. He gave them strict command to observe, that divine service was performed with all humility and respect, and that all the religious ceremonies were strictly observed.

Tibo, his successor, took as much care of religion as he had done: Histories relate, that the empress, his wife, being barren, begg'd children of God during the sacrifice, with such fervour and earnestness, that she conceived in a few days, and some time after was brought to

bed of a son, who was famous for that forty emperors successively reigned of his family.

Yao and *Chan*, the two princes who succeeded him, are so famous for their piety, and for the wisdom of their governments, that it is very likely that religion was still more flourishing during their reigns.

It is also very probable, that three succeeding families did preserve the knowledge of God for about two thousand years, during the reigns of eighty emperors; since the most learned amongst the *Chinese* maintain, that before the superstitions introduced with the god *To* into *China*, there were no idols or statues seen. This is certain, that during all that space of time, the observation of the emperor *Yao's* maxims was recommended to the princes, of which the most essential and principal was concerning the worship of the sovereign lord of the world; and altho' some emperors have been so wicked as to reject them so far, as even to threaten Heaven itself, and foolishly challenge it to fight, they have been nevertheless look'd upon as monsters; and other emperors about that time have discovered by their actions a good sense of religion. But the knowledge of the true God was not always supported in the same purity. Their minds were possessed by idolatry, and their manners became so corrupt, that the true faith, being but the occasion of greater ill, was by little and little taken away from them by the just judgment of God. Among all the superstitions which followed hereupon, there were two sorts which were principally established, and do between them at this present comprehend almost all the empire.

Li Laokun gave rise to the first of these. He was a philosopher who lived before *Confucius*; his birth was prodigious, if you believe what his followers say of it; for his mother carried him more than fourscore years in her flanks, from whence a little before her death, he sprang out of her right side, which opened itself. This monster, to the sorrow of his country, surviv'd his

his mother, and by his pernicious doctrine in a short time grew famous. He taught that God was corporeal, and that he governed other deities as a king governs his subjects. He applied himself mightily to chymistry, of which some pretend he was the inventor. He beat his brains likewise about the philosopher's stone, and did at length fancy, that by a certain sort of drink, one might be immortal. To obtain which his followers practise magick, which diabolical art in a short time, was the only thing studied by the gentry. Every body studied it in hopes to avoid death; and the women through natural curiosity, as well as desire to prolong their life, applied themselves to it, wherein they exercise all sorts of extravagances, and give themselves up to all sorts of impieties.

Those who have made this their professed business, are called *Tien se*, that is, heavenly doctors; they have houses given them to live together in society, they erect in divers parts temples to *Laokun*, their master; king and people honour him with divine worship.

Time, which strengthens and confirms what is ill, did at length gain these false doctors such a reputation, as made them almost innumerable. The covenants which they make with the devil, the lots which they cast, their magical wonders, whether true or only seeming, make them dreaded and admired of the common herd; and whencesoever it comes to pass, there is no body who does not give some credit to their maxims, or does not hope to avoid death by their means.

One of these doctors * got himself so great a reputation, that the emperor gave him the name *Chamti*; which is the name by which they call God himself, and signifies supreme emperor. This piece of impiety gave the killing blow to the ancient religion; for till then the *Chineze*, as much idolators as they were, did always make a distinction between the *Cham-ti*, and the other gods.

The second sect which is prevalent in *China*, and is more dangerous, and more universally spread than the former, adore an idol which they call *Fo*, or *Foe*, as the only God of the world. This idol was brought from the *Indies*, two and thirty years after the death of Christ. This poison began at court, but spread its infection through all the provinces, and corrupted every town; so that this great body of men, already spoiled by magick and impiety, was immediately infected with idolatry, and became a monstrous receptacle

for all sorts of errors. Fables, superstitions, transmigration of souls, idolatry, and atheism, divided them, and got so strong a mastery over them, that even at this present there is not so great an impediment to the progress of christianity, as is this ridiculous and impious doctrine.

No body can well tell where this idol *Fo*, of whom I speak, was born; (I call him an idol, and not a man, because some think it was an apparition from hell) those who with more likelihood say he was a man, make him born above a thousand years before *Jesus Christ*, in a kingdom of the *Indies* near the line, perhaps a little above *Bengal*. They say, he was a king's son. He was at first call'd *Che-Kia*; but at thirty years of age he took the name of *Fo*. His mother, who brought him into the world through her right side, died in child-birth; she had a fancy in her dream, that she swallowed an elephant, and for this reason it is, that the *Indian* kings pay such honour to white elephants; for the loss of which, or gaining some others, they often make bitter wars.

When this monster was first born, he had strength enough to stand alone, and he made seven steps, and pointed with one hand to heaven, and the other to the earth. He did also speak, but in such a manner, as shew'd what spirit he was possessed withal. *In heaven or on earth*, says he, *I am the only person that deserves to be honoured*. At seventeen he married, and had a son, which he forsook, as he did all the rest of the world, to retire into a solitude with three or four *Indian* philosophers, whom he took along with him to teach. But at thirty he was on a sudden possessed, and, as it were, fill'd with the divinity, who gave him an universal knowledge of all things. From that time he became a god, and began by a vast number of seeming miracles, to gain the peoples admiration. The number of his disciples is very great, and it is by their means, that all the *Indies* have been poison'd with his pernicious doctrine. Those of *Siam* call them *Talapoins*, the *Tartars* call them *Lamas* or *Lama-sem*, the *Japanners* *Bonzes*, and the *Chineze* *Hocham*.

But this chimerical god found, at last, that he was a man as well as others. He died at seventy-nine years of age; and to give the finishing stroke to his impiety, he endeavour'd to persuade his followers to atheism at his death, as he had persuaded them to idolatry in his life-time. Then he declared to his followers, that all which he had hitherto told them was enigmatical; and that they would be mistaken if they

* *Cham-y.*

thought there was any other first principle of things besides nothing: *It was*, said he, *from this nothing, that all things sprang; and it is into this nothing, that all things must return. This is the abyss where all our hope must end.*

Since this impostor confessed, that he had abused the world in his life-time, it is but reasonable that he should not be believed at his death. Yet as impiety has always more champions than virtue, the *Bonzes*, to keep up their credit and reputation, because of their advantage, say the god *Fo* was the saviour of the world, he was born to teach the way of salvation, and to make expiation for all our sins.

He has left us ten commandments. The *first* forbids the killing of any living creature of what sort soever; the *second* commands not to take another man's goods; the *third* not to give up one's self to impurity; the *fourth* not to lie; and the *fifth* to drink no wine.

Besides these, they recommend to the people's practice several works of mercy. Entertain and nourish up, say they, the *Bonzes*, build them monasteries and temples, that their prayers and voluntary penances may obtain for you exemption from that punishment which your sins have deserved. Burn paper gilt and wash'd with silver, habits made of stuff and silk. All these in the other world shall be turned into gold and silver, and into true and substantial garments, which shall be given to your fathers faithfully, who will make use of them as they have occasion. If you do not regard these commands, you shall be after your death cruelly tormented, and be exposed to several metempsychoses or transmigrations; that is to say, you shall be born in the shape of rats, horses, mules, and all other creatures. This last point makes a great impression upon their minds.

I remember, says the Jesuit *Le Comte*, that being in the province of *Xanfi*, I was sent for to christen a sick person. It was an old man of threescore and ten, who lived upon a small pension, which the emperor had given him. When I came into his chamber, 'O my good father, says he, how much am I oblig'd to you, who are going to deliver me from a great deal of torment.' 'Baptism, answer'd I, does not only deliver from the torment of hell, but entitles us to the enjoyment of a place in paradise; O how happy will it be for you to go to heaven, eternally to live in the presence of God!' 'I do not, said the sick man, understand what you mean, nor, perhaps, have I explained my meaning clearly to you; you know, father I have lived a long time

upon the emperor's bounty. The *Bonzes*, who are perfectly well acquainted with all the transactions of the other world, assure me, that I shall be obliged after my death, by way of recompence for my pension, to serve him, and that my soul will infallibly go into one of his post horses, to carry dispatches from court through all the province. They have therefore been advising of me, to mind my duty in that new state, not to stumble, nor kick, nor bite, nor otherwise hurt any one; run well, and eat little, and be patient, say they, and you may move the gods to compassion, who often of a good beast, make at length a person of quality, or a considerable *Mandarine*. I protest, father, the very thoughts of it make me quake, it never comes into my mind but I tremble; yet I dream it every night, and sometimes methinks in my sleep I am already in the harness, ready to run at the first jerk of the postilion. Then I wake in a great sweat, and half mad, scarcely knowing whether I am a man or a horse. But, alas! what will be my sorrow when this will be no more a dream, but a reality!

This therefore, father, is the course I took. They tell me, that those of your religion, are not subject to those changes; that men are always men, and are in the other world, of the same kind as they are here; I beg you therefore to receive me among you. I know your religion hard to observe; yet, if it had ten times more difficulties, I am ready to embrace it; and whatsoever trouble it put me to, I had rather be a christian than turned into a beast.' This discourse, and the condition the man was in, wrought me into compassion; and afterwards, considering with myself, that God makes use of ignorance and folly to bring men to the knowledge of truth, I took an occasion from thence to undeceive him of his mistakes, and to lead him into the way of salvation. I instructed him a great while, at last he believed; and I had the comfort to see him die, not only with a clearer and better understanding of things, but farther with all the marks of a good christian.

In process of time, the superstitions of the people grew so numberless, that I do not believe any nation under the sun is so full of whimsies as *China*. The *Mandarines* are obliged to condemn all these sects as hereticks, as indeed they do in their books; but yet springing themselves mostly from idolatrous families, and having been instructed by the *Bonzes*, they in their practice follow the example of the common people.

Two of these *Bonzes*, seeing one day in a rich farmer's yard two or three large ducks, fell on their faces before the door, and sighed and wept grievously. The good woman seeing them out of her chamber window, came down to see what was the occasion of their tears. 'We know, said they, that the souls of our fathers are transmigrated into those creatures, and the fear we are in, lest you should kill them, will, without doubt, go near to kill us.' 'It is true, said the Woman, we did intend to sell them, but since they are your father's, I promise you we will keep them.'

This answer was not for the *Bonzes* purpose. 'But, continued they, perhaps your husband will not be so charitable; and then if any accident should happen to them, you may be sure it will kill us.' At last, after a long discourse, the good woman was so far moved with their pretended grief, that she gave them the ducks to look after for some time to comfort them. They took them with a great deal of respect, prostrating themselves twenty times to them; but that very evening they made an entertainment of them for some of their company, and fattened themselves with them.

Since the *Tartars* have been emperors of *China*, the *Lamas*, another sort of *Bonzes*, have been established there. Their habit is different from those of *China*, both in shape and colour, but their religion is the same with the *Chineze*, and they worship the god *Fo*; they differ from the *Chineze* only in a few particular superstitious practices. These *Lamas* are chaplains to the *Tartar* nobility who live at *Pekin*; but in *Tartary* they themselves are the gods which the people worship.

There it is that the god *Foe* has his most famous seat, where he appears under a sensible figure, and, as they say, never dies. He is kept in a temple, and an infinite number of these *Lamas* serve him with an ineffable veneration, which they strive as much as they can to imprint upon the minds of all others whatsoever. When he dies, for he is but a man placed there, they put in his room a *Lamas* of the same stature, and as near as they can, of the same features, that the people may be the better deceiv'd by it. Thus the people of this country, and especially all strangers, are eternally bubbled by these impostors.

Among the different religions exercised in *China*, I do not think it worth while to mention to your highness a few *Mahometans*, who have lived for these six hundred years in several provinces, and are never disturbed, because they never disturb any

one else upon the score of religion, being content to enjoy it themselves, or to propagate it there among their kindred by marriages. However, it may be of use to tell you of a third sect, which is the religion, or philosophy, or policy of some of the learned; for one cannot tell by what name to call this doctrine, which is so obscure, that the very professors of it scarce understand what they teach; they call it in their language *lukiao*, and is a sect of learned men.

That you may understand what I am going to tell you, you must know, that civil wars, magick, and idolatry, having put the empire into confusion for many ages, the love of learning was quite cashier'd, and there were found few doctors who could by their writings awaken the minds of men out of that lethargy into which ignorance and corruption of manners had lull'd them; only about 1070 *, some creditable expounders were found; and in 1200, one doctor did distinguish himself from all others, for his extraordinary understanding; by his example they began by degrees to take some pleasure in reading ancient books, which they had before thrown aside.

Lastly, in the year 1400, the emperor, being willing to stir up in his subjects a love of learning, made choice of fourscore and two of the most ingenious doctors, whom he commanded to compile a system agreeable to the sentiments of the ancient writers, which might serve as a direction for the learned hereafter. The *Mandarines*, who had the commission, set themselves diligently to work; but being prejudiced with those opinions which idolatry had diffused all over *China*, instead of following the true sense of the ancients, they tried by false glosses and interpretations, to distort the words and sayings of the ancients to their prejudicate opinions.

They spake of God as nothing different from nature itself; that is, from that power, energy, or natural virtue which did produce, and put in order, all the parts of the world, and which does still keep them in that order; in their works nothing is found but a better sort of atheism, and a licentious freedom from the worship of god.

They persecute all other sects with great violence, which at court they took up a resolution utterly to abolish throughout the whole empire.

Yet many reasons persuaded them from putting this resolution in practice; they were therefore contented to adjudge at *Pekin* all the other sects hereticks (which they still do every year) without setting themselves effectually to stop the practice of them.

These

* After our Saviour.

These new books composed by their most learned men, and honoured by the emperor's own approbation, were greedily receiv'd by every body.

Thus the people, so wise heretofore, so full of knowledge, are now in these last days miserably fallen into superstition, magick, paganism; and, lastly, into atheism itself, falling by degrees, story by story, till they come to the very bottom of the building; becoming thereby enemies to that reason which they had so constantly

follow'd, and abominable to that very nature to which they now give such high encomiums.

This is an account of the present state of *China*, with respect to the several religions there, as peculiar to the natives, especially before christianity was transported thither from the *European* churches. And I will conclude this Appendix with the reflections of a certain author upon the idolatry of the Jesuits, and other affairs relating to religion, consequent thereupon, in *China*.

Reflections upon the Idolatry of the Jesuits, and other Affairs relating to Religion in CHINA. Written Originally in Italian; Translated into French; now made English from the Paris Copy, by a Gentleman at the Hague, and sent in a Letter to the Reverend Dr. Francis Atterbury.

To the Reverend Dr. *Francis Atterbury*.

Hague, October 5. O.S. 1709.

Reverend Sir,

THE following little Piece having been just printed at *Paris*, under the following Title, *Réflexions sur les Affaires presentes de la Chine. Ecrit traduit de l'Italien*, and communicated to me as a very great Rarity, (by reason it is not sold, but handed about privately) I applied myself to a careful perusal, and immediately found in it much Sophistry, but more Design, (having often, Sir, heard you express a more than ordinary Desire of being thoroughly acquainted with the *French* Writers, towards which you have already made a curious Collection of their most eminent Ecclesiasticks) and being obliged to return it to the Gentleman who lent it me, I have, Sir, (in Acknowledgement of the many Favours receiv'd from you) attempted a Translation of it; which, since the *French* Copy is not to be had, will I hope meet with as favourable a Reception, as is meant in the Offer.

In reading it over, I could not forbear remarking, and had once some Thoughts of hinting my Observations to you; but considering, Sir, that the Design of the most cunning Parts of it will appear at first View upon your perusal of it, I submit the whole to your Judgment.

The *French* Publisher would have it thought only a Translation from the *Italian*, which I take to be a Feint, that the Author might be the less suspected; I make no doubt, Sir, but you have seen what Pieces have already been made publick, relating to the Affairs of the *Missioners* in *China*, upon which these Reflections are made. The Author's seeming Design is only some pacificatory Advice for the healing those Breaches, occasioned by the over-zealous Heat in those Parts, by which they have, in some Measure, as he thinks, retarded the Progress of propagating the Christian Religion.

But to detain you, Sir, no longer from the Tract itself, I remain

Yours on all Occasions to Command,

R. P.

A D.

Advertisement of the *French* Translator.

WHAT I here offer, is only the translation of an Italian original, which has already seen several impressions. 'Tis confidently affirmed to come from the hand of a secular gentleman; but whoever the author may be, the translator is an ABBE. His only aim in this small performance is, to gratify the curiosity, or rather impatience of the publick; for no body imagines that the jesuits will permit the new writings of their adversaries to pass unanswered. Whereas these fathers have upon all occasions discoursed upon this present subject with much caution and moderation, he thought it became him to imitate their example, by softening certain passages in these reflexions where they seemed a little too severe. He has also omitted unnecessary repetitions, or what he found less material to the cause in hand. In all other respects the translation is very faithful, and he only speaks the true sense of the author.

Reflexions upon the IDOLATRY of the Jesuits in China.

REFLECTION I.

WHEN a man sets himself to consider the present state of the affairs of *China*, the first motion that arises in the heart of every good christian is, to wish that the intention wherewith the *Chineze* practice their ceremonies may have nothing reprehensible in it, so as perfectly to agree with the profession of our faith. The very fear that these ceremonies should be superstitious, and that by condemning them, religion should be exposed to an evident danger of being destroyed in *China*; this apprehension alone, I say, ought to be a sensible affliction to whoever makes profession of the law of Jesus Christ.

The zeal and charity which we all owe to our brethren, ought to extend itself no less to this far distant christianity than to *Italy*, *Spain*, or any other neighbouring country, were the like danger impending over it. That person therefore who should be fearful lest the ceremonies inform'd against, should after all prove blameless, who should discover in his heart a secret satisfaction to see the defenders of them mortified, and should be glad of the occasion that this vast empire should remain under

the power of the devil, with the loss of so many souls; he that should speak of all this with joy, such a one having these sentiments and practices, must needs have little of the christian in him, and whom hatred and jealousy must have deprived of all sense of charity.

REFLECTION II.

IN like manner, when it is known to the true sons of the church, that the emperor has declared the ceremonies in question to be purely civil, that the learned and doctors of the empire judge the same, that this sentiment is confirm'd by their classic authors, that the christians have deposed it upon oath, and sent attestations thereof to *Rome*, that almost all the bishops and missionaries are of the same opinion; the true sons of the church perceive within themselves a certain joy, which makes them lift up their hands to bless the Almighty. If so, it follows that they who should be dissatisfied, who at the bottom of their hearts should wish that the emperor was found in a lye, the christians perjurd, and the missionaries no better than cheats: Those who should have such sentiments, and shew as much by their discourses and actions, by

spreading defamatory libels, or what is yet worse, by declaiming from the pulpit upon this subject; men of this character would certainly be unworthy to be cherish'd in the bosom of the church, that good mother which so tenderly loves all her children, and particularly the new converted christians.

REFLECTION III.

THIS being supposed, his holiness the pope, who as vicar of Jesus Christ is to give an exact account of the souls committed to his charge, and of the depositum of faith: This sovereign bishop, when he sent his apostolical legat into *China*, to receive by him more certain informations of the state of religion in that empire, undoubtedly did not say to him, 'Go, and omit nothing that may make the *Chinese* ceremonies appear idolatrous; forbid the missionaries to consult the emperor upon those matters, because the light which they might receive from him might ascertain the lawfulness of the contrary opinion. If the new christians should present you any memorials upon this affair, fail not to tear them in their presence, and trample them under foot; and if any tumult should arise from thence, cast the fault upon the jesuits. Above all, forget not to treat those fathers rudely, and particularly in the presence of the *Mandarines*. Declare them usurers, perjurd, and liars; bring them, if possible, to the bar. Let all the court perceive that you look upon them as vile souls, unworthy of the emperor's esteem. Make known to all *China*, that the faith which they have preached is different from the christian religion.' Whoever should suspect the pope, who is so equitable and just, to have given such orders, or to be capable of forming so detestable a design, would be guilty of sacrilege and an enormous crime, from which nothing but drunkenness or madness could excuse him.

REFLECTION IV.

THE instructions which his holiness gave to his legats must certainly have been the orders of a father; altho' resolute and efficacious, yet full of goodness, paternal love, and christian charity.

I imagine to myself, nor is it an empty and vain thought, that he delivered himself to this effect. 'We are between two dangerous rocks; on the one side is represented to us, that the *Chinese* ceremonies are idolatrous: I tremble, and am seized with horror, when I think that perhaps I shall be obliged to condemn them. On

the other side, the emperor himself, and the greatest part of the missionaries assure me, that these ceremonies are purely civil and irreprehensible. If therefore it should happen that I pass condemnation upon them, it would blast this hopeful vineyard, and the loss of a multitude of souls would be imputed to me. The language of *China* is altogether unknown to us; for which reason we cannot pronounce (as in the affair of *Jansenius*) upon the precise sense of the *Chinese* books, of which the two contending parties give different explanations, since the entrance into *China* of some missionaries of another stamp than those who were there before, we hear of nothing but disputes, libels, and accusations. This gives some grounds to fear, lest our holy religion should be banished from that empire, as it has been from some neighbouring kingdoms, under colour of its being the source of divisions and troubles, and so be suppress'd for ever throughout all *Asia*.

'Go then as an angel of peace, as an angel of counsel, to put an end to these debates, perhaps the greatest that have hitherto been seen in the church of God. Be sure not to shew yourself bias'd more to one party than another. Take care that no one adhere to your opinion thro' flattery, and make your friendship subservient to his private ends.

'I would not have you give yourself up blindly to the jesuits, even tho' you should find some dominican for them, as at other times several have been found, even of bishops who have writ and declared themselves for their opinion; but I also admonish you, on the other hand, not to abandon yourself to the direction of their adversaries, and their principal accuser.

'Mistrust those whom you shall see transported with too much heat in the present dispute. Listen peaceably to every one; and if you find some faults among the missionaries, cover those faults with the zeal of a holy charity, to the end the new christians may not be scandalized. Propose for your example what *St. Francis de Sales* your own countryman would have done in the like conjuncture.

'The diversity of opinions which you will find amongst a heathen people, ought not to alarm you; you know that the like disagreement is often found in christian nations. You are to take your informations from the learned of the kingdom, from the publick doctors, and principally from the emperor himself, who is the head of the learned, and speaks in the name of the whole empire. It belongs to him to declare the true sense of the *Chinese* books; and after that, 'tis our part to

‘ to declare whether the explanation he gives
‘ is consonant to our holy faith.

‘ You are to inform yourself whether the
‘ answer of the prince to the queries of the
‘ jesuits, which has appear’d in his name,
‘ and been dispersed thro’ all *Europe*, be
‘ truly his or no. If you find this answer
‘ to be really the emperor’s, and that it is
‘ conformable to the opinions of the learned,
‘ and the explanation they give of their
‘ books, and that it agrees with the per-
‘ suasion of the greatest part of the mis-
‘ sioners, we shall then on our part have ac-
‘ quitted ourselves with all the diligence that
‘ a discreet zeal prescribes. The wise con-
‘ stitution of our predecessor *Alexander VII.*
‘ will by that means be confirmed, and we
‘ shall have nothing to reproach ourselves
‘ with for the loss of this great empire.

‘ But should it happen, which is no ways
‘ probable, that there be a collusion between
‘ the jesuits, and the greatest part of the
‘ missioners, with intention to deceive us,
‘ that the emperor, and all the learned
‘ should have betrayed the truth in compli-
‘ ance with those fathers; that all the chri-
‘ stians should be guilty of perjury, and all
‘ this were morally certain: In fine, should
‘ you find yourself obliged to dart forth
‘ your thunder, and provoke a prince who
‘ otherwise is so affectionate to our religion
‘ that he protects it, and he gives free leave
‘ to preach the gospel thro’ the whole em-
‘ pire; ’tis easy to conceive what our grief
‘ would be, what the grief of the whole
‘ church, at the sight of so many thousands
‘ of her children exposed to be lost for
‘ ever.

‘ Wherefore try all the ways of sweet-
‘ nefs; assemble those in whom there should
‘ remain some zeal for the catholic religion;
‘ apply yourself to gain them, instruct
‘ them, consult with them whether no means
‘ may be found to abolish these ceremonies
‘ by little and little, and without noise.
‘ Make use of a fatherly goodness; omit
‘ nothing which christian charity can sug-
‘ gest in relation to the christians and mis-
‘ sioners.

‘ But, lastly, should it be found neces-
‘ sary to proceed to a definitive sentence for
‘ extirpating this evil; be the first to ap-
‘ pear in the imperial city at the head of
‘ your companions, fail not there to give,
‘ in the presence of the whole court, and of
‘ the principal missioners, a noble example
‘ of the christian fortitude; and, without
‘ shrinking, expect a glorious martyrdom,
‘ which will add more lustre to your birth
‘ than ever it can receive from the *Roman*
‘ purple.’

’Tis unquestionable that the pope did
give to his legat more mild and efficacious
orders than these, and that he prescribed

to him more wise precautions than I can
imagine. He knows himself to be com-
mon father; that the depositum of faith is
intrusted to his charge; and he, like the
Saviour of the world, desires that all men
might be saved.

REFLECTION V.

I Shall not go about to entertain you with
the particulars, how the legat behaved
himself in so difficult an enterprise, and
capable of striking terror into the greatest
saint. To be inform’d of them, you need
only read the faithful journal sent from
China; a treatise written with regret, but
however full of filial respect towards the
holy see, and for the person of the patri-
arch, now cardinal.

’Tis certainly an incredible thing, and
hitherto unheard of, that an infidel empe-
ror should use all his endeavours to maintain
the christian religion in his empire, by de-
claring what are the intentions of his people
in the practice of their ceremonies; by
shewing himself ready to clear the diffi-
culties which might remain in that concern,
referring at the same time to his holiness
the pope the decision of what is allowable,
and what not; by ordering to be laid be-
fore him in writing these points of the *Chi-
neze* doctrine which are not agreeable to our
religion, and protesting that it is not his
fault if the christian religion be banish’d
from *China*.

But it is yet more incredible, that an
apostolical legat, fearing that such an im-
portant truth should come to light, should
forbid, under the severest penalties, that
any one should consult the emperor upon
the controverted points; that he should de-
clare that they were wholly to stand by the
Chineze books, without ever addressing
himself either to the emperor or to the
learned of the empire, to be instructed in
the sense of those books, but that it be-
longed to the *Europeans*, notwithstanding
their ignorance in the matter, to explain
them.

One thing of importance deserves the
reader’s observation. The present emperor
of *China*, not being a native, distrusts the
fidelity of his subjects; and by consequence
it would be hard to believe that he, con-
trary to all policy, should go about to lower
the honours that are given to *Confucius* and
his ancestors, by making them pass for ce-
remonies purely human and civil, if this
was not the universal sentiment of the learn-
ed of the empire.

But altho’ (this also is worthy of atten-
tion) the emperor himself, and the learn-
ed should have made these declarations up-
on the dubious sense of their books, there-

by to render themselves conformable to the dogma's of our holy religion, by retrenching what might seem contrary to our faith. I ask what they could infer from thence? It would be a manifest sign that the *Chineze*, after having read the innumerable books upon religion, which the jesuits for more than an age have spread thro' that vast empire, are at length come to the knowledge of the true God, that they have reformed their intentions, and by the light of the christian religion have clear'd the obscure texts of their books.

Now what indecency more odious both to God and man can there be, than to see the *Europeans* ill versed in the sciences of *China*, to give the lie to the emperor, and to all the learned of the empire, who assure us, that in these ways of speech, *May it please the heavens, heavens grant, heavens keep me*; they understand by the word, *heavens*, what we christians mean, that is, *the Lord, the Master, the King of heaven*. Why then thus to betray the holy church, in the bosom of which this empire seems to deposit all her books, that it may speak as she does, and conform its speech to her doctrine?

REFLECTION VI.

THE legat is not ignorant of the pains the jesuits took to obtain for him of the emperor leave to come to *Pekin*; how many addresses they made, how many refusals they bore from that prince, who now reproaches them with their want of conduct in that affair; nor is he ignorant how advantageously those fathers spoke of him, insomuch that he was commonly called amongst the christians of *China*, *the great man come from the west*. He knows very well the unheard-of honours that were done him, so far, as that the emperor made him eat at his table, and presented him to drink with his own hands. These were the effects of the high esteem which the jesuits had inspired into that great prince for the sovereign pontiff and the court of *Rome*. In fine, before these unfortunate disputes appeared at *Pekin*, a certain jesuit that arrived from *China* related to me these words from the mouth of the emperor himself, words which I still bear in memory; *You shall see that in time my whole empire will embrace your law*. This time was already come, and this glory did seem to be reserv'd for the present pontificate. The joy we should have had from the conversion of that vast empire, would, without doubt, have been very different from what certain people make now appear in dispersing the mandate of the legat, a mandate which entirely ruins that afflicted christianity.

BUT what is the meaning of all the noise, all the bustle which the hereticks make in their journals, upon occasion of these *Chineze* ceremonies? Whence comes their excessive eagerness, so edifying in appearance, to see these ceremonies condemned? What interest can they have in an affair which concerns the catholick religion alone? The interest they find in it is great, and perhaps nothing more favourable did ever happen to them.

Without entering into the examination in this place, whether the pope can pronounce upon a fact of this nature, let us suppose that he actually has defin'd, contrary to the persuasion of the *Chineze*, that the intention wherewith they practice their ceremonies is superstitious and idolatrous; all the world must needs see, that such a declaration, whatever qualification you give it, would still be a formal giving the lye to the emperor, in the face of the whole empire.

This prince has declared, that by those words written in his own hand, *Adore heaven*, he understood, as all the *Chineze* understand, *the Lord of heaven*. No, sir, say they, you understood the *material heaven*. 'Tis to this material heaven you sacrifice yearly. Your language does not express the sense of your heart. We have certain assurance from the *Europeans*, whom you have declared ignorant in the doctrine of the empire, altho' they possess it much better than yourself; and these are the men we are to give ear to in the present debates. This would be the substance of such a declaration, whatever art might be made use of in the manner of expressing it.

Any man of sense would easily conceive to what degree of resentment such a declaration must naturally inflame the emperor. It would infallibly draw after it the banishment of all the missionaries, and an irreconcilable hatred of that prince against our holy faith. The gates of *China* would for ever be shut to all catholicks, and by consequence the hereticks would be the sole masters of the traffick of that great empire.

'Tis well known what has happened in *Japan*. The hereticks taking advantage of the misunderstandings of the missionaries, found means to drive the *Portuguese* out of those islands, and after that to work the ruin of christianity. What now appears to be a dispute of religion, will in time become a crime against the state. At this very present, they publish in their *gazettes*, that the idolatry of the *Chineze* ceremonies is manifest, and they have the boldness to treat the pope as an idolater, if he does

not condemn them. When they shall have got the upper-hand in *China*, they will change their note; they will not fail to say, that the emperor's indignation is most just; that it did not belong to the pope to send his orders into *China*, like a sovereign prince into his own dominions; that he ought not to have intruded himself into affairs that are purely politick and civil, by sending an embassador to give laws to the *Chineze*, like a master, and condemn their ceremonies upon the bare testimony of some ignorant *Europeans*, and declared such by the emperor himself. They will also add, according to their usual malice, that the principal aim of this embassy was, to introduce the *French* into those kingdoms.

REFLECTION VIII.

SOME persons may perhaps imagine, that it would be an easy matter to abolish those ancient customs of *China*. I very much doubt whether those persons, as fertile as they may be in expedients, would find it so easy a matter, if to compass such a design, they were to renounce their goods, their employs, and their dignities, as the *Chineze* must do. They who find so much facility in making the *Chineze* alter their customs, would they be so willing to change their own? Would they have no repugnance, for example, to submit to the orders of a prince, who should oblige them to go dress'd after a whimsical, fantastical manner? Would they willingly obey the decree of a pope, who should abolish certain scandalous merriments, which in their first institution were certainly idolatrous? Such are the *Bacchanalia*, or *Carnivals*, which are still practis'd in some countries, and which are no other than the remains of the feast of *Bacchus*; pastimes at which a *Chineze*, tho' an idolater, would blush to be present.

But, say some others, the *Chineze* ceremonies, after the manner they are set forth in the books of their accusers, have a certain air that shocks and scandalizes. To this I answer, That there is nothing in this world, to which a spiteful wit may not give a malicious turn. For a convincing proof of this, let us make two or three suppositions, which will render palpable the truth of what I advance.

The *Bonza's* have introduced into *China* two infamous deities; they are two devils, who are adored under the name of *Amida* and *Xaca*. Let us suppose, that several *Chineze* idolaters bear the names of these gods. After that, let us put the case, that the jesuits, in conferring baptism upon the *Neophytes*, impose these sacrilegious names,

or permit those who have them to retain them. This accusation is brought to *Rome*, and the fact is there exposed with an apostolick zeal and eloquence. These sacrileges, say they, are committed in the most sacred ceremony of our religion, in which, from a child of the devil, it is made the child of God. At the time that the adorable names of Jesus Christ, and the three Persons of the blessed Trinity are pronounced, who would imagine that the jesuits should sound forth the abominable names of those false divinities?

Give me leave to ask, Whether such an exposition does not strike an horror? And yet 'tis no more than what is permitted in *Italy*, and *Rome* itself, where they give to christians the names of *Diana*, *Hercules*, &c. We read in *St. Paul's* epistles, that some christians of the primitive church were called *Apollo* and *Phæbe*. The *Roman* martyrology makes mention of the birth of *St. Bacchus*, *St. Mercury*, *St. Nympha*, *St. Lucina*, names which had been retained after baptism by the fervent christians of the infant church. These were things which the catholick church, for just reasons, has tolerated; but this condescension would no ways relish with some sort of people. They frame to us a God of cruelty, which in truth is not the God of the christians; and they would model the church after the same manner.

Let us suppose, in the second place, that in times past there was a famous courtesan, who is now adored as a goddess; that all their poetry is filled with the infamous name of this prostitute; that they have given this name to a star, and to one of the days of the week. Upon this the jesuits are accused at *Rome*; they permit, say they, that the very day on which our Saviour died upon the cross for the salvation of mankind, upon which he destroyed idolatry by his sacred passion, they permit this very day to be dishonoured by the infamous name of this abominable goddess. This would be just like one of the darling declamations, with which they have stuffed their libels published against the ceremonies of *China*.

And yet, all things well considered, this is no more than our *Friday*, in *Latin*, *Dies Veneris*, thus called from the name of *Venus*. 'Tis true, this day ought to have lost its name, by a decree of *St. Sylvester*, but a contrary use has prevailed; that name, as infamous as it is in the original, does now no more shock the ears of christians; on the contrary, it now fills them with a holy compunction. In like manner, altho' the *Chineze* ceremonies seem to have something grating, when they are only considered with relation to certain outward appearances,

ances, yet they cannot but be look'd upon as innocent, when they are considered with regard to the intention with which the *Chineze* practice them.

Let the third supposition be, that the following calumny is brought to *Rome*: The jesuits have caused to be painted at the entrance of their church in *Pekin*, a mystery of our holy religion, and, Oh abomination! have mixed therewith a fable of paganism. They have there exposed a picture of the general judgment, wherein is to be seen our Saviour environ'd with all his saints, ready to pronounce the last sentence against the impious. In this very picture, under the eyes of Jesus Christ, who will that day take vengeance upon paganism, is to be seen *Charon* with his boat, passing the souls of the damned from one side of the *Styx* to the other.

What would they say to such an accusation, were it embelliish'd with all the figures and ornaments it is capable of? Nevertheless this picture I here mention is no other than that of the famous *Michael Angelo*, which all strangers look upon and admire in the pope's chapel of the *Vatican*, without being scandaliz'd: And, indeed, shall that which is manifestly no more than the effect of the lively and elevated fancy of the painter, become a just subject of scandal and horror?

REFLECTION IX.

BUT what if a *Chineze* should come into our catholick countries, might not he be able to censure and reproach us with our ceremonies, from some likeness they may seem to bear with those of *China*? Let us examine this in another supposition.

Let us suppose then that a *Mandarine*, well instructed in the disputes of the time, and who has learn'd a little *Italian* in his voyage, comes to *Rome*, and that he is present at high mass. He sees the priest, who, with the thurible in his hand, perfumes the altar from one end to the other; and he asks of the standers-by the meaning of that ceremony. They answer him, that this incense is burnt in honour of the blessed sacrament; and that it is a sacred tribute paid to the divine eucharist.

In the afternoon this *Mandarine* returns back to the same church, and being curious to observe the ceremonies that are practised in *Rome* at the burial of the dead, he assists at the obsequies of a deceased person. After the singing of psalms is over, he observes the priest clad in his sacerdotal vestments, with the same thurible he made use of in the morning, to offer incense to Almighty God, going round the bier, and incensing the dead corps.

What's this I behold, says the *Chineze*? Those who are round about him, and who penetrate no deeper than he into this mysterious action, answer him coldly, that he sees the priest offer incense. Is there some divinity lies hid in this carcass, replies he? A silly ignorant old woman of the company puts in her opinion, and tells him, that this sweet smoak descends even into purgatory itself, and refreshes very much the poor soul of the deceased. A profane poet standing by adds, that 'tis a ceremony derived from the pagans, who in like manner offered incense at the burials of their dead, and backs it with a verse of *Virgil*, in the description of the funeral of *Misenus*:

Congesta cremantur thurea dona.

Upon that, a man of learning draws near to the *Mandarine*, and whispers him in the ear: Sir, don't heed what such folks as these tell you. This action which you see, is purely an ecclesiastical honour which is done to the deceased, in token that he departed one of the number of the faithful, and in the bosom of the catholick church: But these grains of incense, adds the *Chineze*, are they not burnt in his honour, as I myself saw this morning burning in honour of God? Can you shew, in all your canonical books, one single example which proves, that in the old law they ever presented incense to any other than the true God? You give then to this dead person the same worship, the same honour, as to the Almighty. I beg your pardon, Sir, says the learned man, the intention is the soul of these sort of actions, which of themselves are indifferent. Different motives render the same ceremony sometimes a divine worship, sometimes an honour merely ecclesiastical, and sometimes purely civil.

This is the very case, continues the *Mandarine*, and you do the self-same thing which you reprehend in our practice in reference to *Confucius*, and those pictures in which are written the names of our deceased ancestors. Our idiots, like yours, comprehend not the mystery of these ceremonies, and without reflection, propose to themselves some end quite different from that of others. An idolater, with no more wit than this good old woman, may have some idle whim in his head; but those who with us are men of learning, as you are here, are perfectly satisfied that no more than a civil honour is design'd. This is their intention; this is the sense of our classic writers, who prescribe these sort of ceremonies. Such likewise is the declaration that has been made by the emperor throughout all *China*; nor did it ever enter into our imaginations, so much as to dream

dream that the souls should stick to those pictures like flies, or slide into the names that appear there. Wild notions! wherewith some illiterate *Europeans* have fill'd all those parts. The faith of the christians of *China* is no less pure than the faith of the christians of these counties: Heaven be praised for it, says the learned *Catholick*. How, says the *Chineze*, do you also adore Heaven? No, answers the *Roman*, but by this word, we understand the Lord of Heaven. 'Tis also the master of Heaven, says the *Mandarin*, whom we denote by this expression.

REFLECTION X.

PERHAPS my stile may appear too light for the subject; but I beg of the reader not to oblige me to alter it. He will see that the matter shall not be the less serious, but that it is necessary to treat it after this manner, to give a right idea of the nature of the *Chineze* ceremonies, by comparing them with certain innocent things amongst us, which are practis'd without the least scruple.

Let us then not depart from our *Mandarin*, who after the service, takes a turn about the church, and examines the chapels belonging to it. He makes a stop at one, the altar of which is adorn'd with two *Dii Termini*, placed on each side in lieu of colours, as is also to be seen in several parts of *Italy*. What species of men do I discover, says he? They have only a head, neck, and shoulders; I see neither belly, legs, nor feet. Answer is made, that they are ornaments of architecture, call'd *Termini*. They are, says a man of letters, *Mercurius Vertumni & Dii Termini*; the *Greeks* and the *Romans* ador'd them, but at present serve only to beautify the places where they are made use of.

What! reply'd the *Mandarin*, do you employ the figures of Devils to adorn the altar of the true God? Under favour, Sir, don't you see little wings peeping out of the shoulders? That ought to satisfy you, that they are Angels, altho' as to the rest those statues resemble *Pagan* divinities. That is to say, replies the *Chineze*, you have grafted two Angels upon two Devils. With permission, Sir, don't offer to say so, all the world would laugh at it. You are only scandaliz'd because you look upon these works with a *Chineze* eye. Were you to remain some time in *Europe*, and look upon them with the same eye that we do, you would soon discover that these sort of things have no relation at all to religion, and you would be the first to laugh at the scandal you now take.

Coming out of the church, the *Mandarin* proceeds in his walk about the city of *Rome*, accompanied with a crowd of the curious, who are pleased to see his Amazements. What church is that, says he? 'tis answer'd, the temple of the *Minerva*, it belongs to the *Dominicans*. This *Minerva* is some saint, I suppose, of the holy order of *St. Dominick*. Oh fie: Sir, far from being a Saint; this *Minerva* is a goddess of the *Gentiles*, which was hammer'd out of the head of another deity. And are these good fathers christians? Oh! not the less for that. Why then do they adore this goddess? God forbid, they pay no worship to her. But tell me then in the church of *St. Peter*, don't you honour *St. Peter*? don't you honour *St. Andrew* in the church that bears his name? This temple is not at all dedicated to *Minerva*, it only retains the name, because it is built in the place where anciently there stood one consecrated to that goddess. And do they permit the people, replies the *Mandarin*, to call it by so impious and profane a name? What would you say of the *Jesuits* of *China*, should they suffer the converted *Chineze* to call a temple dedicated under the invocation of *Mary* the blessed mother of *Jesus*, the church of *Xaca*, or *Amida*? There is no ground of scandal, Sir; a long use join'd with some grains of allowance, has stript this manner of speech from all impiety; but 'tis what you will never understand, unless you continue among us long enough to be accusom'd to the language and ideas of the *Europeans*. They go on in their discourse.

What is that spire * erected against the church, and the meaning on't? What are those cyphers, those strange figures wrought upon it? They are, say they, the remnants of the idolatry and superstition of the *Egyptians*; and some of those figures represent the gods, that is to say, the Devils which that people adored. And are not the *Dominican* fathers uneasy at such abominations before the church of the true God? If you consider'd, say they, these objects with our eyes, you would take them for what they are, barely for ornaments of the place, according to the intention of him that caused this obelisk to be erected, not as a sacred memorial of idolatry, but as a monument recommended only by its antiquity.

What means that cross upon the top of the spire? Were those devils reconcil'd to the church? did they become christians? Forbear such expressions, they are no less than blasphemy. The reason of my speaking thus is, because upon occa-

* The obelisk erected before the Convent of *Minerva*,

sion of a like cross on the top of a pillar in a church-yard, I was told that the cross was a sign that all those who were buried in that place were christians. Sir, it has been often said, that you must have regard to the different intentions, and we alone are capable of informing you what they are. The cross placed on the pillar in the church-yard, signifies what you say; but on the top of this spire, it teaches us that it has triumphed over the devils that are under it. The answer is good; but suppose our *Chineze* as incredulous in the case of your intentions, as you are of theirs, should continue to be scandaliz'd at the sight of these diabolical figures in the middle of a publick place, would you throw down this monument, which represents to the eyes the shameful relics of a detestable idolatry? Well! I leave it to you gentlemen of *China*, my countrymen, to judge whether *Rome* would have so much complaisance, as to suffer such a loss even as this, which might draw after it the ruin of so many other pyramids much more majestick, and which are the wonders of this queen of cities.

But why at least don't they forbid the carnival throughout all christendom; I heard the preacher this morning affirm it to be a rag of idolatry. They don't forbid it, Sir, because such a prohibition, altho' holy, would cause a commotion among people. S. *Charles Barromeus*, whose name you must have heard from the Jesuits in *China*, was resolv'd one time to abolish the carnival in a city of *Italy*, and the mutiny was so great, that to render ineffectual the order of that prelate, deputies were sent to *Rome*. If the inhabitants of that city had submitted to it, says the *Chineze*, would they not have lost their dignities, their goods, and perhaps their lives? No, Sir, they ran no hazard of such losses as those, but it is sufficient for you to know, that the church is a tender and compassionate mother, who shuts her eyes to a great many things when they are not bad; and to avoid greater evils, dissembles small imperfections. She roots out abuses, but it is by degrees; and the spirit which animates her, permits her not for trifles, to excite among her children a long series of troubles and vexatious disputes.

I see then, replies the *Chineze* in a serious tone, the old christians, and who for a long time have been such, have extraordinary privileges. These traces of idolatry, which you conserve in your names, at this time, in your feasts, statues, pictures, and churches, are become trifles with you. You infect, without restraint, with the orders of *Paganism*, even Heaven itself, of which

you leave not one inch undefiled. The stars which with so much lustre denounce the glory of God, cannot with you finish their career, but under the opprobrious names in false divinities. All this causes in you neither horror nor confusion; there is nothing that you cannot save by means of your intention, and the church forbears to condemn you, for fear of contristating her dear children. If so, is it likely but this good mother will upon us *Chineze* as her children, whom she has newly brought forth, and are, as I may say, yet hanging at her breasts? Ah! we live at too great a distance; too wide an extent of sea separates us from *Europe*.

When the case is about you, they are afraid of murmurings, and even light disturbances. When the concern is ours, whom you do not value, you resolve without difficulty to force us to renounce all the honourable employs of the kingdom, to which only the learned are admitted, and which title is only allowed to those who offer to *Confusius*, not sacrifices as you say, but presents, which imply no more than a mere civil worship; you little care that we should be reduc'd, and that upon weak conjectures, to the hard necessity of passing our lives among the dregs of the people, if yet the anger of a despis'd monarch cut not the thread asunder, or to renounce the obedience which we owe to the Pope, and to the law of *Jesus Christ*. We have made our tears to flow, as I may say, as far as *Rome*; we have sent thither authentick attestations, which certified the innocence of our ceremonies. What has been done to comfort these poor desolate christians? I repeat it again; this good mother looks not upon us as her children; and our great distance hinders the effects of her tenderness.

Our remonstrances have signified nothing in *China*, they have been torn before the faces of the suppliants that presented them. Our emperor has publish'd his declarations in vain; nay, we have been forbid to consult him concerning our ceremonies, altho' he is the lawful interpreter of them. All endeavours have been used, to make us appear idolaters, whether we would or no. But when our masters shall be driven away, and that we shall be orphans without fathers, without sacraments, without any one to assist us at our deaths, the god of christians, your god and ours, will he too shut his ears to our complaints, and his eyes to our misery and tears? He who has in his power the most terrible scourges, who makes the earth to tremble, and lays it waste when he pleases by war and mortality, will he not be reveng'd on those, who shall have pluck'd up his vineyard at the time,

time, when just upon the point of rendering fruit in abundance?

REFLECTION XI.

TIS not before some secret tribunal, whose mysteries are not to be penetrated, that the affair of the ceremonies of *China* is transacted: 'Tis in the face of the world, and before all the learned, who have before them the matter of fact, and in their hands the books, the informations, the depositions.

All the world knows that the emperor of *China* consulted by the Jesuits, in a writing drawn up on purpose, has answer'd in his own hand, and declared by an imperial decree, that the ceremonies which make the subject of the present dispute, are merely civil, and that the sense and meaning which the fathers affix to them, is exact and comfortable to truth. He who should say, that the emperor upon this occasion has published a lie in the face of the whole empire, would in all likelihood judge of the conduct of this great prince by his own. So rash a sentence will never come from the mouth of any man of honour whatsoever; and I shall never persuade myself, that the Pope will offer so provoking an affront to a prince, who tho' a *Pagan*, loves and favours the christian religion.

'Tis also well known, that the learned of *China*, (of whose intentions 'tis not permitted to doubt, after the declaration they have made) and that all the Missioners, amongst whom are several Dominicans, assure the same thing with the emperor,

In fine, no body can be ignorant, (and a bishop of *China* of the order of St. *Augustine*, observes it in the appeal he sends to *Rome*;) no body can be ignorant, I say, *Chineze* language is so difficult and obscure, that whatever pains an *European* takes in the learning it, he shall never arrive to so much knowledge of it, as the least of the doctors of the nation. This makes it plain, that we are not to ask the explanation of the *Chineze* books from an illiterate *European*, but from the learned of the country, and principally from their head, that is, the emperor who has already explained himself in the name of the whole empire.

The pope, the cardinals, the consulters, in a word, those who at *Rome* bear a part in judging in this grand affair, have never studied the *Chineze* language. Their decision then must needs rely upon the report of witnesses, and those witnesses ought, without doubt, to be the ablest men in the language, and to have the most perfect knowledge of the books, and the intention wherewith the *Chineze* practise their ceremonies.

CHAP. XIV.

Sheweth of the Order that may be had, whereby these People may turn to be Christians, and of the Navigation that is made from New-Spain, unto the Island of the West Parts, called the Philippines.

Jesuits
preach in
India.

OF some religious men called *Jesuits**, it hath been understood, that they began to preach the gospel to these people; but by reason that it is not permitted unto strangers to stay many days in this country, they were compelled to return forthwith without yielding that fruit which they desired, notwithstanding they found them very apt to be taught, and willing to learn, and easy to be reformed of their false idolatry, and with all humility they receive it, and acknowledge the corrections of their filthiness. He that first began this catholick work, was master *Francis Xaviere*, one of the seven religious men of the first con-

firmation of the said company, and was the first that came into *Portugal*, and that pass'd into *India*, and from thence to *China*. But before he began to execute his catholick desire, he died in *Canton*, and was brought from thence to *Goa*, where his body lieth buried in the college of St. *Paul* of the same religion. The religious *Dominick* declareth, that throwing down certain stones upon the ground, which they did worship, they came unto him with such rage, as if they would have killed him; but he pacified them forthwith in giving them to understand their little constancy, and their vain idolatry; and as they are of excellent wit, they forthwith fell into

* Constituted not long before this was published; for the Bull that confirmed this Society, was not granted till 1540, by Pope *Paul III.* and *Francis Xaviere* landed there in 1552.

† *Xaviere*, the Apostle of *China* and the *Indies*; since canonized at *Rome*.

the matter, and thought well of his judgment, saying, that no man had ever taught them the like, until that time. And with the self same excuse they excused themselves withal, when he did reprehend them of the filthy sin, not to be named, unto the which they are much given, thinking that they do not evil therein. But the greatest difficulty that these religious men found, was, that the governors and ordinary judges do attend with great care, that no new thing be taught amongst them without order and licence of their king; and as they are rigorous and ready to chasten, no man dare to be a christian without licence, altho' that they understand it to be convenient for their salvation; and therefore it doth import with expedition, that these inconveniences be taken away, and that there be sent an ambassador to this great prince. And in that embassage might go learned men, and religious, that should give them to understand the darknes wherein they live, and to persuade them to be christians; and that he should permit them to preach the gospel throughout all his realm, and how that it is not hurtful to take from him his lordship and government, but rather favourable, whereby his subjects may obey him the better. This will be easily obtained of him; and otherways for to attempt it by way of conquest, it will be so hard a matter, as it may be understood by his power and greatness, and by that which is contained in a chapter of the relation that the captain *Artieda* gave to his majesty, who was present at the conquest of the *West-islands*, which are called *Philippines*, treating of this realm, which word for word speaketh as followeth. There are also to the northward of these islands the firm land which they call *China*. It is a great country, insomuch that it is certainly known that it bordereth with *Tartary*; for the people that trade thither, say that they have war with them. They are a people very politick, they work iron with percurs of steel. I have seen gold and silver wrought so well with iron as could be in the world, and in this sort they work things of timber, and all other things. They say, that the *Portuguese* are good people, and that they have a little light of the world, but in comparison to them they see but with one eye. They spin gold as they do in *Milan*, and weave damask and other silks with it. They have all kind of armour as we have, and artillery, judging it by certain vessels that I have seen come from thence, that it is plain and better cast than ours is. They have so good government, that they say they make neither governor nor captain,

that is not a great astronomer. And first they shall prognosticate the time and chance that is to come, and it shall be proved and seen to fall out true, that he may prevent any thing that is to come. In every city and province there are garrisons of men of war; they go well apparelled; they were as white as we are, and wear their beards long. The women are very fair, although that all of them have little eyes; they wear their coats and gowns long that they touch the ground, and they make their hair red with colours, and it is said that they paint their faces. They say this king is of so great power, that he doth bring into the field three hundred thousand men, and two hundred thousand of them horsemen. In things that are painted I have seen brought from thence, wherein are painted on horseback armed men with harness, and salets, and lances. The country is so good, and so well furnished with victuals, that it is thought to be the best and most fertile soil of the world. The *Moors* that I have spoken withal, do affirm that they be not so warlike as we are.

They have moulds, and have printed books time out of mind. If it please your majesty, that this country be seen with the sight of the eyes, I do offer myself thereunto, giving me two ships of two hundred and fifty tons apiece, little more or less, and forty soldiers in every ship, and the artillery, munition, and victuals sufficient and necessary, with God's help carrying some order of embassage to the lord of the country, to enter in with my person, and to return all along the coast by *New Spain*. And to see the order they have as well for the trade within the land, as for all the rest, if that will please your majesty.

And in that which this captain saith, that the king doth bring three hundred thousand men into the field, besides the garrisons that he hath ordinarily in the cities and towns that do border nearest other princes, in this my opinion remaineth verified. And altho' they be not so warlike as we are, as the *Moors* have declared, I know not what power were sufficient for so great a number of horsemen, and against people so well arm'd, the artillery being so common to them as it is to us. And seeing there is required that there should pass thither so great a navigation, and seeing this great country doth fall within the compass of the conquest of our catholick king, it will be a thing of importance, that his majesty do command to ordain this embassage with the good will of his holiness, whereby this prince may reduce it to the government of the holy catholick

catholick church, whereof may grow great effects in the increasing of the christian religion. And this is very easy to be done, seeing that our *Spaniards* are become so near neighbours to that realm, and the navigation so near and certain as herein it is declared. There is in *New Spain* in the south part thereof, two ports or havens; the one is called *Acapulco*, which standeth in seventeen degrees and a half of heighth, which will hold many ships, although they be great; and another is called the *Puerto de Nanedad*, which hath the entry in of it very low, and standeth in nineteen degrees and a terce large. From these ports do go forth the ships that sail to the *Philippines*, and they go to put themselves in the heighth that the course of the island is in; for the time when they go forth upon this navigation, which is in the end of *October*, the winds are always northerly in that coast until the end of *April*: Wherewithal they go with the wind in their poop, running west; and from the end of *April* until the end of *October*, they turn to blow at west south-west, which serveth them to return, rising up into a higher degree that they lack no height. They meet at their goings with the islands called *Barbudos*, for they were so named for because such as do inhabit there, do let their beards grow long. These people are apparell'd with mats, made of the boughs of date-trees very fine, and they have no weapons, nor war with any country, and their victuals are *Cocoas*, and roots and fish, and their hens like to those of *Spain*, more towards the west. They turn and meet with the islands which they call of the

thieves, which be thirteen, and they lie in length north and south, the greatest may be little greater than forty leagues. They are all well near after one fashion and trade. The weapons they have be slings, and rods dried with the fire, which do serve them in place of lances; they shoot so far with the slings, that no hargubuse can shoot so far. They live with rice and fishes, *Cocoa* and roots; there is in them great quantity of ginger; and so beyond that more towards the west, they fall with the islands of the *Philippines* which are many. The island of *Mindanas*, which is the first of the south-side; it beginneth in five degrees in the height of the north, and it lieth out shewing itself in length as the rest do, which stand as a company of trees in the north north-west course, until you come into thirteen degrees and a terce, where you meet with the island of *Luzon*. This island is in length out unto the nineteenth degree in the same course; there is in it three places inhabited with *Moors*; they know not perfectly of what sect they are of, but they give reverence to *Mahoma*; they eat no pork. They have many rivers, wherein they gather gold, and it is distant from this firm land of *China* less than one hundred leagues; and from the city of *Canton*, which falleth to the north part of it, one hundred and thirty, and little more. Our *Spaniards* are in possession of the said island, and by reason the trade is great from it to the firm land, and for the curious things that are come from thence to *New Spain*, and from thence to his majesty, now they call it *China*.

A Description of *S I A M*, translated from the *Portuguese* Original M S. By *Pedro de Sa*.

- Its situation.** THE kingdom of *Siam* extends from the southermost point of *Malacca*, to the uttermost part of *Laos* in about twenty-five degrees north, computed about 1440 miles in length, and the city of *Siam* stands in the fourteenth degree north latitude. It is called by the natives the country of *Tai*, or of *Freemen*, because they resolutely oppose all incroachments on their liberties.
- Name.**
- Soil.** This country is very mountainous, which being over-run with wood, is the cause that there are very few towns of any note except in the vales near the side of some considerable river.
- The metropolis.** *Siam* is the metropolis of the kingdom, situate upon the river *Menan*; and has so many rivulets cut through its streets, that some compare it to the *European* city of *Venice*; and it has some houses built of brick, one story and no more. Here is the king's palace, which is had in great veneration by the natives, and constantly guarded with six hundred unarmed soldiers between the two first walls of the palace, which serve for executioners upon all occasions; and before the palace there is a guard of two hundred and thirty gentlemen constantly mounted on horseback, and armed with bows and arrows; they escort his majesty when he appears in publick.
- King's palace.**
- Guards.**
- Elephants.** The king also retains a number of Elephants in the entrance of his palace, a beast much esteemed by the natives, on account of its docibility or quick apprehension, because they believe the transmigration of souls, and that these creatures are only men metamorphosed; and the white Elephant is believed to be possessed with the soul of some great prince. A horse is the next creature in their esteem.
- Trade.** The king engrosseth all the foreign trade, which is a great cramp to the merchants; and of the most flourishing commerce of the whole *Indies*, has reduced it to a very low condition.
- Cities.** The other cities take their names from the several provinces in which they are situate; and make sixteen in all exclusive of the capital, defended at the best only with a slight wall and a ditch, tho' some are only pallisaded with bambou.
- Fortifications.**
- Genius of the people.** The natives are of a very quick apprehension, and not only smart in their repartees, but excellent imitators of any work or pattern, and it may be a rebuke to the intemperance, debauchery, and adultery of those that call themselves christians, to hear that these heathens are hateful of those vices in all their shapes.
- Virtue.**
- They are low of stature, but well proportioned. Their shape and visage however are but homely, and their complexion tawny; they dye their teeth black, and cut their hair very short, which otherwise is naturally thick and long.
- Stature and complexion.**
- The king wears a brocaded vest, made of sattin, that reacheth down to his wrist, and a cap in form of a sugar-loaf, with a coronet of precious stones about it; and such caps with coronets of gold, and other things of inferior value, are worn also in the king's presence by the nobles. The men of quality have a muslin shirt without a collar, with wide sleeves, and bosom open. Both men and women wear *Pagnes* of different fineness according to their quality, and the sexes only differ in their dress by the mens bringing the corner of their *Pagne* between their legs, and tucking it up under their girdle, which looks like a pair of breeches; and the women by a cloth that being thrown over their shoulders, cover their breasts; all the rest of their body is naked, and they have neither shirt nor covering for their heads, and delight much in rings and bracelets of gold.
- Habits.**
- Their diversions are chiefly hunting of Elephants, cock-fighting, and mock-fights by Elephants; they have comedies, rope-dancing, and tumbling; and the king himself has been known to please himself with the flying of a Kite and a lantern at its tail. They have also other social diversions, which they call *Cone*, *Laycone*, *Rabam*. The first is like people dancing in masquerade: The second is a vocal consort, that confine their songs to the history of their own country; and the *Rabam* is only a large assembly of men and women, differing only from ours in these particulars; the *Siameses* on these occasions sing as well as dance; the men wear sugar-loaf caps, and they who have not nails long enough by nature, adorn their finger ends with copper nails of a considerable length, which is accounted a great perfection. To these I may add, their running of oxen, rowing for wages.
- Diversions.**
- Their

Employ-
ment.

Their employment is in merchandize, in such things as the king gives them licence, or in handicrafts, in which the king employs his subjects one half of the year; but the chief trade of the common people is fishing.

The city
of Malacca
described.

The chief trade that the *English* have in this country, is at *Malacca* with the *Dutch*, who have possession of that port, where they send calicoes, opium, slight silks from the coast of *Cormandel* and Bay of *Bengal*, and from thence bring canes, rattans, long-peper, sugar, sugar-candy, *Benjamin*, sap-pan-wood, and sometimes gold. *Malacca* stands upon a low level ground, close on the sea-shore, and is defended by a strong castle built at the foot of a little steep hill on the east-side of a small river, which runs on the west-side of the town. This fort maintains a communication with the town by the means of a draw-bridge. The inhabitants are *Malagans*, *Dutch*, *Portugueze*, *Chineze*, and *Moors*: The *Malagans* are the least in number, and live chiefly under great subjection in poor cottages in the suburbs. The rest make between two and three hundred families. But the *Chineze* have the best shops of all sorts of manufactures and commodities. The streets are broad, but not paved, and the houses are mostly built with stone. The situation is very healthy, and most convenient for the *Dutch*, who have always attempted to engross the whole trade to the *East-Indies*; for tho' *Malacca* is not a place of great trade in itself, it gives the *Dutch* the command of the *Streights* between *Malacca* and *Sumatra*, called the *Streights of Malacca* or *Sincopore*, which, together with the *Streights of Sundy*, in a great measure command all the trade from *Europe* to *China* and *Japan*, with the assistance of their guard-ships, as we in former days had reason to remember, and the toll which the *Portugueze* yet pay when they march that way.

Soil and
product.

The land is rich in the valleys, and stony and barren on the mountains; they plow their ground much in the same manner as we do; they sow some wheat, but rice is their peculiar crop; which, when ripe, they tread out with cattle, to prepare it for the mortar, where its thick skin is beat off, and made fit for use.

Their gardens produce garlick, potatoes, raddishes, and cucumbers; oranges, lemons, citrons, pomegranates; figs, bonanoes, goyvaes, jacques, durions, mangoes, mangostans, tamarins, annanaes, cocoanuts, plenty of pepper and sugar-canes: the tube-rose, gilly-flower, rose, jessamine, amaranthus, tricolets, and other flowers peculiar to themselves. The country a-

bounds with wood, but the *Bambou* is the most useful.

Here are oxen and buffeloes, which are not good to eat, and only serve to till the ground. But their sheep, goats, deer, and especially little hogs, are nice eating.

Their birds are beautifully feather'd, abundance of wild-fowl, small birds, birds of prey, and of peacocks and parrots, which providence seems to have designed to have multiplied in this country, as a means to destroy the great number of ants and other troublesome insects, which swarm among them.

I cannot pass over the remains of the old gold mines, that are daily discovered in this country; from which some have conjectured, that this was the ancient *Chersonese*. There is a mountain of load-stone near *Louvo*, and another in the land of *Jansalan*, in the west coast of *Malacca*.

Its inha-
bitants.

Children are educated by the priests at proper schools, to read, write, and accompt; they that have attained so much, are also taught the *Balic*, or court language, some principles of morality, and the mysteries of their religion. Here is very little work for lawyers, every man being allowed to plead his own cause; and the study of chirurgery and physick is but meanly pursued. They are very indifferent astronomers, and to a fault addicted to astrology and magick, by which they naturally fall into the delusions of omens and charms; and their skill in musick does not exceed their progress and knowledge in other sciences.

Both male and female, as soon as born, are enrolled, that the king may not be defrauded of their service, as mentioned before.

Their places of worship are called *Pa-godes*, which stand in the midst of a square piece of ground encompassed with pyramids, and the whole enclosed with a large wall, which is also encompassed with a large square. Here are all the cells or apartments of the *Telapoinesses* or *Pagan* priests and nuns, ranging in a line on bambou pillars, but not contiguous; the whole is enclosed with a fence of bambou, and every convent has its proper garden. These are the seminaries or schools for education, and are call'd the city *Talopians*; for there are others that live retired in the woods; but both are confined to a single life, under pain of being burnt alive.

The *Talopians* are employed in teaching children their duty, or preaching to the people; for which they often are so well paid by the liberal contributions of the hearers, that they become rich, and are very crafty in their arts to deceive the credulous

dulous multitude into a good esteem of their order. They go bare-headed and bare-footed, with a yellow linnen cloth about their middle, and another over their shoulder, like a shoulder-belt, and over all another large yellow cloth made of rags and patches, which, hanging down both behind and before, is girded with a sash of four or five inches broad. They shave their own heads, beards, and eye-brows with copper razors, and have a broad leaf or *Talapat* to serve them for a fan or umbrella, and on the same sort of *Talapats* they engrave their forms of devotion in the *Balic* language. They are strict maintainers of the soul's transmigration, and pray to the dead, and are interdicted all innocent mirth and diversions, or to meddle with any thing but religious affairs.

Summono-Codon.

They worship many gods, but *Summono-Codon* is their chief deity; who, they receive by tradion, was the son of a king of *Ceylon*; he bestowed all his estate in charity, pulled out his own eyes, killed his wife and children, and gave them to the *Talopians* to feed upon. They also expect another *Summono-Codon*, who is to do so likewise, and by whose great charity they are to arrive at the highest pitch of virtue. It is to this deity they pray in time of disease or distress, and to whom they return thanks for mercies received. His image is always set between two more representing *Pra-mogla* and *Pra-scarabout*, his disciples, and there are others behind these, representing his officers or servants; they have also many other images in their temples and cloisters.

Marriages

When they arrive at maturity, the parents provide their children with husband or wife. After it has been proposed by a third person, and agreed upon, they consult the astrologer, and he calculates the natiivities of both the young people; after this they enquire into the fortune of each party; for the king having a power to

seize upon the riches of his subjects, none of them will appear or confess themselves to be rich, excepting on these occasions. When the conjurer has produced happy prognosticks, and the portion has been agreed upon, then the young man is permitted to wait on his intended wife three several times, at which interviews he presents her with a little fruit or *Betel*; and at the last visit the bride's portion is paid, and they are immediately complimented as man and wife by their friends and relations, and they always consummate the marriage, thus only performed, at her father's house.

They marry not in the first degree of consanguinity; but this is only the subjects laws, for the king regards it not, and has been known not only to marry his own sister, but the daughter he has had by that incestuous marriage also.

They are permitted to marry more wives than one; but upon the death of the husband his estate passes to his first, or chief wife, and her heirs; and both the inferior wives and their children become slaves to the said wife and her heirs, to use and dispose of them as they see proper. When a divorce is allowed, the children are equally divided between them, the woman taking her first choice; and the wives here are so chaste, that there is no room for jealousy.

Now after this short account of *Siam*, I shall add the following remarkable piece of *French* policy to reduce *Siam* under a *French* yoke, in order to extend his monarchy even as far as this *Indian* kingdom, which prov'd not only tragical to all their officers and others settled there, but of great damage to all the *Europeans* in that country, stopt the progress of christianity, and ended with the destruction of the royal family, who were cut off to make way for an usurper, that embrac'd the opportunity of the discontent raised among the *Siamese* by *French* intrigues.

A F U L L and T R U E
R E L A T I O N
O F T H E
Great and Wonderful R E V O L U T I O N
That happened lately in the K I N G D O M of
S I A M in the E A S T - I N D I E S.

Giving a particular Account of the Seizing and Death
of the late King, and of the setting up of a new One.

A S A L S O

Of the putting to Death of the King's only Daughter ; his
adopted Son who was a Christian ; his two Brothers ; and of
Monsieur *CONSTANCE*, his great Minister of State, and
Favourer of the *FRENCH*.

A N D

Of the Expulsion of all the Jesuits, Missionary Priests, Officers and Soldiers
of the *FRENCH* Nation out of that Kingdom, that endeavour'd to bring it
under the *FRENCH* Domination.

Being the Substance of several Letters writ in *October* 1688, and *February* 1689. from
SIAM, and the Coast of *CORMANDEL*. Never before published in any
Language, and now translated into *ENGLISH*.

T H E
P R E F A C E
T O T H E
R E A D E R.

FOR the better understanding of the following relation, I think it not amiss to acquaint the Reader, that the first solemn embassy that the *French* king sent to the late king of *Siam*, was in the year 1685, by Monsieur de *Chaumont*, who went in quality of ambassador extraordinary, whereof there are two relations publish'd; one of the embassy done by the ambassador himself; the other of the voyage done by father *Tachard*, one of the six Jesuits that accompanied Monsieur de *Chaumont* in that voyage, by the *French* king's particular command. Both are translated into *English*, illustrated with sculptures, and printed about two years ago.

The second embassy was perform'd in the year 1687, when the *Siam* ambassadors that came into *France* the year before with Monsieur de *Chaumont*, returned back again into *Siam*, by Messieurs de la *Loubere* and *Ceberet*, who carried over with them twelve *French* Jesuits, or Mathematicians, to teach the christian religion, and the mathematical sciences in the two royal cities of *Siam* and *Louvo*, and a considerable body of officers and soldiers that the *French* king sent to the king of *Siam*. The relation of this second voyage is publish'd only in *French*, about six months ago, by the same father *Tachard*, who went back into *Siam* with the *Siam* ambassadors, and return'd from thence into *France* with the character of the king of *Siam*'s envoy extraordinary to the *French* king, and to the Pope. He arrived at *Paris* in November 1688, and had an audience of the *French* king; and in January 1689, he came to *Rome*, and had his audience of the Pope. In March following he was to have embark'd the third time for *Siam*; but what is become of him since, is not yet known.

In all these three relations, there is mention made of a young princess, daughter

to the late king of *Siam*, that was then alive, whereof there is no notice taken in the following account of the late revolution; but in other letters that are come into *France* from other hands, we find a no less tragical account of her death, than that of her uncle's, and adopted brother, the manner whereof they say was this: *Opra Pitrachard*, having dispatch'd the king's two brothers, and adopted son, who were the only princes that stood in his way to the crown, caused the young princess, the king's only daughter, to be taken and thrust into a large velvet sack, and her brains to be knock'd out with great bars of the sweet and so much esteem'd wood in all the *Indies*, call'd *Aquila* and *Calam-boar*; and then thrown into the river, it being accounted a prophane thing, and a violation of the sacred respect due to a princess of the royal blood of *Siam*, to be put to death in the usual manner that others are; and therefore they did it with great deference and distinguishing ceremonies becoming her quality, not suffering her royal person to be polluted with the touch of any vulgar hand, or instrument of mortality.

The king of *Siam*, that died lately, was about fifty-nine years of age; the character that is given of him in all the printed relations of the *French* is very advantageous; they say he was without contradiction the greatest prince that ever reign'd in *Siam*. He was of stature somewhat under the middle size, but strait and well-shap'd. He had an engaging air, a sweet and obliging carriage, especially to strangers. He was active and brisk, an enemy of idleness and laziness, which seems to be so natural to the eastern princes, and is accounted by them as the noblest prerogative of their crown. This prince, on the contrary, was always either in the woods a hunting of elephants, or in his palace minding the affairs of the kingdom.

He was no lover of war, because it ruin'd his people, whom he tenderly lov'd; but when his subjects rebell'd, or his neighbouring princes offer'd him the least affront, or violated that respect that was due to him, there was no king in all the *East*, that took a more conspicuous revenge, nor appeared more passionate for glory. He was desirous of knowing every thing; and having a pregnant and piercing wit, he easily became master of what he had a mind to learn. He was magnificent, generous, and as true a friend as could be desired. These were the illustrious qualities which acquir'd him the respect of his neighbours, the fear of his enemies, the esteem and love of his subjects, that was nothing short of adoration. He was never addicted to those vices, which so commonly reign amongst the princes of the *East*; nay, he did often severely punish the most considerable *Mandarins*, and principal officers of the crown, for being too much given to their pleasures: So that the most unconquerable obstacle to the conversion of those *Indian* and idolatrous princes, was not to be found in him, namely, the immoderate love of women.

By the sharpness of his wit, he had discover'd the erroneousness of the religion of his ancestors. And he did not believe an annihilated God, according to the popular opinion; or, as some of their doctors say, a God, who weary of governing the Heavens, plunges himself into repose, and for ever buries himself in the forgetfulness of what passes in the world; nor a thousand other superstitions preach'd by the *Talopins* who are the preachers and priests of the kingdom. On the contrary, he believed that God is eternal; that his providence continually governs the world, and disposes of all things. To the same immortal God he often made his prayers, and implored his divine assistance with most profound reverence at least twice a day, for two hours time, in the morning after he was up, and at night before he went to rest. Of the truth of this, there is a most illustrious monument in that never-enough to be admir'd speech of his to Monsieur *Constance*, in answer to the *French* ambassador's memorial, when he press'd him much to declare himself a christian; which, because of its singular worth, I think it not amiss to insert it here, as father *Tachard* has deliver'd it to us in the fifth book of his first voyage to *Siam*, pag. 309, of the *Paris* Edition, in *Quarto*, which runs thus in *English*:

' In answer to the *French* ambassador, you shall tell him from me, that I think

' myself extremely obliged to the king of *France* his master, finding in his memorial the marks of his most christian majesty's royal friendship; and since the honour that great prince hath done me, is already made publick all over the *East*, I cannot sufficiently acknowledge his civility: But that I am extremely troubled, that the king of *France*, my good friend, should propose so difficult a thing unto me, wherewith I am not in the least acquainted; that I refer myself to the wisdom of the most christian king, that he himself may judge of the importance and difficulty that occur in so nice a matter, as the change of a religion receiv'd and follow'd throughout my whole kingdom, without interruption, during the space of two thousand two hundred and twenty-nine years.

' Besides, it is a matter of astonishment to me, that the king of *France*, my good friend, should so much concern himself in an affair that relates to God, wherein it would seem God does not at all interest himself, but leaves it wholly to our discretion; for could not the true God, that created the heaven and the earth, and all things that are therein, and hath given them so different natures and inclinations, when he gave to men like bodies and souls, if he had pleas'd, have also inspir'd into them the same sentiments for that religion they ought to follow, and for that worship which was most acceptable to him, and make all nations live and die in the same laws?

' That order amongst men, and unity in religion depending absolutely on divine providence, who could as easily introduce it into the world, as the diversity of the sects that in all times have been establish'd in it; ought not one to think that the true God takes as great pleasure to be honoured by different worship and ceremonies, as to be glorified by a prodigious number of creatures, that praise him every one in their own way? Would that beauty and variety which we admire in the order of nature, be less admirable in the supernatural order, or less befitting the wisdom of God?

' However it be, continued he, since we know that God is the absolute master of the world, and that we are persuaded that nothing comes to pass contrary to his will, I wholly resign my person and dominions into the arms of the divine mercy and providence, and with all my heart beseech his eternal wisdom to dispose thereof according to his good will and pleasure.'

But

But after all this character and account of his person and humour, I cannot learn what his name was, unless by the inscription of the letters he sent to the *Pope* and to the *French* king in the year 1688, mentioned in the second voyage of father *Tachard*. In his letter to the *French* king he writes himself thus :

SOM DET PRATCHAO CRUNG
THEP PRAMHA ANA CON
PUJAI.

To the Pope thus :

SOM DET PRATCHAO SIA JOV
THIA PUJAI.

He never signs his name in any letters he writes ; the metal on which his letters are writ, and which none else in his kingdom is allowed to use but himself, is accounted an authentick and unquestionable proof that the letters are the king's. He writes on a plate of gold only when he sends letters to great kings ; and when he writes to inferior and private persons, it is commonly on paper, to which his seal is annex'd, which is of different bigness, according to the quality of the person to whom he writes.

And as for Monsieur *Constance*, besides what is said of him in the following discourse, I will add some few things taken of other authors, that are entertaining enough, and deserve to be inserted here.

Whilst he was in *England*, and a good while after he had been settled in *Siam*, he was a good protestant, but when he fell into the *Jesuits* hands, they soon perverted him, and made him embrace the *Roman Catholick Religion*, and espouse the *French* Interest, to that degree of zeal that proved so fatal to him at last. He lived some years in the family and service of one Mr. *White*, a considerable *East-India* merchant at *Siam*, who is now in *London* ; and continued his factor when he left *Siam* ; by which means he gather'd some money, and then set up for himself : The first step he made, was to buy a ship, and to put to sea, but had the misfortune to be beat back by bad weather, and was twice cast away in the mouth of the river *Siam*.

Putting to sea once more, he was shipwreck'd the third time, and much more unfortunately, upon the coast of *Malabar* ; there he was in danger of perishing, and could not save of all he had, above two thousand crowns. In this sad condition, being oppressed with grief, weariness, and sleep, a remarkable thing happened to him : He had laid himself down upon the shore, when whether he was asleep or awake he could not tell himself, he fancied

he saw a person full of majesty, who looking upon him with a smiling countenance, most obligingly said to him, *Return, return from whence you came*. Which words so wrought upon him, as he did often protest to several of his acquaintance since, that it was impossible for him to sleep all the rest of the night, his thoughts being wholly taken up about finding a way how to return to *Siam*.

Next day, whilst he walk'd by the sea side, reflecting on what he had seen in the night-time, and uncertain what to think of it, he saw a man coming towards him dropping wet, with a sad and dejected countenance : It was an ambassador of the king of *Siam*, who upon his return from *Persia*, had been cast away, without saving any thing but his life ; both of them speaking the *Siamese* tongue, they became soon acquainted with one another's adventures. The ambassador discover'd himself, and told what extream necessity he was reduc'd to. Monsieur *Constance* condoling his misfortune, offered to carry him back to *Siam*, and with the two thousand crowns that he had saved, he bought a small barque, cloaths and provision for their passage. This so obliging a behaviour charmed the ambassador of *Siam*, who from that time forward, endeavoured all he could how he might testify his gratitude to him. When they arriv'd at *Siam*, and the ambassador had given an account of his negotiation and shipwreck to the chief minister, he told him all the good offices which he had received from Monsieur *Constance*, with so great applause to his merit, that the minister had a mind to know him. He entertain'd him in discourse, and liked him so well, that he resolved to keep him about him, in which post he soon gain'd the esteem and confidence of his master. This chief minister was a man of wit, and well versed in business ; but he avoided trouble as much as he could, and loved his pleasure. It was matter of exceeding joy to him, to have found an able, faithful, and industrious person, on whom he might repose the cares of his place. The *Barcalon* dying not long after, the king would needs put Monsieur *Constance* in his place, but he declined it, and told his majesty, ' That that post would create ' to him the envy of all the great men, ' and therefore besought him not to raise ' him higher than he was, for that was the ' utmost boundary of his ambition, accounting himself happy enough, in that ' he stood fair in his favours.'

His modesty, his skill, and diligence, in dispatching affairs, his fidelity in managing the publick revenue, and his disinterestedness in refusing both the appointments of his

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his office, and all presents from private people, did more and more increase the king's confidence in him.

He was very civil to the *English* on all occasions, and did them all the friendly offices that lay in his power. He was very desirous of settling a trade betwixt that nation and them, but it was obstructed.

About two years ago, he sent a very considerable present to king *James II.* of all the rarities and valuable things that the *East-Indies* do produce, estimated to be worth about six thousand pounds.

Now that I am talking of presents, nothing could be more magnificent, than

those that the king of *Siam* sent to the *French* king in the year 1685, valued at above sixty thousand pounds: And, in requital, the *French* king sent to the king of *Siam* of the manufacture of *France* in rich brocades, looking-glasses, watches, clocks, and other valuable things, to the value of above 300,000 crowns; yet nothing was look'd on as a greater compliment to the king of *Siam*, than a very fine caparason of velvet, all richly embroidered with silver, gold, and pearls, all the buckles and rings whereof were of massy gold, that was sent for the White Elephant, the *Palladium*, or tutelar deity of that country.

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BY the various relations, embassies, and voyages of *Siam* that have been publish'd within these last four years, the world has been sufficiently inform'd of the intrigues of the *Jesuits* in that kingdom, which was begun and manag'd by the means of a certain *Greek* christian, call'd *Constantine Falcon*, whom the *French* have qualified with the title and dignity of *his excellency my Lord Constance*. He was born in *Cephalonia*, a *Greek* island, belonging to the *Venetians*, of a noble *Venetian*, and of a young lady of the ancientest family of the country; and about the year 1660, being but ten years of age, he had sense and understanding enough to discern the ill condition that his parents negligence and ill management had brought their domestick affairs into, which put him upon the resolution of seeking his fortune abroad, since he could not maintain it according to his quality at home. The first adventure he made was into *England*, where he lived some years, and then went into the *East-Indies*, and was employ'd by some *English* merchants as

their factor at *Siam*. He continued some time in that service, and had the good fortune to be known to the chief minister of state, who in that country is call'd *Barcalon*, who finding him to be diligent, laborious, and capable of doing business, brought him into the management of publick affairs under him; by which means he came to be not only acceptable, but very necessary to the king in the dispatch of several important matters. The advantage of his *European* education, and the great knowledge he had acquired in trade and commerce, both there and in the *Indies*, making him very considerable, help'd to insinuate him so far into the favour and good opinion of the king of *Siam*, that at last, after the death of the *Barcalon*, he was advanced to be one of his chief ministers, especially for the management of foreign affairs.

The intrigue was carried on at court, under the plausible pretext of freeing the gulph of *Siam* from the *Dutch* yoke, who having *Malacca*, a strong fort at the entry of it, in their hands, had imposed a toll and duty on all the *Indian* ships that

traded or came into that bay; but the true design that (as was believed) lay at the bottom, was first to bring the kingdom under the *French* domination, and then to change the establish'd religion of the country; towards the attainment of which ends, the said *Greek* had so far prevailed on the king, who having no sons of his own to succeed him, but two brothers, as to get him to adopt a young nobleman that had been bred up in that christian religion that the *Jesuits* teach and propagate in the *Indies*, to be his heir and successor. It was under this successor that the conspiracy was to take effect.

The *French* were already become masters, and in possession of the two chief places that open a passage into that kingdom; the one is called *Bancock*, which is a great and strong fortress on the mouth of the river of *Siam*; *Margen* is the other place situated on the frontiers; and as if this had not been enough to please and oblige them, the king allow'd them to have a command in the guards about his own person.

It was with much impatience and resentment that the officers of state and the great men of the kingdom suffered those pernicious intrigues to be carried on. They could not but well observe, that those great *French* squadrons, so fill'd with numbers of men, and so plentifully provided with ammunition, and all warlike preparations, aimed at something else, besides the securing of the trade and commerce of the *French* company of merchants, all whose stock was not of that importance, as to occasion the charges and necessary expence of one of those squadrons; neither were they so silly, or unacquainted with the affairs abroad, as to believe that those mighty and rich presents that came so frequently from *France*, were sent for no other end, than to make and preserve a strict friendship and amity betwixt the kings of both nations. They could not, without some indignation, bear the specious discourses of the *Jesuits*, who would persuade those oriental people, that all the pains they took, the fatigues and dangers they had endur'd in coming so far to live amongst them, proceeded from no other principle, but the strong desire they had of doing them good, which was pretended to be the motive that induced them to come and exercise amongst them those arts and sciences that are best understood and practis'd in *Europe*, such as physick, surgery, astronomy, and the mathematicks, by the means whereof they hoped to render them capable of being taught the way to heaven.

On the contrary, they saw that those missionaries had fallen upon the same treache-

rous and intriguing methods to over-turn their government, that they had formerly practis'd in *Japan*, where they made it more their business to subject that kingdom to the *Spanish* domination (which was then most potent, and furthest extended in the world) than to bring it under the obedience of *Jesus Christ's* laws. Notwithstanding that the doctrine of the gospel had made so great a progress in that vast empire, that some princes of the blood, several of the chief nobility, and some hundreds of thousands of the people had declared for the christian religion, and enrolled themselves amongst the professors of it.

These were the reflections that the grandees of *Siam* entertain'd themselves with on this occasion, but they were willing to stay till the death of the king, before they attempted the shaking off this foreign yoke.

In the month of *May* 1688, the king happened to fall sick at his royal palace at *Louvo*, the report whereof was no sooner spread abroad, than the conspiracy broke out, which was contrived by one of the chief ministers of state, *Pitrachard* by name; who, besides his great quality of *Mandarin*, was governor of the palaces of *Siam* and *Louvo*, and dignified with the honourable title of *Opra*, which is one of the most illustrious and distinguishing marks of honour that one is capable of in *Siam*. The discovery of this plot, the progress it made, and the consequences of it, being the substance of several letters writ from *Siam* in *October* 1688, are as follow:

' On the 26th of *May* at night *Opra*
' *Pitrachard* caused a great many troops
' to enter the castle of *Louvo*, whereby he
' made himself presently master of the
' person of the king, seized his adopted
' son, and his two brothers; giving it
' out, and making every one of them in
' particular believe, it was to secure the
' king's life from a desperate conspiracy
' that lately had been discover'd against
' him, but to the three young princes he
' further said to every one of them apart,
' that the king was so ill, that he was past
' all hopes of recovery, and that he would
' make it his business to set the crown on
' their heads.' This was done on purpose
that they might let him go on, and not interrupt him in the execution of so plausible a design; and it had all the success that he could have wished or hoped.

Monfieur *Constance* was no sooner acquainted with what had passed, and was a carrying on in the castle, but he went immediately thither, accompanied with a numerous train of his friends, and particularly

cularly of the *French*, amongst whom were these officers of note, *Messieurs de Beauchamp, de Fretteville, the chevalier des Fourbin, Monsieur Vandrille, and de Luiffe*; as he was entering the castle, he told those that were posted round about it, that he was going to see the king; but he did scarcely come within the gates when they seized him, and on the *French* officers, who were all secured and kept together in one of the apartments of the palace.

The next day *Opra Pitrachard* sent for *Monsieur Constance* to come to him, and ordered him to go and tell the *French* officers that there was no design of keeping them prisoners, that what was done was occasion'd by a most dangerous plot that they had lately discovered against the life of the king, but that all the parties concern'd in it not being as yet fully known, they were under the necessity of securing all persons of note, until a clearer discovery should be made; 'And as for you, *Monsieur Constance*, said he, with a certain air of authority, I charge you that you say this, and no more, to these *French* officers, and know that you shall be narrowly watched and over-heard.' This complimentary visit was only an artifice that *Opra Pitrachard* used to moderate the resentments of the *French*, and to hinder them from taking of measures for their common defence and security. *Monsieur Constance* went and delivered the message precisely in the terms he was order'd.

The king of *Siam* had several troops of guards about his person, whereof one was made up of *Europeans* of different nations, but especially of the *French*. The *Siams's* troop of guards, consisting of 150 men, was commanded by *French* officers; these were sent to *Thalapson*, a house of pleasure the king had at some distance from *Louvo*, whither *Opra Pitrachard* had sent a great body of the forces to encamp, and be in a readiness as occasion should present. Two days after the *French* officers that had been taken into custody, and secured at *Louvo*, together with *Monsieur Constance*, were sent thither also under a strong guard.

When matters had thus far proceeded, *Opra Pitrachard* sent again for *Monsieur Constance* to have him brought before him, and severely reproached him, charging him with treachery and perfidiousness against the king and government of *Siam*, and then caused him to be put to the ordinary and extraordinary torture, to force him to discover and declare who were his accomplices in the management of the intrigue for making the king a christian, and subjecting the dominion to the

French power: And when he had continued him several hours in the torture, he order'd the king's adopted son to be brought to the place, and caused his head to be cut off immediately, and a string to be run through it, and then to be hung about *Monsieur Constance's* neck, in the manner of *European* cravats.

This tragedy was acted on the 28th of *May*, the following 29th and 30th, *Monsieur Constance* was again applied to the torture, in the cruelest manner that could be devised, having the young prince's head always hanging on his breast night and day. Thus they continued to torment him till the 4th of *June*, that he expired under the violence of the torture.

His goods, family, and all effects were also seiz'd every where, and his family carried into prison. His lady, after having undergone a severe examination, and several interrogatories put to her, without declaring or confessing what they expected or desired, was at last applied to the torture, which she endur'd several days together; after which they threw her into prison, where she was kept three months with iron chains on her hands, and fetters on her feet; at the end whereof they made her and all her family slaves, in which disgraceful quality they took off her irons, open'd the prison doors, and turn'd her out.

Opra Pitrachard, who had determin'd with himself to set the crown on his head, after he had once dispatched the king's adopted son, and *Monsieur Constance* out of the way, began now to consider how to get rid of the two princes the king's brothers, that seem'd to obstruct the execution of his design; and this was the expedient he made use of to bring it about. He made each of them in particular, and severally believe, that what he had acted in all this revolution, was in order to the bringing and settling them on the throne; but in regard affairs were not yet in a peaceable and regular posture, there was a necessity for their retiring for some time to *Thalapson*, until he should use his utmost endeavour to appease them: These poor unfortunate princes suffer'd themselves easily to be persuaded by the magick of those cunning insinuations and plausible pretences to go thither; but they never reach'd it, being murder'd in the way by a party that was appointed to do that execution. Then they fell upon all the most considerable persons that were their friends and intimate acquaintance, and caused them to be put to death in like manner, or to be imprison'd.

The next step that *Opra Pitrachard* made was to set himself against the christians, whom he was resolv'd to drive out of the king-

kingdom ; and to facilitate it the more, he commanded that all the *Portugueze* christians should meet together, and retire into a little island near *Siam*, threatening to put all those to death that should attempt to make their escape out of it.

The *Engliss* had the misfortune also to feel the effects of his indignation and rage, for they were first plunder'd of all they had, and then thrown into prison. As for the *French* that were at *Siam* and *Louvo*, he made no open assault upon them at first, because their numbers were too considerable to be treated as the rest were ; and besides he was willing rather to surprize those that were at *Bancock* and at *Morgen*, than openly to attack them. The most considerable persons of the *French* nation that were at *Thalapson*, were the chevaliers *de Cargis*, and *de Frettiville*, Monsieur *de Vandrille*, Monsieur *de Laisse*, Monsieur *Bresley*, the engineer, and another engineer ; and it was not possible for them to make their escape from *Louvo* as yet ; but in conclusion, fearing lest in the progress of these tragical revolutions, they should meet with the same fate, that the other christians dispersed up and down the kingdom had found ; they made an escape, and fled towards *Siam*, to the quarters of the *French* company ; and when they should have the good-luck to get thither, their purpose was to have seiz'd on some ship or other to carry them to the *French* garrison at *Bancock*, where Monsieur *de Farges*, general of the *French* forces, commanded, and to inform him what had pass'd : But *Opra Pitrachard*, being advertised of their flight, early enough to prevent what might follow upon it, sent immediately a detach'd body of six or seven thousand men, arm'd as if they were ready to give battle. These few officers, tho' the bravest and most determin'd men of their nation, were much surpriz'd to see so early in the morning, and within two leagues of *Siam*, so great a detachment of the army before and behind them, to hinder their getting into the town ; and making a virtue of necessity, they put themselves into a posture of defence, resolving to sell their lives at as dear a rate as they could ; but some *Mandarins* coming up to them, told them they were in no danger, in regard they assur'd them, they were come, not only to do them no harm themselves, but to prevent their receiving any from others, and their business was to bring them back to *Louvo*, as the king had expressly commanded them. The *French* gentlemen were soon overcome by the power of so fine and obliging expressions, and presently surrendered themselves into their hands ; for to do otherwise was not possible for them, there being no

proportion betwixt the fewness of their number, and so great a body as they had to dispute with. And the truth on't is, they were treated the first day with kindness and civility enough ; but it was not so the next ; for they stript them of all, and tied them to the horse-tails, in which miserable condition they forc'd them to march, and in great ceremony brought them back to *Louvo*, treating them most outrageously all along as they went ; in-somuch, that Monsieur *Bresley*, the engineer, died soon after, and the rest had much ado to out-live the miseries and indignities they suffered. They no sooner arriv'd at *Louvo*, but they were chain'd two and two together, by the neck, and so thrown into prison ; all their domesticks were treated in like manner, as well as all the other *French* that staid at *Louvo*.

All this was contrived and executed with that diligence and secrecy, that may seem very surprizing and unaccountable to those that hear it : For the *French* that were at *Bancock* and *Morgen*, had not the least knowledge of what had been done in the two cities of *Siam* and *Louvo*, which was like to have lost them all.

Opra Pitrachard having now taken his measures, and determined to destroy the *French* one way or other, and since he would not venture upon the doing of it by open force, was resolved to try what cunning and surprize could do. Wherefore he sent one *Manpai*, who had been the year before in *France*, in quality of first ambassador, and since his return was honoured with the title of *Barcalon*, or chief minister of state, to *Bancock*, to persuade Monsieur *des Farges*, general of the *French*, to come to him, and to tell him that it was the king's express pleasure that he should immediately come and confer with him about some affairs of the last importance, and make what haste he possibly could to be at *Louvo*.

The general, that was altogether ignorant of what had been done in all this great and sudden revolution, and suspecting no fraud, believed very readily what the *Barcalon* had told him, and that the king had sent for him, as on other occasions he had often done before ; set out from *Bancock* the 7th of *June*, and went by water ; but he had hardly gone two leagues from the place, when he perceived that some extraordinary business was in agitation, and apprehended there might be some design of putting some indignity upon him : For he could not imagine why he was surrounded with such a great number of barges and galleys, arm'd with stones and field-pieces, that perpetually accompany'd him

him till he came to *Siam*; where he no sooner arriv'd, but he was immediately taken out, and put into a Palanquin or close litter, and carried to *Louvo*, being guarded by several troops of armed men; all this still encreased his astonishment, and the more, because he was not wont to be hurry'd nor conducted in so military a manner, when the king wanted him, ordered him to come him, but he had always the privilege of going with great freedom, and less attended.

When he came to *Louvo*, he was straight led to the king's palace, without allowing him the liberty of going first to the *Jesuits* house to repose and refresh himself, as he desired, tho' his intention was rather to be somewhat inform'd, and know the posture of present affairs, which he thought were much alter'd. The same day of his arrival he received several visits from the *Mandarin*s, and after supper he had one from *Opra Pitrachard*, with whom he discoursed some time, and, amongst other things, the *Opra* told him, with an unusual air of pride and haughtiness, 'That the king had caused Monsieur *Constance* to be put to death for many heinous crimes and faults he had been found guilty of, in the management of those employments he was entrusted with; and that the king would give him his place, knowing him to be a man of great integrity, faithfulness, and good understanding in the management of affairs, and in whom he reposed great confidence and trust.' He further told him, 'That the king was engaged in a war against the *Cochinchinois*, and the people of *Laos*; that there was a necessity of sending for all the *French* forces to join in a body, and march against the enemy, to hinder the invasion that the kingdom was threatned with; and that he had also writ to Monsieur *Brubam*, Governor of *Morgen*, to the same purpose, to hasten to *Louvo*, with all his Troops.'

Monsieur *des Farges* saw plainly now that these proposals were nothing but a mere contrivance, and like so many snares that they had laid to catch him; which he was fully convinced of in a very little time afterwards, as well by the distinct information he received from several of his friends, that by *Opra Pitrachard*'s express order, had leave to make him a visit, as by letters that came to him from his officers: And began now to consider with himself, what he must do to get out of the danger that his good nature and fidelity to the king had so unluckily brought him into; and the best expedient he could think of, was to send this answer to *Opra Pitrachard*:

'That the king of *France*, his master, had sent him to serve the king of *SIAM*, and that he was now ready to obey his commands: But that he thought it highly necessary to go himself in person to *Bancock*, to bring the soldiers with him, in regard that the officers that commanded in his absence, would not quit the fortress upon a bare letter.'

This seem'd so reasonable, and to carry so much probability with it, that he presently obtained leave to return to the fort; but on condition to leave his two sons that came along with him, as hostages for the performance of his promise. But before he left *Louvo*, he was much press'd by the *Opra* to write to Monsieur *de Brubam*, and fain would he have excused complying with him in it: And told him, 'That unless he sent an officer of his own to carry the letter, it would signify nothing, nor be regarded.'

But it was to no purpose to insist on such a condition, for it was positively deny'd him, and yet write he must, being under an unavoidable necessity of doing it; yet in writing, he did so disguise his hand and style, by chusing such extravagant terms and unusual expressions, as that Monsieur *Brubam* might know, in case the letter came to his hands, there was some further mystery in it, and that he was not to give credit to it; and, by good providence, it fell out just as he could have wish'd, the letter being received and understood in the sense it was design'd.

Monsieur *des Farges* return'd no sooner to *Bancock*, but he abandon'd the little fort, and drew off all the *French* into the great fort, not having men enough to hold out in both places. All the houses that were near to it, he caused to be pillag'd, and then burnt; and all the cannon that he could not carry away or use, to be nail'd or broken. And because he had not time enough to demolish or raze the fort, by reason of the great number of forces that *Opra Pitrachard* sent after him, and follow'd to take possession of the place; he did what was possible to ruin it all to pieces with his cannon.

Opra Pitrachard perceiving by this, that Monsieur *des Farges* had discovered his rebellious designs and practices, and that there was no prospect or hopes of his return with his soldiers to *Siam*, he sent down an army of about three score thousand men, made up of *Mahometans*, *Chineses*, and *Malayans*, against the fort of *Bancock*, to besiege the *French* in it, with orders to cut all their throats. But such was the resolution and bravery wherewithal they defended themselves, that this open investing and attacking of them, prov'd as unsuccessful, as the artifices that were used to trepan them

them to come to *Siam* were ineffectual: For when so vast an army had endeavoured all they could, during two months close siege, by frequent attacks and storming, to force their entry into the place, and had been always beat off with great loss, by the handful of *French*, who were not in all above three hundred, he saw himself obliged, at last, to send to the general, and ask conditions of peace.

During this siege, all the *French* who were at *Siam* and *Louvo* were made close prisoners, and treated with the greatest extremity of rigour and severity, without consideration of quality or age. Nor could the bishop of *Metellopolis*, who had lived long amongst them, and was the apostolick vicar in the greatest part of the *East-Indies*, be exempted from his share of the common calamity that fell upon his profession and countrymen: For when *Opra Pitrachard* saw he could not recover *Bancock* out of the hands of the *French* by force, he caused the old bishop to be sent for, and conducted to the fort, and there to be strip'd, and ty'd to a gibbet, with a halter about his neck, and fasten'd at the place where the *French* cannon were most level'd, and did most execution, hoping that the sight of so moving a spectacle, and the consideration they had of the person of their bishop, should prevail with them to moderate the fury of their guns, intermit their firing, and hearken to a treaty of peace.

All the *French* Jesuits and missionary priests that were any where in the kingdom, were seiz'd, and carry'd prisoners to *Louvo*, being accused of sedition and treason against the government; all their goods, furniture, and effects were likewise seiz'd and confiscated.

All this could not be acted without coming to the knowledge of Monsieur de *Brubam*, Governor of *Morgen*, having now been fully inform'd from several hands of what had past both at *Louvo* and *Siam*, he began to consider how to extricate himself out of the great and imminent danger he was every where surrounded with; for he had but fifty two soldiers, three captains, three lieutenants, and three ensigns in all, to guard a large fortress that was open on all sides. The best thing he could think of in that extremity, was to seize a small frigate of 26 guns, belonging to the king of *Siam*, to save himself and his men upon, when he should be driven to his last shifts: This he happily executed towards the end of *June*, and it was of great use to him in the conclusion of the affair: For when he had been besieged and closely attack'd for seventeen days together, by an army of twelve thousand men, assaulting them of-

ten, and as often repulsed; and wanting water and other necessary provisions, without any possible hopes of being relieved or refreshed, he was constrain'd at last, to abandon the place, and carry all his men, and what conveniently else he could, on board the frigate, and so got safe off.

On the 25th of *July*, the bishop of *Metellopolis* being released out of the miserable and dangerous circumstances he was put into, before *Bancock*, was sent into the place, to obtain a commission and full power from the general Monsieur *des Farges*, to negotiate a treaty of peace with such persons as *Opra Pitrachard* should appoint for that purpose; which was soon granted him, and next day he return'd to *Siam* to conclude it.

A little time after, news was brought that the king of *Siam* was dead, without telling either the day or manner of his death: Whereupon *Opra Pitrachard* began to prepare for his coronation, and about five days after he set out from *Louvo* in great state and magnificence, and came to *Siam*, where he had himself crown'd king without any dispute or opposition, about the beginning of *August* 1688.

September 30. News was brought that a peace was concluded and sign'd betwixt the new king and the *French*, on the following conditions:

' That the *French* should surrender the fort of *Bancock*.

' That all the *French* should have leave to depart the kingdom.

' That they should have two frigates belonging to the *French* company; a ship of the *French* king's, called the *Auriflame*, and a fourth of 74 guns, that the king of *Siam* was to give to Monsieur *des Farges* to embark on, and transport them out of the king of *Siam*'s dominions.'

This is the substance of what is contain'd in the several letters dated from *Siam*, *October* last was twelvemonth; and by the relation we have, by advice from the coast of *Cormandel* of the 20th of *February* last, we are further inform'd, that Monsieur *des Farges* was arrived on that coast with the four ships, having all the *French* as well secular and military, as the ecclesiasticks on board them, that were any where to be heard of or known to be in the kingdom of *Siam*, and that the king had publish'd a declaration, severely prohibiting any *French* to stay in the kingdom; and threatening that if any one of them should be found to stay behind, they should be immediately upon discovery put to death; and all the *Europeans* that should harbour or conceal them, should be treated with the same rigour.

Other



Other letters do further add, That Monsieur *des Farges* had before his departure from *Bancock*, deliver'd up into the hands of the present king of *Siam*, the unfortunate widow of Monsieur *Constance*, upon a fancy that the Jesuits had put it into his head, That she being a christian, and extremely beloved by the king's son, will marry him, and contribute her endeavours to make him a christian; with which plausible imaginations those good fathers flatter

themselves, and hope once more to be re-established in that kingdom with no less advantages of power, credit and fortune than they had before.

And, that when the treaty was sign'd betwixt the king of *Siam* and the French general, all the French and English that were made prisoners at *Louvo*, were the next day after conducted to *Siam*, and set at liberty.

A DIARY of one of the French Officers that served at Morgen under the command of Monsieur de Bruham, containing several particulars relating to the former discourse.

ON the 25th of June 1688, being upon duty, and commanding a company of fifty *Siamese* soldiers in the little fort of *Morgen*, I was seiz'd on by my own men, and made prisoner, and for four days together was fastened to a stake, with iron chains about my body, on my hands and feet.

On the 29th I was carried out to see if I could know and discover some French men that had been kill'd during the vigorous defence that Monsieur *de Bruham* made in the fort, and whilst he was drawing off his men out of it, and retiring into the frigate, upon which he made his escape; for there were about thirteen dead bodies lying upon the place. And when I had told them all that I thought proper for them to know upon that matter, the *Mandarins* that commanded in the army that besieged the fort, gave orders to put me to the torture, to force me to declare and make information, that I had often heard Monsieur *de Bruham* say, 'That his being
'and commanding at *Morgen* was altogether unknown to the king of *Siam*,
'and by the order of Monsieur *Constance* only, on purpose to make himself master
'of the country; and that Monsieur *de Bruham* expected several ships with men,
'arms, and ammunition from *France*, to enable him to carry on that design more
'effectually.' I was apply'd to, and kept in the torture four hours together.

On the 7th of July, the *Mandarins* made me go for *Siam*, in the company of a French soldier called *Picquard*, who had the misfortune to be made a prisoner the same day that Monsieur *de Bruham* made his retreat from *Morgen*; and tho' we were but two men, and both in chains, yet such was the mistrust they entertained of us,

that they would needs send above sixty soldiers to guard us thither.

On the 17th I came to *Siam*, and on the 19th was brought to *Louvo*. The first place they brought me into, was the great hall where the *Barcalon* was sitting with many *Mandarins* about him, who commanded me to be interrogated very strictly upon several matters relating to Monsieur *Bruham*.

Next morning I was informed by a missionary priest, who accidentally discovered the place where I was kept prisoner, that the bishop of *Metellopolis* was gone to *Bancock*, by the express command of *Opra Pitrachard*, to negotiate a treaty of peace with Monsieur *des Farges* our general, and that they were in daily expectation of hearing of the conclusion of it. This was the first time that I had any tolerable ground to entertain myself with the hopes of life, since my falling into their hands; for 'till now I gave all for lost.

On the 25th the bishop return'd to *Louvo* with full power from Monsieur *les Farges*, to treat about a peace; and from that time forward *Opra Pitrachard* began to desist from his cruel treatment of the French, and other Christians that were in his power.

In the month of July, the king of *Siam* happened to die, but the manner of it, nor the certain day, being as yet unknown, *Opra Pitrachard* set out from *Louvo* on the last day of the month to *Siam*, where he was crown'd with great ceremony, and without any opposition. Next day after the coronation, he order'd all the French and English that were at *Siam* and *Louvo* to be set at liberty.

On the 3d of August I arrived at *Siam*, with four other French officers, namely, Mes-

Messieurs de Fretteville, de Vandrille, des Carges, and de Laisse.

On the 9th Opra Pitrachard, now king of Siam, sent us all five to Bancock, not to our own general, as we hoped, but to his general that commanded the Malayans, who kept us prisoners almost a month; and all the French that were left at Siam were delivered into the custody of the Jesuits, and of the chief factor of the French company of merchants, to be responsible for them.

The king being resolved to have a peace concluded at any rate, sent us at last to Monsieur des Farges, who would hearken to no treaty, without allowing us the benefit of being comprehended in it, by which means our liberty was obtain'd.

On the 30th of September the peace was concluded and sign'd. Two days after Monsieur des Farges, our general, sent me from Bancock to Morgen, to see what was become of Monsieur de Brubam, and to acquaint him that the peace was concluded. The king of Siam gave me a Mandarin to accompany me, and to provide for me such things as were necessary during my journey.

On the 12th of October I arrived at Morgen, where I stay'd not long, because I could learn nothing about Monsieur de Brubam.

On the first of November I embark'd on a small frigate of the king of Siam's, and went upon the rivers of Tanay, Musavan, and Sorian, in the kingdom of Pegu, thinking to have found him in some of those places: But missing of him there, I was obliged to pass by the Islands of Rey, and to go on shore at Seroide, where, by some certain marks, I knew that Monsieur Brubam had touch'd, and especially by some pieces of the French soldiers cloaths that seem'd to have been left there on purpose to give us notice of their passage that way.

On the 12th of November I return'd again to Morgen, where finding a ship belonging to the royal French company, call'd The Cocq, commanded by Monsieur Darnagnan, I embarked thereupon two days after, to go to Pondichery, where I was order'd to wait for Monsieur des Farges, according to the instructions he gave me at parting from Bancock.

Mr.

Mr. F. BERNIER's Voyage to SURAT:
CONTAINING THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LATE REVOLUTION
OF THE
EMPIRE
OF THE
GREAT MOGOL;

Together with the most considerable Passages for five
Years following in that Empire.

To which is added

A LETTER to the Lord COLBERT, touching the Extent of *Indostan*, the Circulation of the Gold and Silver of the World, to discharge itself there; as also the Riches, Forces, and Justice of the same; and the Principal Cause of the Decay of the States of *Asia*.

WITH

An exact Description of *Dehli* and *Agra*.

Together with

- I. Some Particulars making known the Court and Genius of the *Mogols* and *Indians*; as also the Doctrine and extravagant Superstitions, and Customs of the Heathens of *Indostan*.
- II. The Emperor of *Mogol's* Voyage to the Kingdom of *Kachemire* in 1644. called the Paradise of the *Indies*.

ENGLISHED out of FRENCH.

An Extract of a LETTER written to Mr. H. O. from Monsieur DE MONCEAUX, the younger, giving a Character of the Book here englished, and its AUTHOR.

VIRTUE sometimes is no less interested than affection: Both, sir, are glad to receive, from time to time, pledges mutually answering for those that have united themselves in a close correspondence. Yours indeed should demand of me such, as might be a security to you for the advance you have been pleased to make me of your friendship. But since at present I have nothing worth presenting you with; and yet am unwilling to give you any leisure to be diffident of my realness, or to repent for having so easily given me a share in your esteem, I here send you a relation of *Indostan*, in which you will find such considerable occurrences, as will make you confess, I could not convey to you a more acceptable present, and that *Monsieur Bernier*, who hath written it, is a very gallant man, and of a mould, I wish all travellers were made of. We ordinarily travel more out of unsettledness than curiosity, with a design to see towns and countries rather than to know their inhabitants and productions; and we stay not long enough in a place to inform ourselves well of the government, policy, interests and manners of its people. *Monsieur Bernier*, after he had benefited himself for the space of many years, by the converse of the famous *Gassendi*, seen him expire in his arms, succeeded him in his knowledge, and inherited his opinions and discoveries, embarked for *Egypt*, staid above a whole year at *Cairo*, and then took the occasion of some *Indian* vessels, that trade in the ports of the *Red Sea*, to pass to *Surat*; and after twelve years abode at the court of the *Great Mogol*, is at last come to seek his rest in his native country, there to give an account of his observations and discoveries, and to pour out into the bosom of *France* what he had amassed in *India*.

Sir, I shall say nothing to you of his adventures, which you will find in the relations that are to follow hereafter, which he abandons to the greediness of the curious, who prefer their satisfaction to his quiet, and do already persecute him to have the sequel of this history. Neither shall I mention to you the hazards he did run, by being in the Neighbourhood of

Mecca; nor of his prudent conduct, which made him merit the esteem of his generous *Fazelkan*, who since is become the first minister of that great empire, whom he taught the principal languages of *Europe*, after he had translated for him the whole philosophy of *Gassendi* in *Latin*, and whose leave he could not obtain to go home, till he had got for him a select number of our best *European* books, thereby to supply the loss he should suffer of his person. This, at least, I can assure you of, that never a traveller went from home more capable to observe, nor hath written with more knowledge, candour, and integrity; that I knew him at *Constantinople*, and in some towns of *Greece*, of so excellent a conduct, that I proposed him to myself for a pattern in the design I then had, to carry my curiosity as far as the place where the sun riseth; that I have often drowned in the sweetness of his entertainment the bitterneesses, which else I must have swallowed all alone, in such irksome and unpleasant passages, as are those of *Asia*.

Sir, you will do me a pleasure to let me know the sentiment your illustrious society hath of this piece. Their approbation begets much emulation among the intelligent, who all have no other ambition than to please them. I myself must avow to you, that if I thought I could merit so much, I should not so stiffly oppose, as I do, the publication of the observations and notes I have made in the *Levant*. I should suffer my friends to take them out of my cabinet, where, from the slight value I have for them, they are like to lie imprisoned, except the king my master, by whose order I undertook those voyages, should absolutely command me to set them at liberty, and to let them take their course in the world. Mean time, sir, you will oblige me, to assure those great men, who this day compose the most knowing company on earth, of the veneration I have for the oracles that come from their mouth, and that I prefer their *Lyceum* before that of *Athens*; and lastly, that of all their admirers there is none that hath a greater concern for their glory, than

Paris, *Julii*
16. 1670.

De MONCEAUX.

THE

T H E

P R I N C I P A L C O N T E N T S

O F T H I S

H I S T O R Y

Added by the

E N G L I S H I N T E R P R E T E R .

1.



HAT depth of policy and craft was used by Aurengzebe, the heroes of this history, and the third of the four sons of Chah-Jehan the Great Mogol, to supplant all his brothers, and to settle himself in the throne; and how the first foundation thereof was laid by the Vifier of the king of Golkonda, and the sickness of Cha-Jehan the father of Aurengzebe.

2. *A mixture of love intrigues, practised by the princess Begum-Shaheb, one of the two daughters of the Great Mogol, Chah-Jehan.*

3. *How Aureng-Zebe having overcome all his brothers, did secure his father, and others, whom he had cause to be jealous of.*

4. *How the neighbours of the empire of Mogol demeaned themselves towards the new emperor, Aureng-Zebe; and what embassies were dispatched to him, first by the Usbec-Tartars (where a description of that country and people;) then the Dutch of Surat; as also from Mecca, from Arabia Felix, from Ethiopia and Persia; together with an account of their respective instructions, receptions, entertainments and dismissions; particu-*

larly of that of the Hollanders, securing and improving their trade by their embassy.

5. *Aureng-Zebe's singular prudence, and indefatigable pains, in managing the government himself; and how he treated him that endeavoured to persuade him to take his ease and pleasure, now he was established.*

6. *Aureng-Zebe's distaste against his favourite sister, Rauchenara-Begum, occasioned by some love-cabals.*

7. *His great care in appointing a governor and tutor to his third son Sultan-Ekbar.*

8. *With what wisdom and severity Aureng-Zebe received and treated his pedantic tutor, who expected to be made a great lord for his former service; together with a model for the suitable education of a great prince, prescribed by Aureng-Zebe on this occasion.*

9. *In what credit Judiciary Astrology is over all Asia.*

10. *How the Kings of India make themselves heirs of all the estate of those that die in their service.*

11. *Of*

11. *Of the reciprocal appearance of kindnesses between Aureng-Zebe and his imprisoned father and sister.*

12. *What passed between Aureng-Zebe and Emir-Jemla, who had laid the first ground-work to Aureng-Zebe's greatness.*

13. *What in these revolutions was transacted about the bay of Bengal, and the heathen kingdom of Rakan.*

14. *How Aureng-Zebe carried himself towards his two eldest sons, Sultan Mahmud and Sultan Mahum: and how, for a trial of the obedience and courage of the latter, he commanded him to kill a certain lion, that did great mischief in the country; together with the success thereof.*

15. *Divers particulars, shewing the interest between Indostan and Persia, supposed by this author to be unknown, or at least not well known hitherto.*

16. *How generously Aureng-Zebe recompensed those that had faithfully served him in these revolutions.*

17. *Some account of that small kingdom of Kachemire, or Cassimere, represented as the paradise of the Indies; concerning which the author affirms, that he hath a particular history of it in the Persian tongue.*

18. *A considerable relation of Surat's being strangely surpriz'd and plunder'd by a stout rebel of Visapour; and how the English and Dutch saved themselves and their treasure in this bold enterprize.*

19. *A particular account both of the former and present state of the whole peninsula of Indostan; the occasion of its division into divers sovereignties, and the several arts used to maintain themselves one against another; par-*

ticularly of the present government and state of the kingdoms of Golkonda and Visapour, and their interests in reference to the Great Mogol.

20. *Of the extent of Indostan, and the trade which the English, Portugeze and Hollanders have in that empire; as also the vast quantities of gold and silver, circulated thro' the world, and conveyed into Indostan, and there swallowed up as in an abyss.*

21. *Of the many nations, which in that vast extent of country cannot be well kept in subjection by the Great Mogol.*

22. *Of the Great Mogol's religion, which is Mahometan, of the Turkish not Persian sect.*

23. *Of his Militia, both in the field and about his person; and how the same is provided for, employed, punctually paid, and carefully distributed in several places.*

24. *Of the Omrahs, that is, the great lords of Indostan; their several qualities, offices, attendants.*

25. *The artillery of the Mogol, great and small, very considerable.*

26. *Of his stables of horses, elephants, camels, mules, &c.*

27. *Of his Seraglio.*

28. *Of his vast revenues and expences.*

29. *What prince may be said to be truly rich.*

30. *An important state-question debated, viz. Whether it be more expedient for the prince and people, that the prince be the sole proprietor of all the Lands of the country over which he reigns, yea or no?*

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Late REVOLUTION
OF THE
DOMINIONS
OF THE
GREAT MOGOL.

The
cause of
the au-
thor's tra-
vels.



arrives at
Mecca.

THE desire of seeing the world having made me travel into *Palestina* and *Egypt*, would not let me stop there; it put me upon a resolution to see the *Red-Sea* from one end to the other. I went from *Grand Cairo*, after I had staid there above a year; and in two and thirty hours, going the *Caravan* pace, I arrived at *Suez*, where I embarked in a galley, which in seventeen days carried me, always in sight of land, to the port of *Gidda*, which is half a day's journey from *Mecca*. There I was constrained (contrary to my hopes, and the promise which the *Beig* of the *Red-Sea* had made me) to go ashore on that pretended holy land of *Mahomet*, where a christian, that is not a slave, dares not set his foot. I staid there four and thirty days, and then I embarked in a small vessel, which in fifteen days carried me along the coast of *Arabia the happy* to *Moca*, near the streight of *Babel-mandel*. I resolved to pass thence to the Isle of *Masowa* and *Arkiko*, to get as far as *Gouder*, the capital town of the country of *Alebech*, or the kingdom of *Æthiopia*; but I received certain information, that, since the *Portuguese* had been killed there by the intrigue of the queen mother, or expelled, together with the jesuit patriarch, whom they had brought thither from *Goa*, the *Roman catholicks* were not safe there, a poor capuchin having lost his head at *Suaken*, for having attempted to

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enter into that kingdom: That indeed, by going under the name of a *Greek*, or an *Armenian*, I did not run so great hazard, and that even the king himself, when he should know that I could do him service, would give me land to till by slaves, which I might buy if I had money; but that undoubtedly they would forthwith oblige me to marry, as they had lately done a certain frier, who had passed there under the name of a *Greek* physician; and that they would never suffer me to come away again.

These considerations, among others, induced me to change my resolution. I went ^{arrives at} *Surat*. aboard of an *Indian* vessel, I passed those streights, and in two and twenty days I arrived at *Surat* in *Indostan*, the empire of the *Great Mogol*, in the year 1655. There I found, that he who then reigned there was called *Chah-Jehan*, that is to say, king of the world; who according to the history of that country, was son of *Jehan-Guyre*, which signifieth *conqueror of the world*; grandchild to *Ekbar*, which is *great*; and that thus ascending by *Houmayons*, or the *fortunate*, father of *Ekbar*, and his other predecessors, he was the tenth of those that were descended from that *Timur-Lengue*, which signifieth the *lame prince*, commonly and corruptly called *Tamerlane*, so renowned for his conquests; who married his near kinswoman, the only daughter of the prince of the nations of *Great Tartary*, called *Mogols*, who have left and communicated their

2 E

name

name to the strangers that now govern *Indostan*, the country of the *Indians*; tho' those that are employed in publick charges and offices, and even those that are lifted in the militia, be not all of the race of the *Mogols*, but strangers, and nations gathered out of all countries, most of them *Persians*, some *Arabians*, and some *Turks*. For, to be esteemed a *Mogol*, 'tis enough to be a stranger white of face, and a *Mahometan*; in distinction as well to the *Indians*, who are brown, and *Pagans*, as to the *Christians* of *Europe*, who are called *Franguis*.

Of *Chah-Jehan*.

I found also at my arrival, that this king of the world, *Chah-Jehan*, of above seventy years of age, had four sons and two daughters; that, some years since, he had made these four sons vice-kings, or governors of four of his most considerable provinces or kingdoms; that it was almost a year that he was fallen into a great sickness, whence it was believed he would never recover; which had occasioned a great division among these four brothers (all laying claim to the empire) and had kindled among them a war which lasted about five years, and which I design here to describe, having been present at some of the most considerable actions, and entertained for the space of eight years at that court, where fortune and the small stock of money left me (after divers encounters with robbers, and the expences of a voyage of six and forty days from *Surat* to *Agra* and *Dehli*, the capital towns of that empire) obliged me to take a salary from the *Grand Mogol*, in the quality of a physician, and a little while after from *Danech-mend-Kan*, the most knowing man of *Asia*, who had been *Bakchis*, or great master of the horse, and was one of the most powerful and the most considerable *Omrabs* or lords of that court.

His children.

The eldest of these four sons of *Chah-Jehan* was call'd *Dara*, that is *Darius*. The second was called *Sultan Sujah*, that is, the valiant prince. The name of the third was *Aurenge-Zebe*, which signifies, the ornament of the throne. That of the fourth was *Morad-Bakche*, as if you should say, desire accomplished. Of the two daughters, the eldest was called *Begum-Sabeb*, that is, the mistress princess; and the youngest *Rachenara-Begum*, which is as much as bright princess, or the splendor of princesses.

The custom of this country concerning names.

'Tis the custom of the country, to give such names to their princes and princesses. Thus the wife of *Chah-Jehan*, so renown'd for her beauty, and for having a tomb, which much more deserved to be reckon'd among the wonders of the world, than those unshapen masses, and those heaps of stones in *Egypt*, was called *Tage-Meballe*, that is to say, the crown of the *Seraglio*; and the

wife of *Jehan-Guyre*, who hath so long governed the state, whilst her husband minded nothing but drinking and diversifements, was first called *Nour-Meballe*, and afterwards, *Nour-Jehan-Begum*, the light of the *Seraglio*, the light of the world. The reason why they give such kind of names to the great ones, and not names from their land or dominion (as is usual in *Europe*) is, because all the land being the king's, there are no marquises, earldoms and duchies, of which the grandees might bear their names; all consists in pensions, either of land or ready money, which the king giveth, increaseth, retrencheth, and takes away, as seems good unto him: And 'tis even for this reason, that the *Omrabs* have also no other but such names; one (for example) being called *Raz Audaze-Kan*, i. e. a thunderer; another, *Safe Cheken-Kan*, a breaker of ranks; a third, *Bare-Audaze-Kan*, a man of lightning; others, *Dianet-Kan*, or *Danech-mend-Kan*, or *Fazel-Kan*, i. e. the faithful lord, the intelligent, the perfect, and the like.

Dara, the eldest son, wanted not good *Dara's* qualities. He was gallant in conversation, character. witty in repartees, exceeding civil and liberal, but entertained too good an opinion of his person, esteeming himself alone capable of all, and thinking it scarce possible that any body was able to give him council; insomuch, that he would give reproachful names to those who pretended to advise him in any thing; whereby it came to pass, that even those who were most affectionate to him, were shy to discover to him the most secret intrigues of his brothers. Besides, he was apt to be transported with passion, to menace, to injure, to affront, even the greatest *Omrabs* or lords; but all passed over like a flash of light. Though he was a *Mahometan*, and publicly expressed in the ordinary exercises of religion to be so, yet, in private, he was heathen with the heathens, and christian with the christians. He had constantly about him of those heathen doctors, to whom he gave very considerable pensions, and who (as was said) had instilled into him opinions contrary to the religion of the land; of which I may touch something hereafter, when I shall come to speak of the religion of the *Indians* or *Gentiles*. He also hearkened of late very willingly to the reverend father *Buzee* a jesuit, and began very well to relish what he suggested. Yet there are some who say, that at the bottom he was void of all religion, and that whatever he pretended in it, was only for curiosity; or, as others say, out of policy, to make himself beloved by the christians, who are pretty numerous in his artillery; but above all, to gain the affection

of the *Rajas* or sovereign gentiles, that were tributary to the empire, and to make them of his party upon occasion. Mean time, this hath not much furthered his affairs; on the contrary, it will appear in the sequel of this history, that the pretence used by *Aureng-Zebe*, his third brother, to cut off his head, was, that he was turned *Kafer*, that is to say, an infidel, of no religion, an idolater.

Sujah's character. *Sultan Sujah*, the second brother, was much of the humour of *Dara*, but he was more close and more settled, and had better conduct and dexterity. He was fit to manage an intrigue well, and he made, underhand, friends by the force of presents, which he heaped upon the great *Omrabs*, and principally upon the most powerful *Rajas*, as *Jessomseigne*, and some others; but he did somewhat too much indulge his pleasures, in entertaining an extraordinary number of women, among whom he spent whole days and nights in drinking, singing, and dancing. He made them presents of very rich apparel, and he increased or lessened their pensions according as the fancy took him; by which kind of life his affairs did languish, and the affections of many of his people cooled. He cast himself into the religion of the *Persians*, altho' *Chab-Jehan*, his father, and all his brothers, were of the *Turkish*.

Sects among the Mahometans. 'Tis known that Mahometanism is divided into several sects, which made that famous *Cbeck-Sady*, author of the *Goulistan*, say in verse, which is to this effect in prose; *I am a dervich drinker, I seem to be without religion, and I am known of sixty two sects.* But of all those sects there are two principal ones, whose partisans are mortal enemies to one another. The one is that of the *Turks*, whom the *Persians* call *Osman-tous*, that is, sectators of *Osman*; they believing that 'tis he that was the true and lawful successor of *Mahomet*, the great caliph or sovereign priest, to whom alone it did appertain to interpret the *Alcoran*, and to decide the controversies to be met with in the law. The other is that of the *Persians*, whom the *Turks* call *Cbias*, *Rafezys*, *Aly-Merdans*, that is, sectaries, hereticks, partisans of *Aly*, because they believe, contrary to the belief of the *Turks*, that this succession and pontifical authority, which I just now intimated, was due only to *Aly* the son-in-law of *Mahomet*. It was by reason of state that *Sultan Sujah* had embraced this latter sect, considering that all the *Persians* being *Cbias*, and most of them, or their children, having the greatest power at the court of *Mogol*, and holding the most important places of the empire, he had most reason to hope, that, when occasion served, they would all take his part.

Aureng-Zebe, the third brother, had not that gallantry, nor surprising presence of *Dara*, he appeared more serious and melancholy, and was indeed much more judicious, understanding the world very well, and knowing whom to chuse for his service and purpose, and where to bestow his favour and bounty most for his interest. He was reserved, crafty, and exceedingly versed in dissembling; insomuch that for a long while he made profession to be *Fakire*, that is, poor, *Dervise*, or devout, renouncing the world, and feigning not to pretend at all to the crown, but to desire to pass his life in prayer and other devotions. In the mean time he failed not to make a party at court, especially when he was made viceking of *Decan*; but he did it with so much dexterity, art and secrecy, that it could hardly be perceived. He also had the skill to maintain himself in the affection of *Chab-Jehan* his father, who, although he much loved *Dara*, could not forbear to shew that he esteemed *Aureng-Zebe*, and judged him capable to reign; which caused jealousy enough in *Dara*, who began to find it, insomuch that he could not hold from saying sometimes to his friends in private; *Of all my brothers I apprehend only this Nemazi*, that is, this bigot, this great praying-man.

Morad-Bakche, the youngest of all, was the least dextrous, and the least judicious. *Morad-Bakche's character.* He cared for nothing but mirth and pastime, to drink, hunt and shoot: Yet he had some good qualities, for he was very civil and liberal; he gloried in it, that he kept nothing secret; he despised cabals, and he bragged openly, that he trusted only in his arm and sword: In short, he was very brave, and if this bravery had been accompanied with some conduct, he would have carried the bell from all his brothers, and been king of *Indostan*; as will appear in what is to follow.

Concerning the two daughters; the eldest, *Begum-Sabeb*, was very beautiful, and a great wit, passionately beloved of her father. It was even rumoured, that he loved her to that degree as is hardly to be imagined, and that he alledged for his excuse, that, according to the determination of his *Mullaks* or doctors of his law, it was permitted a man to eat of the fruit of the tree he had planted. He had so great a confidence in her, that he had given her charge to watch over his safety, and to have an eye to all that came to his table: And she knew perfectly to manage his humour, and even in the most weighty affairs to bend him as she pleased. She was exceedingly enriched by great pensions, and by costly presents, which she received from all parts, for such negotiations as she employ'd herself in about her father; and she made

made also great expences, being of a very liberal and generous disposition. She stuck entirely to *Dara* her eldest brother, espoused cordially his part, and declared openly for him; which contributed not a little to make the affairs of *Dara* prosper, and to keep him in the affection of his father; for she supported him in all things, and advertised him of all occurrences: Yet that was not so much, because he was the eldest son, and she the eldest daughter (as the people believed) as because he had promised her, that as soon as he should come to the crown he would marry her; which is altogether extraordinary, and almost never practiced in *Indostan*.

Her
amours.

I shall not scruple to relate here some of the amours of this princess, altho' shut up in a *Seraglio*, and well kept, like other women; neither shall I apprehend that I may be thought to prepare matter for a romancer; for they are not amours like ours, followed by gallant and comical adventures, but attended with events dreadful and tragical.

Now 'tis reported, that this princess found means to let a young gallant enter the *Seraglio*, who was of no great quality, but proper, and of a good mein: But among such a number of jealous and envious persons, she could not carry on her business so privily, but she was discovered. *Chab-Jehan*, her father, was soon advertised of it, and resolved to surprise her, under the pretence of giving her a visit, as he used to do. The princess seeing him come unexpected, had no more time than to hide this unfortunate lover in one of the great chaldrons made to bath in; which yet could not be so done, but that *Chab-Jehan* suspected it. Meau time he quarrelled not with his daughter, but entertained her a pretty while as he was wont to do; and at length told her, that he found her in a careless and less neat posture; that it was convenient she should wash herself, and bath oftner, commanding presently, with somewhat a stern countenance, that forthwith a fire should be made under that chaldron, and he would not part thence, before the eunuchs had brought him word that that unhappy man was dispatched. Some time after she took other measures, she chose for her *Kanesaman*, that is, her steward, a certain *Persian* called *Nazer-kan*, who was a young *Omrah*, the handsomest and most accomplished of the whole court, a man of courage and ambition, the darling of all; inso-much that *Cha-Hestkan*, uncle of *Aureng-Zebe*, proposed to marry him to the princess: But *Chab-Jehan* received that proposition very ill; and besides, when he was told of some of the secret intrigues that had been formed, he resolved quickly to rid

himself of *Nazerkan*. He therefore presented to him, as 'twere to do him honour, a *Betele*, which he could not refuse to chew presently, after the custom of the country. *Betele* is a little knot made up of very delicate leaves, and some other things, with a little chalk of sea-cockles, which maketh the mouth and lips of a vermillion colour, and the breath sweet and pleasing. This young lord thought of nothing less than being poisoned; he went away from the company very jocund and content into his *Paleky*, but the drug was so strong, that before he could come to his house, he was no more alive.

Rauchenara-Begum never passed for so handsome and spiritual as *Begum-Sabeb*, but she was not less cheerful, and comely enough, and hated pleasures no more than her sister: but she addicted herself wholly to *Aureng-Zebe*, and consequently declared herself an enemy to *Begum-Sabeb* and *Dara*. This was the cause that she had no great riches, nor any considerable share in the affairs of the state: Nevertheless, as she was in the *Seraglio*, and wanted no wit and spies, she could not but discover many important matters, of which she gave secret advertisement to *Aureng-Zebe*. *Chab-Jehan*, some years before the troubles, finding himself charged with these four princes, all come to age, all married, all pretending to the crown, enemies to one another, and each of them making secretly a party, was perplexed enough, as to what was fittest for him to do; fearing danger to his own person, and foreseeing what afterwards befel him: For, to shut them up in *Goualeor*, which is a fortress where the princes are ordinarily kept close, and which is held impregnable, it being situated upon an inaccessible rock, and having within itself good water, and provision enough for a garrison; that was not so easy a thing: They were too potent already, each of them having a princely train. And again, he could not handsomely remove them far off, without giving them some government fit for their birth; wherein he apprehended they would cantonize themselves, and become little independant kings, as actually they afterwards did. Nevertheless, fearing lest they should cut one another's throats before his eyes, if he kept them still at court, he at last concluded to send them away: And so he sent *Sultan Sujah*, his second son, into the kingdom of *Bengal*; his third, *Aureng-Zebe*, into *Decan*; and the youngest, *Morad-Bakche*, to *Guzarat*; giving to *Dara*, the eldest, *Cabal* and *Multan*. The three first went away very well content with their government; and there they acted each the sovereign, and retained all the revenues of their respective countries,

tries, entertaining great troops, under the pretence of bridling their subjects and neighbours.

Admits *Dara* to share the government. As to *Dara*, because the eldest, and designed to the crown, he stirred not from the court; which that he should not do, seemed also to be the intention of *Chah-Jehan*, who entertained him in the hopes of succeeding him after his death. He even permitted then, that orders were issued out by him, and that he might sit in a kind of throne, beneath his, among the *Omrabs*; so that it seemed, as if there were two kings together. But as 'tis very difficult for two sovereigns to agree, *Chah-Jehan*, though *Dara* shewed him great observance and affection, always harbour'd some diffidence, fearing above all things the *Morsel*; and besides, for as much as he knew the parts of *Aureng-Zebe*, and thought him more capable to reign than any of the rest, he had always (as they say) some particular correspondence with him.

This it is, what I thought fit to premise concerning these four princes, and their father *Chah-Jehan*, because 'tis necessary for the understanding of all that follows. I esteemed also, that I was not to forget those two princesses, as having been the most considerable actors in the tragedy; the women in the *Indies* taking very often, as well as at *Constantinople* and in many other places, the best part in the most important transactions, though men seldom take notice of it, and trouble their heads of seeking for other causes.

But to deliver this history with clearness, we must rise somewhat higher, and relate what passed some time before the troubles, between *Aureng-Zebe*, the king of *Golkonda*, and his visier *Emir-Jemla*; because this will discover to us the character and temper of *Aureng-Zebe*, who is to be the *Heros* of this piece, and the king of the *Indies*. Let us then see after what manner *Emir-Jemla* proceeded, to lay the first foundation of the royalty of *Aureng-Zebe*.

The character of *Emir-Jemla*. During the time that *Aureng-Zebe* was in *Decan*, the king of *Golkonda* had for his visier and general of his armies this *Emir-Jemla*, who was a *Persian* by nation, and very famous in the *Indies*. He was not a man of great extraction, but beaten in business, a person of excellent parts, and a great captain. He had the wit of amassing great treasures, not only by the administration of the affairs of this opulent kingdom, but also by navigation and trade, sending ships into very many parts, and causing the diamond mines, which he alone had farmed under many borrowed names, to be wrought with extraordi-

nary diligence. So that people discoursed almost of nothing but of the riches of *Emir-Jemla*, and of the plenty of his diamonds, which were not reckon'd but by sacks. He had also the skill to render himself very potent and considerable, entertaining, besides the armies of the king, very good troops for his particular, and above all a very good artillery, with abundance of *Franguys* or christians to manage it. In a word, he grew so rich, and so puissant, especially after he had found a way to enter into the kingdom of *Karnates*, and to pillage all the ancient churches of the idols of that country, that the king of *Golkonda* became jealous of it, and prepared himself to unsaddle him; and that the more, because he could not bear what was reported of him, as if he had used too great familiarity with the queen his mother, that was yet beauteous. Yet he discovered nothing of his design to any, having patience, and waiting till *Emir* came to the court, for he was then in the kingdom of *Karnates* with his army. But one day, when more particular news was brought him of what had passed between his mother and him, he had not power enough to dissemble any longer, but was transported by choler to fall to invectives and menaces: whereof *Emir* was soon made acquainted, having at the court abundance of his wife's kindred, and all his nearest relations and best friends possessing the principal offices. The king's mother also, who did not hate him, had speedy information of the same; which obliged *Emir*, without delay, to write to his only son *Mahmet Emir-Kan*, who then was about the king, requiring him to do the best he could to withdraw with all speed from the court, under some pretence of hunting, or the like, and to come and join with him. *Mahmet Emir-Kan*, failed not to attempt divers ways; but, the king causing him to be narrowly observed, none of them all would succeed. This very much perplexed *Emir*, and made him take a strange resolution, which cast the king in great danger to lose his crown and life; so true 'tis, that he who knows not to dissemble, knows not how to reign. He writ to *Aureng-Zebe*, who was then in *Dualet-Abad*, the capital of *Decan*, about fifteen or sixteen days journey from *Golkonda*, giving him to understand, that the king of *Golkonda* did intend to ruin him and his family, notwithstanding the signal services he had done him, as all the world knew; which was an unexampled injustice and ingratitude; that this necessitated him to take his refuge to him, and to intreat him, that he would receive him into his protection; that for the rest, if he would fol-

Stirs up *Aureng-Zebe* to rebel.

low his advice, and confide in him, he would so dispose affairs, that he would at once put into his hands both the king and kingdom of *Golkonda*. This thing he made very easy, using the following discourse: You need but take four or five thousand horse, of the best of your army, and to march with expedition to *Golkonda*, spreading a rumour by the way, that 'tis an ambassador of *Chab-Jehan* that goes in haste, about considerable matters, to speak with the king at *Bag-naguer*. The *Dabir*, who is he that is first to be addressed unto, to make any thing known unto the king, is allied to me and my creature, and altogether mine; take care of nothing but to march with expedition, and I will so order it, that without making you known, you shall come to the gates of *Bag-naguer*; and when the king shall come out to receive the letters, according to custom, you may easily seize on him, and afterwards of all his family, and do with him what shall seem good to you, in regard that his house of *Bag-naguer*, where he commonly resides, is unwall'd and unfortified. He added that he would make this enterprize upon his own charges, offering him fifty thousand rupies a day (which is about five and twenty thousand crowns) during the whole time of the march.

Aureng-Zebe, who looked only for some such occasion, had no mind at all to lose so fair a one. He soon undertook the expedition, and did so fortunately manage his enterprize, that he arrived at *Bag-naguer*, without being otherwise known than as an ambassador of *Chab-Jehan*. The king of *Golkonda* being advertised of the arrival of this pretended ambassador, came forth into a garden, according to custom, received him with honour, and having unfortunately put himself into the hands of his enemy, ten or twelve slaves, *Gurgis*, were ready to fall upon and to seize his person, as had been projected; but that a certain *Omrah*, touched with tenderness, could not forbear to cry out, though he was of the party, and a creature of *Emir*, *Doth not your majesty see that this is Aureng-Zebe? Away, or you are taken.* Whereat the king being affrighted, slips away, and gets hastily on horseback, riding with all his might to the fortress of *Golkonda*, which is but a short league from thence.

Aureng-Zebe seeing he was defeated in his design, yet was not therefore discomposed; but seized at the same time on the royal house, taketh all the rich and good things he finds there; yet sending to the king all his wives, (which over all the *Indies* is very religiously observed;) and goeth to besiege him in his fortress. But as the siege, for want of having brought a-

long all necessaries, held on long, and lasted above two months, he received order from *Chab-Jehan* to raise it, and to retire into *Decan* again; so that, although the fortress was reduced to extremities, for want of victuals and ammunition of war, he found himself obliged to abandon his enterprize. He knew very well, that it was *Cara* and *Begum* that had induced *Chab-Jehan* to send these orders, from the apprehension they entertained, that he would become too powerful; but in the mean time he never discovered any resentment of it, saying only, that he ought to obey the orders of his father. Yet he withdrew not, without causing underhand payment to be made to him of all the charges of his expedition: Besides, he married his son *Sultan Mahmoud* to the eldest daughter of that king, with a promise, that he would make him his successor, causing him also to give him for a dowry the fortress and the appurtenances of *Bamguyre*. He also made the king consent, that all the silver money, that should be coined for the future in that kingdom, should bear on one side the arms of *Chab-Jehan*; and that *Emir-Jemla* should withdraw, with his whole family, all his goods, troops, and artillery.

These two great men were not long together, but they framed great designs: On the way they besieged and took *Bider*, one of the strongest and most important places of *Visapour*; and thence they went to *Daulet-Abad*, where they contracted so intimate a friendship together, that *Aureng-Zebe* could not live without seeing *Emir* twice a-day, nor *Emir* without seeing *Aureng-Zebe*. Their union began to cause a new face in all the affairs of those parts, and laid the first foundations of the royalty of *Aureng-Zebe*.

This prince having used the art to make himself to be called to the court divers times, went with great and rich presents to *Agra* to *Chab-Jehan*, presenting him his service, and inducing him to make war against the king of *Golkonda*, and him of *Visapour*, and against the *Portugueze*. At first he presented to him that great diamond, which is esteemed matchless; giving him to understand, that the precious stones of *Golkonda* were quite other things, than those rocks of *Kandabar*; that there it was, where the war ought to be made, to get the possession thereof, and to go as far as cape *Comery*. *Chab-Jehan*, whether it were that he was dazzled by the diamonds of *Emir*, or whether he thought it fit, as some believe he did, to have an army in the field, somewhat to restrain *Dara*, whom he found active in making himself potent, and who with insolence had ill-treated

Raises the siege.

On what conditions.

His intimacy with Emir.

Emir persuades Chab-Jehan to war against the king of Golkonda, &c.

Is discovered.

Seizes on the palace.

Besieges the fortress.



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A MAP OF GUINEA. LOANGO & C. By H. Moll Geographer.

Miles of Great Britain
60 120 180 240 300



The Meridian of London.

treated the visier *Sadullah-Kan* (whom *Chab-Jehan* passionately loved, and considered as the greatest statesman that had been in the *Indies*) causing him even to be made away with poison, as a man not of his party, but inclined to *Sultan Sujah*; or rather, because he found him too powerful, and in a condition to be the umpire of the crown, if *Chab-Jehan* should decease; or lastly, because being neither *Persian*, nor of *Persian* extraction, but an *Indian*, there were not wanting envious persons, who spread abroad, that he entertained in divers places numerous troops of *Patans*, vary gallant men, and well paid, with a design to make himself king, or his son; or at least to expel the *Mogols*, and to restore to the throne the nation of the *Patans*, of whom he had taken his wife. However it be, *Chab-Jehan* resolved to send an army towards *Decan* under the conduct of *Emir-Jemla*.

Opposed by *Dara*. *Dara*, who saw the consequence of this affair, and that the sending of troops for those parts, was to give strength to *Aureng-Zebe*, opposed it exceedingly, and did what he could to hinder it. Nevertheless, when he saw that *Chab-Jehan* was resolute for it, he at last thought it best to consent; but with this condition, that *Aureng-Zebe* should keep in *Daulet-Abad*, as governor only of the country, without meddling at all in the war, or pretending to govern the army; that *Emir* should be the absolute general, who for a pledge of his fidelity was to leave his whole family at the court. *Emir* struggled enough within himself, whether he should agree to this last condition, but when *Chab-Jehan* desired him to give that satisfaction to *Dara*, and promised him, that after a little while he would send him back his wife and children, he consented, and marched into *Decan* towards *Aureng-Zebe* with a very gallant army, and without any stop entered into *Visapour*, where he besieged a strong place called *Kaliane*.

Chab-Jehan's sickness. The affairs of *Indostan* were in that condition, as I have been relating, when *Chab-Jehan* fell dangerously sick. I shall not speak here of his sickness, much less relate the particulars of it: I shall only say this, that it was little suitable to a man of above seventy years of age, who should rather think on preserving his strength, than to ruin it as he did. This sickness did soon alarm and trouble all *Indostan*. Mighty armies were levied in *Dehly* and *Agra*, the capitals of the empire. *Sultan Sujah* did the like in *Bengal*; and *Aureng-Zebe* in *Decan*; and *Morad-Bakche* in *Guzaratte*: All four assembled to themselves their allies and friends; all four write, promise, and form divers intrigues. *Dara* having surpris'd

some of their letters, shewed them to *Chab-Jehan*, and made great noise about them; and his sister *Begum* failed not to make use of this occasion, to animate the king against them. But *Chab-Jehan* was diffident of *Dara*, and fearing to be poisoned, gave order, that particular care should be had of what was brought to his table. 'Twas also said, that he wrote to *Aureng-Zebe*; and that *Dara* being advertis'd thereof, could not forbear to menace, and to break into very passionate expressions. In the mean time the distemper of *Chab-Jehan* lingered, and 'twas bruited every where, that he was dead. Whereupon the whole court was disordered, the whole town alarm'd, the shops for many days shut up, and the four sons of the king made openly great preparations, each for himself: And to say truth, it was not without reason, that they all made ready for war; for they all very well knew, that there was no hopes of quarter, that there was no other way than to vanquish or die, to be king or undone, and that he that should be conqueror would rid himself of all the rest, as formerly *Chab-Jehan* had done of his brothers.

Sultan Sujah, who had heaped up great treasures in that rich kingdom of *Bengal*,^{*jab t. kes the field to possess the throne.*} ruining some of the *Rajas* or petty kings that are in those parts, and drawing great sums from others, took the field first of all with a puissant army, and in the confidence he had of all the *Persian Omrahs*, for the sect of whom he had declared himself, he boldly marched towards *Agra*, giving out openly that *Chab-Jehan* was dead, that *Dara* had poisoned him, that he would revenge the death of his father, and, in a word, that he would be king. *Dara* desired *Chab-Jehan* to write himself to him, and to forbid him to advance farther; which he did, assuring him that his sickness was not at all dangerous, and that he was already much better. But he having friends at court, who assured him that the sickness of *Chab-Jehan* was mortal, he dissembled, and ceased not to advance, saying still, that he knew very well *Chab-Jehan* was dead; and if he should be alive, he was desirous to come and kiss his feet, and to receive his commands.

Aureng-Zebe immediately after, if not at the same time, taketh the field also in *Decan*,^{*Aureng-Zebe takes the field on the same account.*} maketh a great noise, and prepareth to march towards *Agra*. The same prohibition was made to him also, as well from *Chab-Jehan*, as from *Dara*, who threaten'd him. But he dissembleth, for the same reason that *Sultan Sujah* had done, and giveth the like answer. Mean time, finding that his treasure was low, and his soldiery very inconsiderable, he devised two artifices

His artifices to support his designs

artifices, which succeeded admirably well; the one, in regard of *Morad-Bakche*; the other, in respect of *Emir-Jemla*. To *Morad-Bakche* he writes with speed a very fair letter, importing, that he had always been his true and intimate friend; that, as for himself, he laid no claim at all to the crown; that he might remember, he had all his life time made profession of a *Fakire*, but that *Dara* was a person incapable to govern a kingdom; that he was a *Kafer*, an idolater, and hated of all the greatest *Omrahs*; that *Sultan Sujab* was a *Rafezy*, an heretick, and by consequence an enemy to *Indostan*, and unworthy of the crown: So that, in a word, there was none but he (*Morad-Bakche*) that could reasonably pretend to the succession; that the crown did expect him; that the whole court, which was not ignorant of his valour, would be for him; and that for his particular, if he would promise him, that being king, he would give him leave to live quietly in some corner or other of his empire, there to serve god the remainder of his days, he was ready to make a conjunction with him, to assist him with his council and friends, and to put into his hands his whole army, to fight *Dara* and *Sultan Sujab*; that in the mean time he sent him an hundred thousand rupies (which make about fifty thousand crowns of our * money) and prayed him to accept thereof as a pledge of his friendship; and that he would advise him to come with all possible speed to seize on the castle of *Surat*, where he knew to be the treasure of the land.

Morad-Bakche deceived.

Morad-Bakche, who was neither too rich nor too powerful, received with much joy this proposition of *Aureng-Zebe*, and the hundred thousand rupies sent by him; and shewed *Aureng-Zebe's* letter to every body, thereby to oblige the flower of that country to take up arms for him, and the substantial merchants to lend him the more willingly such sums of money as he demanded of them. He began in good earnest to act the king, made large promises to all; and, in short, did so well, that he set a good army on foot; of whom he singled out some three thousand, who, under the conduct of *Chab-Abas*, one of his eunuchs, but a valiant man, should go to besiege *Surat*.

Emir's excuse.

Aureng-Zebe sent his eldest son, *Sultan Mahmoud*, (him whom he had married to the daughter of the king of *Golkonda*) to *Emir-Jemla*, who was yet employed in the siege of *Kaliane*, to persuade him to come to him to *Daulet-Abad*, pretending to have matter of the greatest importance to communicate to him. *Emir*, who soon suspected his intentions, excused himself, say-

ing openly, that *Chab-Jeban* was not dead, that he had fresh news of his being alive, and that besides, all his family being at *Agra* in the hands of *Dara*, he could by no means assist *Aureng-Zebe*, nor declare himself for him. Whereupon *Sultan Mahmoud* returned to *Daulet-Abad*, without effecting any thing, and very much dissatisfied with *Emir*. But *Aureng-Zebe* lost no courage for all that, but sent the second time to *Emir*; yet not *Sultan Mahmoud*, but *Sultan Mazum* his second son, who presented to him his father's letter, and handled him with that dexterity, sweetness, and protestation of friendship, that it was not possible to resist him. *Emir* therefore yielded at last to pressed the siege of *Kaliane*, forced the be-*Aureng-Zebe's* pre- tences. sieged to surrender upon composition, took the choice of his army, and with all diligence went away with *Sultan Mazum*. At his arrival, *Aureng-Zebe* courted him in the highest degree, treating him no otherwise than with the name of *Baba* and *Babagy*, that is, father, lord-father; and after an hundred embraces, he took him aside, and told him (according to what I could learn from persons who knew of it) that it was not just, that having his family at the court, he should adventure to do any thing in his behalf that might come to be known; but that, after all, there was nothing so difficult but an expedient might be found. Give me leave therefore (said he) to propose to you a design, which at first will possibly surprize you; but, since you apprehend the danger of your wife and children that are in hostage, the best way of providing for their security would be, to suffer me to seize on your person, and to put you in prison. It is out of doubt, that all the world will believe it done in earnest: For who would imagine, that such a person as you would be content to let yourself be laid in prison? In the interim, I could make use of part of your army, and of your artillery, as you shall judge most proper and convenient: You also could furnish me with a sum of money, as you have frequently offered it; and besides, methinks I might tempt fortune farther, and we might together take our measures, to see in what manner I had best to demean myself; if you would also permit, that I might cause you to be transported into the fortresses of *Daulet-Abad*, where you should be master; and that there I might have you kept by my own son, *Sultan Mazum*, or *Sultan Mahmoud*; this would yet better palliate the matter, and I see not what *Dara* could justly say of it, nor how he could reasonably treat your wife and children ill.

Emir, whether it were by reason of the friendship he had sworn to *Aureng-Zebe*, or for

* *French.*

for the great promises made to him, or the apprehension he had, of seeing near him *Sultan Mazum*, who stood by very penfive and well armed, and *Sultan Mahmoud*, who looked grim upon him for his coming away at the sollicitation of his brother, not at that of his, and had at his very entrance lift up his foot as if he would have hit him; whatever of these considerations might induce him, he consented to all what *Aureng-Zebe* desired, and approved of the expedient to suffer himself to be imprisoned; so that *Aureng-Zebe* was no sooner gone, but the great master of the artillery was seen to approach with some fierceness to *Emir*, and to command him in the name of *Aureng-Zebe* to follow him, locking him up in a chamber, and there giving him very good words, whilst all the soldiery, that *Aureng-Zebe* had thereabout, went to their arms. The report of the detention of *Emir-Jemla* was no sooner spread, but a great tumult arose; and those whom he had brought along with him, although astonished, yet put themselves into a posture of rescuing him, and with their swords drawn ran to force the guards, and the gate of his prison, which was easy for them to do; for *Aureng-Zebe* had not with him sufficient troops to make good so bold an enterprize; the only name of *Emir-Jemla* made all tremble. But the whole matter being altogether counterfeited, all these commotions were presently calmed by the intimations that were given to the chief officers of *Emir's* army, and by the presence of *Aureng-Zebe*, who there appeared very resolute with his two sons, and spoke now to one, then to another; and at last by promises and presents, liberally bestowed on those that were concerned. So that all the troops of *Emir*, and even most of those of *Chab-Jehan*, seeing things troubled, and being without their general, and believing *Chab-Jehan* to be dead, or, at best, desperately sick; considering also the ample promises made to them of augmenting their stipend, and of giving them at that very time three months advance, soon lifted themselves under *Aureng-Zebe*; who having seized on all the equipage of *Emir*, even his very camels and tents, took the field, resolved to march to the siege of *Surat*, and to hasten the taking it; where *Morad-Bakche*, was exceedingly embarrassed, because that his best troops were employed there, and that he found more resistance in that place than he imagined. But *Aureng-Zebe*, after some days march, was informed, that the governor had surrendered the place; for which he sent congratulations to *Morad-Bakche*, acquainting him withal of his transactions with *Emir-Jemla*, and assuring him, that he had forces and money enough, and very

good intelligence at the court; that nothing was wanting; that he was directly going to *Brampour* and *Agra*; that he had expected him on the way, and therefore desired him to join with him.

'Tis true, that *Morad-Bakche* found not so much money in the fortrefs of *Surat* as he imagined, whether it were that really there was not so much as was reported, or whether the governor had diverted a part of it, as some believed: Yet notwithstanding that little he found there was useful to him, to pay the soldiers that had lifted themselves in hopes of the advantages they should make of the imagined vast treasure of *Surat*. 'Tis not less true, that he had no greater reason to boast of the taking of this place, in regard there was not any regular fortification about it; and yet his army had lain before it above a month, and would never have reduc'd it without the *Hollanders*, who furnished them with the invention of springing a mine, which ruining a great side of the wall, cast the besieged into such a consternation, that it made them immediately surrender. The reduction of this town did much advance his design, fame proclaiming immediately throughout these countries, that *Morad-Bakche* had taken *Surat*; that he had sprung a mine, which sounded very big among the *Indians*, who as yet do little understand that practice; and that there he had found a vast treasure. Notwithstanding this great noise, and all the first advantages, joined to all those frequent letters and great promises of *Aureng-Zebe*, the eunuch *Chab-Abas*, a man of good sense, of a great heart, and exceedingly affectionate to the service of his master, was not of opinion that *Morad-Bakche* should so much tie himself in interest to *Aureng-Zebe*, or precipitate his conjunction with him, but advised, that he should amuse him with words, and let him advance alone towards *Agra*; that in the mean time there would come certain news of the sickness of *Chab-Jehan*; that he should first see what channel affairs would run in; that he should fortify *Surat*, as a very good post, able to render him master of a very large and rich country; and that perhaps in time he might seize *Brampour*, which is a very considerable passage of a river, and as it were a bar of *Decan*. But the continual letters and protestations of *Aureng-Zebe*, joined to the small forces, artillery, and treasure of *Morad-Bakche*, blinded with an excessive ambition to reign, made him regardless of all other considerations; so that he went away from *Amadevad*, abandoned *Guzaratte*, and took his way through the woods and mountains, with all expedition, to be at the rendezvous, where *Aureng-Zebe* had looked for him these two or three days.

Is made
prisoner.

Aureng-Zebe seizes
on his army, &c.

Surat surrenders.

Morad-Bakche yields to the pretences of *Aureng-Zebe*.

Their armies join.

Great solemnities of joy were made at the conjunction of the two armies, the princes visited one another, *Aureng-Zebe* made a hundred protestations and no less promises to *Morad-Bakche*, assured him afresh, and solemnly, of his not caring for the crown, as also of his being there for no other end than to assist him against *Dara* their common enemy, and to place him in the throne, which expected him.

Upon this interview, and confirmation of friendship, both armies marched together, *Aureng-Zebe* continuing always, during the march, in the protestations of friendship, and in his courtship to *Morad-Bakche*, treating him never otherwise, whether in publick or private, but with the title of *Hazaret*, that is, king and majesty: So that *Morad-Bakche* was fully persuaded that *Aureng-Zebe* meant sincerely, from an excess of affection towards him; whence he even willingly, and without ceremony, suffered the submissions and respects he shewed him; instead of remembering what had lately passed at *Golkonda*, and of considering, that he, who had thus hazarded himself with so much boldness to usurp a kingdom, was not of a temper to live and die a *Fakire*.

Alarm the court.

These two armies thus joined made a body considerable enough, which begot a great noise at court, and gave cause of thoughtfulness, not only to *Dara*, but to *Chab-Jehan* himself, who knew the great parts and subtle conduct of *Aureng-Zebe*, and the courage of *Morad-Bakche*; and who foresaw very well, that a fire was kindling, which would be very hard to quench. It was to no purpose to write letters upon letters, signifying that he was well, and giving order that they should turn back to their respective governments; and expressing also, that he would forget all that had passed hitherto. All his letters were not able to hinder their advance; and as the sickness of *Chab-Jehan* did still pass for mortal, there being no persons wanting to bring and spread such news, they still continued to dissemble, giving out, that they were letters counterfeited by *Dara*, that *Chab-Jehan* was dead indeed; but that in case he were alive, they would go to kiss his feet, and deliver him from the hands of *Dara*.

Chab-Jehan arms against the rebels.

What then should *Chab-Jehan* this unfortunate king do, who seeth that his sons have no regard to his orders; who is informed at all hours, that they march apace towards *Agra* at the head of their armies, and who, in this conjuncture, finds himself sick to boot in the hands of *Dara*, that is, of a man who breatheth nothing but war; who prepareth for it with all imaginable earnestness, and with all the marks of

an enraged resentment against his brothers? But what could he do in this extremity? He is constrained to abandon to them his treasures, and to leave them to their disposal. He is forced to send for his old and most trusty captains, whom he knows for the most part to be not very affectionate to *Dara*; he must command them to fight for *Dara*, against his own blood, his own children, and those for whom he hath more esteem than for *Dara*; he is obliged forthwith to send an army against *Sultan Sujab*, because 'tis he that is most advanced; and he is to send another against *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*, who no less are marching towards him.

Soliman Chekoub, the eldest son of *Dara*,^{Makes Soliman Chekoub his general.} a young prince of about five and twenty yeares of age, very proper of body, and of good parts and conduct, generous, liberal, and universally beloved, especially of *Chab-Jehan*, who had already enriched him, and who considered him rather for his successor than *Dara*, was he that was made general of this army against *Sujab*. Nevertheless *Chab-Jehan*, who wished much rather that *Sujab* were returned to *Bengal*, than that the matter should be tried by a bloody combat, which could not but be very tragical, and wherein he run the hazard of losing one or other of his sons, gave him for companion an ancient *Raja*, called *Jesseigne*, who is at present one of the powerfulst and richest *Rajas* of all *Indostan*, and one of the ablest in the whole kingdom, with a secret order not to fight, except it were altogether unavoidable; as also to endeavour by all means to induce *Sujab* to retire, and to reserve his forces for a better occasion; that is to say, after they should have seen the event of the sickness of *Chab-Jehan*, and the success of *Aureng-Zebe*, and of *Morad-Bakche*. But this young prince, *Soliman Chekoub*, full of heat and courage, breathing after nothing but to signalize himself by some great action; and *Sultan Sujab* fearing lest *Aureng-Zebe* gaining a battle should first make himself master of the capital towns of the empire, *Agra* and *Dehly*; it was impossible for the *Raja Jesseigne* to keep them from a combat. The two armies^{who fights Sultan Sujab.} are no sooner in sight of one another, but they prepare to fall on, and they were not long from giving some vollies of cannon. I shall not relate the particulars of this fight; for, besides that the narration of it would be too long and tedious, in the sequel of this history we shall be obliged to describe more considerable ones, by which the reader will be able to judge of this. 'Tis sufficient to know in general, that the first onset was very sharp and obstinate on both sides, but that at length *Soliman Chekoub* did urge *Sujab* with that force and vigour,

Gains the victory. vigour, that he disordered him, and made him fly: So that if *Jesseigne*, and the *Patan Delil-kan*, who was one of first captains and a valiant man, but an intimate friend of the *Raja*, and did not act but being moved by him, had seconded him in good earnest, 'tis thought that the whole army of *Sujab* would have been defeated, and himself in danger of being taken: But that was not the design of the *Raja* to destroy him, no more than it was that of *Chab-Jeban*, who had given him order to the contrary. Thus then had *Sujab* time to retreat, and that without losing any considerable number of his men; yet because *Soliman Chékoub* kept the field, and brought away some pieces of artillery, it was presently bruited at court, that *Sujab* had been totally overthrown. This defeat purchased great reputation to *Soliman Chékoub*, lessened much the esteem of *Sultan Sujab*, and cooled exceedingly all the *Persians* that had an inclination for him.

After some days were spent in the pursuit of *Sujab*, the prince *Soliman Chékoub*, who every day received news from the court, and who learned, that *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche* did approach with great resolution, well knowing that his father *Dara* had no great stock of prudence, but good store of secret enemies, resolved to quit the pursuit of *Sultan Sujab*, and with all speed to return to *Agra*, where, in all appearance, *Dara* was to give battle against *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*. This was the best council he could take, for no man doubts, that if he could have been there in good time, *Aureng-Zebe* would not have had the advantage; and 'tis even believed, he would never have hazarded the combat, the party being too unequal; but the bad fortune of *Dara* did not permit it.

Whilst all that was thus transacted toward *Elabas*, which is the place where the *Gemna* is joined to the *Ganges*; the scene was very different on the side of *Agra*. At the court they were much surprized to hear that *Aureng-Zebe* had passed the river of *Brampour*, and all the other passages that were most difficult between the mountains; so that with all haste they sent away some troops to dispute with him the passage of the river *Eugenes*, whilst the whole army was making ready. For which purpose, there were chosen two of the most considerable and the most powerful of the kingdom to command it; the one was *Kasem-Kan*, a renowned captain and very affectionate to *Chab-Jeban*, but one that had no great inclination to *Dara*, and who went not but to oblige *Chab-Jeban*, whom he saw in the hands of *Dara*: The other was *Jessomseigne*, a potent *Raja*, not inferior to *Jesseigne*, and son-in-law

to that *Raja Rana*, who was at the time of *Ekbar* so puissant, as if he had been the emperor of the *Raja's*. *Dara* at their farewell expressed to them great kindness, and presented them nobly; but *Chab-Jeban* took his time, before their departure, to charge them in secret, as he had done the *Raja Jesseigne*, when he went away in the expedition against *Sultan Sujab* with *Soliman Chékoub*. Neither were they wanting, in their march, to send several times to *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*, to persuade them to turn back: But this was in vain; their envoys came not again, and the army advanced with that diligence, that they saw it much sooner than they thought upon a rising ground, not far remote from the river.

It being then summer, and the season of the greatest heats, the river was fordable; which was the cause, that at the same time *Kasem-Kan* and the *Raja* prepared themselves to give battle; besides that, they soon knew the resolution of *Aureng-Zebe*, that he would force them, since that, although his army was not all come up, he gave them some volleys of cannon; his design being to amuse them, fearing lest they themselves should pass the river, not only to prevent his passage, but also to hinder his army from reposing, and from taking an advantageous post; which was indeed in great disorder, and so tired by their march, and so faint by the heat, that if at the very first it had been assaulted, and kept from passing the water, it would doubtless have been routed without much resistance. [I was not by in this first encounter, but thus it was generally discoursed of, and it agreeth with the after-relation of many of our *Frenchmen*, who served *Aureng-Zebe* in the artillery.] But they were content to stay at the river side, to keep *Aureng-Zebe* from passing it, according to the order they had received.

After that *Aureng-Zebe* had let his army rest two or three days, and by amusing the enemy, had fitted it to pass the river, he made his whole artillery play, which was very well placed; and he commanded, that under the favour of the cannon they should pass the river. *Kasem-Kan* and the *Raja*, on their part, discharged theirs also, and did what they could to repulse the enemy, and to keep him from passing. The combat was sharp enough at first, and very obstinately maintained by the extraordinary valour of *Jessomseigne*. For as to *Kasem-Kan*, although a great captain, and a stout man, he gave no great proof of his valour on this occasion; yea, some accuse him of treachery, charging him that he had in the night caused the bullets and powder to be hid under the sand, there

Is attack-
ed by Au-
reng-Zebe.

An army
sent a-
gainst Au-
reng-Zebe.

there being no more of them to be found after two or three discharges. However it be, the combat, for all that, was, as I said, very resolutely carried on, and the passage long disputed. There were rocks in the bed of the river, which did much embarrass, and the banks in many places were very high and difficult to climb up. But at last, *Morad-Backbe* cast himself into the water with so much resolution and force, and shew'd so much valour and boldness, that there was no resisting of him. He passed over, and with him a good part of the army, which made *Kasem-Kan* to give back, and cast *Jessomseigne* into great danger of his person. For by and by he found the whole body of the enemy upon him, and without the extraordinary resolution of his *Rajipous*, who almost all were killed about him, he had been a dead man. One may judge of the great danger he was in upon this occasion, by this, that after he had disengaged himself as well as he could, and was come back to his own, not daring to return to *Agra*, because of the great loss he had suffered, of seven or eight thousand *Rajipous*, he had but five or six hundred of them remaining.

Is van-
quished.

The cou-
rage of
the *Raji-
pous*.

The effect
of *Opium*.

These *Rajipous*, who take their name from the *Rajas*, that is to say, the children of the *Rajas*, are from father to son such men as make the sword their profession. The *Rajas*, whose subjects they are, do assign them lands for their subsistence, on condition to be always ready to go to war when summoned. So that one might say, that they were a sort of pagan nobles, if the *Rajas* gave them their lands in propriety for them and their children. They are great takers of *Opium*; and I have sometimes wondered at the quantity I have seen them take: They accustom themselves to it from their youth. On the day of battle they double the dose, this drug animating, or rather inebriating them, and making them insensible of danger; inso-much that they cast themselves into the combat like so many furious beasts, not knowing what it is to run away, but dying at the feet of the *Raja*, when he stands to it. They want nothing but order; resolution they have enough. 'Tis a pleasure thus to see them, with the fume of *Opium* in their head, to embrace one another, when the battle is to begin, and to give their mutual farewells, as men resolved to die. And that they do for this reason; that the *Great Mogol*, tho' a *Mahometan*, and by consequence an enemy of the heathen, yet for all that entertains always a good number of *Rajas* in his service, whom he considers as his other *Omrahs*, and

employs in his armies as if they were *Mahometans*.

I cannot forbear to relate here the fierce *Jessomseigne* how reception, which the daughter of the *Rana* ^{received by his wife.} gave to her husband *Jessomseigne*, after his defeat and flight. When she heard that he was nigh, and had understood what had passed in the battle; that he had fought with all possible courage, that he had but four or five hundred men left; and that at last, not being able to resist any longer the enemy, he had been obliged to retreat: She, instead of sending one to receive him, and to console him in his misfortunes, commanded in a dry mood to shut the gates of the castle, and not to let this infamous man enter; that he was not her husband; that she would never see him; that the son-in-law of the great *Rana* could not have so low a soul; that he was to remember, that being grafted into so illustrious an house, he was to imitate the virtue of it; and in a word, that he was either to vanquish or to die. A moment after she was of another humour; she commands a pile of wood to be laid, that she might burn herself; that they abused her; saying, that her husband must needs be dead; that it could not be otherwise. And a little while after this, she was seen to change her countenance, to fall into passion, and to break out into a thousand reproaches against him. In short, she remained thus transported eight or nine days, without being able to resolve to see her husband, till at last her mother coming in, brought her in some degree to herself, and comforted her, assuring her, that as soon as the *Raja* had but a little refresh'd himself, he would raise another army, to fight *Aureng-Zebe*, and repair his honour at any rate.

By which story one may see a pattern of the courage of the women in that country: to which I could add something I have seen some of them do, who burned themselves alive after the death of their husbands; but we must reserve this discourse for another place, where I shall also shew, that there is nothing which opinion, prepossession, custom, hope, and the point of honour, &c. may not make men do or suffer.

Dara having understood what had passed at *Eugenes*, fell into that choler a-^{Dara's} behaviour against *Kasem-Kan*, that it was thought he at the news of *Aureng-Zebe's* victory. would have cut off his head, if he had been upon the place. He was also transported against *Emir-Jemla*, as the person who was the first and principal cause of the misfortune, and who had furnished *Aureng-Zebe* with men, money and cannon. He is ready to kill his son *Mahmet Emir-Kan*, and will send his wife and daugh-

daughter to *Basar*, or the market-place of prostituted women; and 'tis past doubt, that he would have done some such thing, if *Chab-Jehan*, with much art and prudence, had not moderated the excess of his passion, in remonstrating to him, that *Emir-Jemla* had not so little conduct, nor so great a friendship for *Aureng-Zebe*, as to hazard, and in a manner to sacrifice his family, for the advancing of his interest; that *Aureng-Zebe* must needs have gulled and ensnared him, by his usual artifice and cunning.

Aureng-Zebe's policy.

As for *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*, the happy success of this first encounter did so swell their hearts, and gave such courage to their whole army, that henceforth they believed themselves invincible, and capable to compass any thing. Besides, *Aureng-Zebe*, the more to animate his soldiers, bragged openly, that he had thirty thousand *Mogols* at his devotion in the army of *Dara*; and there was something in it, as appeared by the sequel. *Morad-Bakche* was for nothing but fighting, and would march with all diligence. But *Aureng-Zebe* represented to him, that it was necessary the army should refresh themselves for some time upon the banks of this sweet river; that in the mean time he would write to all his friends, and get a full and certain information of the state of the court, and of the condition of all affairs. So that he marched not towards *Agra* till he had rested some days, and after that he marched but slowly, to inform himself of all, and to take his time and measures.

Chab-Jehan's perplexities.

Concerning *Chab-Jehan*, when he plainly saw the resolution of *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*, and that there was no hope left to make them turn back, he was in such a perplexity, that he knew not what to resolve, and foreseeing some great calamity, he would fain have hindered the last decisive battle, for which he saw *Dara* preparing himself with great eagerness. But what could he do to oppose it? He was yet too weak of his sickness, and saw himself still in the hands of *Dara*, whom, as I have said, he trusted not much: So that he found himself obliged to acquiesce in his will, and to commit to him all the forces of the empire, and to command all captains to obey him. Immediately all was in arms: I know not whether there was ever a more gallant army seen in *Indostan*. 'Tis said, that there were little less than an hundred thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot, with four thousand pieces of cannon, without reckoning the incredible number of servants, followers, victualers, whom historians, methinks, do often put into the number of the comba-

His army.

tants, when they speak of those formidable armies of three or four hundred thousand men, of which their books are full. Though this army was very brave, and strong enough to cut in pieces two or three of such as *Aureng-Zebe* had, in which there were no more than thirty-five or forty thousand men in all, and these tired and harrassed by a very long and irksome march, during the height of the heats; and but a small number of cannon, in respect of that of *Dara*. Mean time (which seems hard to believe) there was scarce any body that presaged well for *Dara*, all knowing, that most of the chief *Omrabs* had no affection for him, and that all the good soldiers that were for him, and whom he might confide in, were in the army of *Soliman Chekouh*, his son. And it was for this reason, that the most prudent and the most faithful of his friends, and *Chab-Jehan* himself, counselled him not to hazard a battle: *Chab-Jehan* offering, as infirm as he was, that he would go into the field himself, and be carried before *Aureng-Zebe*, to interpose; which was looked upon as a very good expedient for peace, and for accommodating the affairs of *Chab-Jehan*. For it is certain, that *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche* would never have had the boldness to fight against their own father; and if they should have attempted it, they would have smarted for it, because, besides that the match was not equal, and all the great *Omrabs* were so affectionate to *Chab-Jehan*, that they would not have failed to fight resolutely, if they had seen him in the head of the army; besides this, I say, the captains themselves of *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*, bore great affection and respect to this prince, whose creatures they most were; and the whole army, in a manner, was his. So that in all appearance, not one of them would have presumed to draw his sword against him, nor he been at the pains of drawing his.

Then they advised *Dara*, that if he would not hearken to this expedient, he should at least not precipitate the business, but delay till *Soliman Chekouh*, who made all haste to join, were come in. Which was also very good counsel, in regard that that prince was beloved of all, and was lately come home victorious, and had the most faithful and the bravest soldiers with him. But *Dara* would never hearken to any proposition that could be made to him, and he thought on nothing else but to give battle presently, and to go against *Aureng-Zebe* in person. And possibly he did not amiss, as to his own honour and particular interest, if he could have commanded fortune, and made things succeed as he

Aureng-Zebe's army.

An expedient proposed to prevent the shedding of blood.

Dara refuses all expedients, and resolves to fight his brother.

contrived them. For the considerations he had (as he could not forbear now and then to discover) were some such as these.

Why.

He looked upon himself as master of the person of *Chab-Jehan*; that he could dispose of him as he pleased: that he was also possessor of all the treasures and forces of the empire; that *Sultan Sujab* was half ruined; that his two other brothers, with a weak and tired army, were come to cast themselves into his hands; that if he gained the battle, they could not escape him; that he should all at once be absolute master, and at the end of all his troubles, and at the height of his wishes, so as no body could contradict him in any thing, or dispute the crown with him. Whereas if *Chab-Jehan* should take the field, all affairs would be accommodated, his brothers would return to their government, *Chab-Jehan*, who began to recover his health, would resume the government as before, and all things would return into their first channel: That if he should stay for *Soliman Chékoub*, his son, *Chab-Jehan* might take some design to his disadvantage, or contrive something with *Aureng-Zebe*; that whatever he could do for gaining the victory, the reputation which *Soliman Chékoub* had purchased, would still give him all the honour of it. And after that, what would not he be capable to undertake, swelled with so much glory and success, and especially being supported, as he was, by the favour and affection of *Chab-Jehan*, and of the greatest part of the *Omrabs*? What did he know, whether he would keep any modesty, or any respect for him, and whither his ambition might not carry him?

Takes leave of his father.

These considerations made *Dara* resolve to stand out against the counsel of all, and to pursue his point. And for that purpose, he commanded immediately the whole army to take the field, and thereupon came to take leave of *Chab-Jehan*, who was in the fortress of *Agra*. This good old man was ready to melt in tears, when he embraced him; but withal failed not to represent to him, with a very grave countenance: Well, *Dara*, since thou art resolved to follow thine own will, go, God blest thee, but remember well these few words, *If thou losest the battle, take heed of ever coming into my presence*. But this made no great impression upon him; he goeth forth briskly, taketh horse, and seizeth on the passage of the river *Tchembel*, which is about twenty miles from *Agra*; where he fortified himself, expecting his enemy. But the subtle and crafty *Fakire**, who wanted no good spies, and people that gave him intelligence of all, and who knew that the passage was there very dif-

* *Aureng-Zebe*.

ficult, took good heed to attempt the forcing it. He came to encamp himself near it, so that from the camp of *Dara*^{*Aureng-Zebe's*} one might discover his tents. But what stratagem doth he in the mean time? He inveigles to gain a certain rebel of *Raja*, called *Chempet*,^{passage over the river} presents him richly, and promiseth him a thousand fine things, if he would let him pass thorough his territories, that so he might go with speed, to gain a certain place, where he knew that the river might be passed on foot with ease. *Chempet* agreeth, and offers of his own accord, that he would himself attend him, and shew him the way through the woods and hills of his country. *Aureng-Zebe* raised his camp, the same night, without any noise, leaving some of his tents to amuse *Dara*, and marching night and day, made such haste, that he was almost as soon on the other side of the river, as *Dara* could have notice of it. Which obliged *Dara* to abandon the river there, and to leave all his fortifications, and to follow his enemy, who, he was told, did advance with great diligence towards *Agra*, to gain the river of *Gemna*, and there without trouble, and at his ease, to enjoy the water, to fortify, and to fix himself well, and so to expect *Dara*. The place where he encamped is but five leagues from *Agra*, it was formerly called *Samonguer*, and now *Fateabad*, which is to say, *Place of victory*. A little while after, *Dara* also came to encamp there, nigh the bank of the same river, between *Agra* and the army of *Aureng-Zebe*.

The two armies were there between *Chab-Jehan* three and four days in sight of one another, without fighting. Mean time *Chab-Jehan*^{*Chab-Jehan* dissuades *Dara* from battle.} wrote several letters to *Dara*, that *Soliman Chékoub* was not far off; that he should not precipitate; that he should come near *Agra*, and chuse an advantageous place to fortify himself till he came. But *Dara* answered, that before three days were passed, he would bring him to *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad Bakche* tied hand and foot, to do with them what he should think fit. And without expecting any longer, he began at that very hour to put his army in battle array.

He placed in the front all his cannon, causing them to be tied the one to the other with chains, to shut the passage of the cavalry. Behind these pieces of cannon, he place also front-ways a great number of light camels, on the forepart of the bodies whereof they fasten a small piece, of the bigness of a double musquet; a man sitting on the hind part of the camel, being able to charge and discharge without lighting. Behind these camels stood the greatest part of the musqueteers. Of the rest of the army, which chiefly consisted in

in cavalry, furnished with bows and arrows, (as ordinarily are the *Mogols*, that is, at present, white men, *Mahometans*, strangers, as *Persians*, *Turks*, *Arabians*, and *Usbecks*;) or with a sword, and a kind of half-pike, as commonly are the *Ragipous*. Of all these, I say, there were made three different bodies. The right wing was committed to *Calil-ullab-Kan*, with thirty thousand *Mogols* under his command; for he was made great *Bakbis*, that is, great master of the cavalry, in the place of *Danechmend-Kan*, that was afterwards made *Aga*, who voluntarily resign'd this office, seeing that he was not well beloved of *Dara*, for having always highly maintained against him the interest and authority of *Chah-Jehan*. The left wing was given to *Rustam-Kan-Dakny*, a very renowned and very valiant captain, together with the *Raja Chatresale*, and the *Raja Ramseigne Roullé*.

The array
of the o-
ther ar-
my.

On the other side, *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche* put also their army almost into the same order; except that in the midst of the troops of some *Omrabs*, they had hid some small field pieces, which was, as was said, after the way and art of *Emir-Jemla*, and with no ill effect.

They hardly made use of any more art, than what hath been now related; only they placed here and there some men casting *Bannes*, which is a kind of granado fastened to a stick, that may be cast very far through the cavalry, and which extremely terrifieth horses, and even hurts and kills sometimes.

All this cavalry turns about very easily, and they draw their arrows with marvellous swiftness; one man being able to draw six of them, before a musqueteer can twice discharge his musquet. The same cavalry keeps also very close in several troops under their respective officers, especially when they are going to fight hand to hand. But after all, I see not that this way of putting an army in array is any great matter, in comparison of our armies, when in good order.

Both ar-
mies en-
gage.

All things being thus disposed, the artillery began to play on both sides; for 'tis always the cannon that makes the prelude amongst them; and the arrows were now seen to fly through the air, when unexpectedly there happened to fall a storm of rain, so violent, that it interrupted the combat. The rain ceasing, the cannon began afresh to roar; and then it was that *Dara* appeared, who being mounted upon a proud elephant of *Ceilau*, commanded that an onset should be made on all sides; and himself advanced into the midst of the body of the cavalry, directly towards the enemies artillery, who received him warmly, kill'd store of his men about him,

The cou-
rage of
*Aureng-
Zebe*.

and put into disorder, not only the main body which he commanded, but also the other bodies of the cavalry that followed him. Yet notwithstanding, because he was seen to keep firm upon his elephant, without any appearance of giving back, and was observed to look every where about him with an undaunted look, and to make signs with his hands to advance and to follow him, this disorder soon ceased, every one resuming his rank, and advancing in the same pace with *Dara*. But he could not reach the enemy, without receiving another volley of cannon shot, which caused a second and great disorder in his men, and made a good part of them recoil; yet he, without any change in his countenance, stood to it, encouraging his troops, and gave still signs that they should follow him, and advance with speed, without any loss of time. Thus pressing vigorously forward, he forced the enemies artillery, broke the chains, entered into their camp, and made a rout in their camels and infantry, and in every thing he met with on that side; opening also a good passage to the cavalry that followed him. Then it was that the enemies cavalry facing him, a fore combat began. A shower of arrows filled the air from both sides, *Dara* himself putting his hand to that work; but to say truth, these arrows do but little execution, more of them are lost in the air, or broken on the ground, than hit. The first discharge of arrows being made, they fought hand to hand with their sabres, *pell mell*, and the combat was stoutly maintained on both sides. *Dara* is still seen to continue firm on his elephant, encouraging, making a noise, and giving signs on all sides; and at last advancing with so much resolution and force, against all that opposed him in his march, that he overthrew the cavalry, and made them to retire and run away.

Dara's
courage

Aureng-Zebe who was not far from thence, and mounted also on an elephant, seeing this great disorder, was in great trouble, and laboured with all his might to remedy it, but to no purpose. He made the main body of his best cavalry advance, to try whether he could make head against *Dara*; but it was not long before this body also was forced to give back, and to retreat in great disorder, whatever *Aureng-Zebe* could say or do to hinder it. Mean time let us take notice of his courage and resolution: He saw that almost the whole body of his army was disordered, and in a flying posture, insomuch that he had not a thousand men about him that kept their standing; (some told me, that there were scarce five hundred :) He saw that *Dara*, notwithstanding the difficulty of the way, which was uneven and full of holes in divers places,

places, made as if he would rush in upon him; yet, for all this, he lost no courage, and was so far from being struck with fear, or from retreating, that he stood firmly to it, and called by name most of his captains that were about him, crying out to them, *Delirane Kodabe*, (these are his own words) that is, *Courage my old friends, God is*: What hope is there in flying? Know you not, where is our *Decan*? *Kodabe, Kodabe; God is, God is*. And that none might doubt of his being undaunted, and that he thought on nothing less than running away, he commanded before them all (oh strange extremity!) that forthwith chains should be fastened to the feet of his elephant; and was going to fasten them in good earnest, but that they all declare their courage and resolution, to live and die with him.

Dara in the interim endeavoured to advance upon *Aureng-Zebe*, though he was yet at a good distance from him; and tho' the difficulty of the way embarrassed and retarded him much, he meeting also with some resistance, even from those disorder'd horse of the enemy, that covered all high and low places where he was to march. And this encounter with *Aureng-Zebe* was looked upon as the thing that was to assure *Dara* of the victory, and to decide the battle. And doubtless he would have overcome all these difficulties; and *Aureng-Zebe*, with the small number left him, would not have been able to bid head to this victorious army, if *Dara* had known how to profit of the prize he had in his hands. But here he failed, of which I shall now shew the occasion, and how thereby the scale was turned to *Aureng-Zebe*'s advantage.

Dara perceived that his left wing was in great disorder, and he was informed, that *Rustam-Kan* and *Chatresale* were killed; that *Ramseigne Routlé* had too far advanc'd, that he had indeed forced the enemy, and made way through the midst of them; but that now he was surrounded every way, and in very great danger. This it was which made *Dara* desist from his design of making directly towards *Aureng-Zebe*, that he might go to succour his left wing. There at first the battle was also very sharp, but *Dara* at last carried it, forcing and routing all, yet so, as that there still remained something that resisted and stopped him. Mean time, *Ramseigne Routlé* fought with so much courage and vigour as was possible. He wounded *Morad-Bakche*, and came so near him, that he began to cut the girdles of his elephant, to make him fall down; but the valour and good fortune of *Morad-Bakche* gave not time enough for it. In short, never any

man fought and defended himself more bravely, than *Morad-Bakche* did on this occasion: All wounded as he was, and pressed by the *Ragipous* of *Ramseigne Routlé*, who were round about him, he was not daunted, nor gave way in the least, but knew so well to take his time, that altho' he was, besides defending himself, to cover with his shield a son of his, but of seven or eight years of age, who was sitting on his side, he made an arrow-shot so luckily at *Ramseigne Routlé*, that it made him fall dead to the ground.

Dara soon heard the sad news of this accident; but at the same time he understood also, that *Morad-Bakche* was in very great danger, the *Ragipous* fighting furiously, and like lions, to revenge the death of their master. And though he saw on that side the way was very difficult, and that he still found some small body opposing and retarding him; yet he was determined to rush through to *Morad-Bakche*: And doubtless this was the best he could do, and that which was capable to repair the fault he had committed in not doing his business thoroughly with *Aureng-Zebe*. But his bad fortune kept him from it, or rather one of the blackest treacheries that ever was imagined, and the greatest oversight that was ever committed, did cause the entire loss and ruin of *Dara*.

Calil-ullah-Kan (he that commanded the thirty thousand *Mogols* which made the right wing, and were alone able to defeat the whole army of *Aureng-Zebe*) did, whilst *Dara* and his left wing fought with so much courage and success, keep off, as idle as if he were not concerned in the fray, not permitting any one of his horsemen to shoot an arrow, with a pretence, that they were for a reserve, and that he had express order not to fight but in the last extremity. But the true cause was, that he reserved in his breast the rancour of an old affront done him by *Dara*, when he commanded him to be struck. But after all, this treachery would have done no great mischief, if this infamous man had contented himself with this first effect of his resentment. Behold, how far he carried his rage and revengfulness! He cut himself off from his main body, and taking only a few men with him, rid with all possible speed towards *Dara*, at the same time when he was turning to fall on *Morad-Bakche*; and being come so near as to make himself to be heard, cry'd out with all his force; *Mobbareckbad, Hazaret, Salamet, Elbamd-ul-ellab*; God save your majesty, you have obtained the victory; what will you do any longer upon your elephant? Is it not enough that you have exposed yourself so long? If the least of those shots that have been made into

The cause
of his mis-
carriage.

The cou-
rage of
*Morad-
Bakche*.

The trea-
chery of
one of
Dara's
generals.

your *Dais* had reached your person, what would have become of us? Are there traitors wanting in this army? In the name of god come down quickly and take horse. What remains now to be done, than to pursue those run-aways. Let us do so, nor let us suffer that they should escape our hands!

Dara is deceived and betrayed.

If *Dara* had had wit enough to discover the cheat, and to consider upon a sudden the consequences of his not appearing any more upon the elephant, and being no more seen by the whole army, always eying him, or rather, if he had presently commanded to cut off the head of this parasitical traitor, he had been master of all. But the good prince suffered himself to be blinded by these sweet words: He hearkened to this advice, as if it had been very true and very sincere; he descended from his elephant and took horse. But I know not whether there passed one quarter of an hour, but he perceived the treachery of *Calil-ullah-Kan*, and repented himself extremely of the great fault he had committed. He looks about him, he seeketh, he asketh where he is; he saith, he is a traitor, he will kill him! But the perfidious villain is by this time at a good distance; the occasion is lost. Would it be believed, that as soon as the army perceived *Dara* to be no more upon the elephant, they imagined that there was treason, that *Dara* was killed; and all were struck with such a terror, that every one thought on nothing but how to escape the hands of *Aureng-Zebe*, and to save himself? What shall I say? All the army disbands and flyeth. A sudden and strange revolution! He that saw himself just now victorious, finds himself in a few moments vanquished, abandoned, and obliged to fly himself to save his life. *Aureng-Zebe*, by holding out firm a quarter of an hour upon his elephant, seeth the crown of *Indostan* upon his head; and *Dara*, for having come down a little too soon, seeth himself precipitated from the throne, and the most unfortunate prince of the world. Thus fortune taketh pleasure to make the gain or loss of a battle, and the decision of a great empire, depend upon a nothing.

His army disbands and flies.

Remarks on the weakness of numerous armies.

These great and prodigious armies, 'tis true, do sometimes great things; but when once terror seizeth, and disorder comes among them, what means of stopping the commotion? 'Tis like a great river broke through its dams; it must over-run all, without a remedy. Whence it is, that as often as I consider the condition of such armies, destitute of good order, and marching like flocks of sheep, I persuade myself, that, if in these parts one might see an army of five and twenty thousand men, of those old troops of *Flanders*, under the

conduct of *Monsieur le prince*, or of *Monsieur de Turenne*, I doubt not at all, but they would trample under foot all those armies, how numerous soever they were. And this it is that now maketh me not find it any longer strange or incredible, what we are told of ten thousand *Greeks*; and of fifty thousand men of *Alexander*, overcoming six or seven hundred thousand men of *Darius*; (if it be true that there were so many, and that the historian did not reckon the servants, and all those number of men which were to follow the army, to furnish it with forage, cattle, corn, and all other necessaries.) Bear only the first brunt, which would be no very difficult thing for us to do; and behold, they are all astonish'd. Or, do like *Alexander*, set vigorously upon one place, if that hold not out, (which will be very hard of them to do) you may be sure the work is done; all the rest presently take fright and flight together.

Aureng-Zebe, encouraged by such a wonderful success, is not wanting to turn every stone, to employ skill, dexterity, subtilty, craft, courage, to profit by all the advantages which so favourable an occasion put into his hands. *Calil-ullah-Kan* is presently with him, offering him his service, and all the troops he could be master of. He, on his side, wants not words of thanks and acknowledgments, nor a thousand fair promises; but he was very cautious to receive him in his own name; he carried him presently and presented him to *Morad-Bakche*, who, as we may easily think, received him with open arms; *Aureng-Zebe* in the mean time congratulating and praising *Morad-Bakche*, for having fought so valiantly, and ascribing to him all the honour of the victory; treating him with the title of king and majesty before *Calil-ullah-Kan*, giving him uncommon respect, and doing submissions to him becoming a subject and servant. In the interim, he labours night and day for himself; he writeth round about to all the *Omrahs*, making sure to day of one, and the next day of another. *Chahbest-Kan*, his uncle, the great and old enemy of *Dara*, by reason of an affront he had received from him, did the same for him on his part; and as he is the person who writeth best and subtlest of the empire of *Indostan*, so he contributed not a little by his cabals to the advancement of the affairs of *Aureng-Zebe*, making strong parties every where against *Dara*.

In the mean time let us still observe the artifice and dissimulation of *Aureng-Zebe*: Nothing of what he doth, treateth, promiseth, is for himself, or in his own name; he hath still (forsooth) the design of living as a *Fakire*. All is for *Morad-Bakche*, 'tis he that commands, *Aureng-Zebe* doth nothing;

His craft.

thing; 'tis *Morad-Bakche* that doth all, 'tis he that is design'd to be king.

How *Dara* is received by his father.

As for the unhappy *Dara*, he comes with all speed to *Agra*, in a desperate condition, and not daring to go see *Chah-Jehan*, remembering, doubtless, those severe words which he let fall, when he took leave of him before the battle, viz. That he should remember not to come before him, if he were overcome. Yet, for all that, the good old father sent secretly a trusty eunuch to him, to comfort him, to assure him of the continuance of his affection, to declare to him his trouble for his misfortune, and to remonstrate to him, that the case was not yet desperate, considering that there was a good army with *Soliman Chékoub*, his son, that he should go to *Debli*, where he should find a thousand horse in the royal stables; and that the governor of the fortress had order to furnish him with money and elephants; for the rest, that he should not go farther than he needs must; that he would often write to him: And lastly, that he very well knew how to find out and chastise *Aureng-Zebe*.

Dara goes to *Debli*.

I have been informed, that *Dara* was then in such a confusion, and sunk so low, that he had not the power to answer a word to the eunuch, nor the courage to send any one to *Chah-Jehan*; but that, after having sent several times to *Begum Sabe* his sister, he went away at midnight, taking with him his wife, his daughters, and his grand-child *Sepe-Chékoub*; and that (which is almost incredible) he was attended with not above three or four hundred persons. Let us leave him in his voyage to *Debli*, and stay at *Agra*, to consider the dexterity and craft wherewith *Aureng-Zebe* proceeded to manage affairs.

Aureng-Zebe's endeavours to corrupt the emperor's army

He well knew that *Dara*, and those of his party, could yet place some hopes in the victorious army of *Soliman Chékoub*, and therefore he resolved to take it from him, or to make it useless to him. To this end, he wrote letters upon letters to the *Raja Jesseigne* and to *Delil-Kan*, who were the chief heads of the army of *Soliman Chékoub*, telling them, that there was no hope left for *Dara* and his party; that he had lost the battle; that his whole army had submitted to him; that all had abandoned him; that he was fled alone towards *Debli*; that he could never escape him, and that orders were distributed every where to seize on him. And as for *Chah-Jehan*, that he was in a condition hopeless of recovery; that they should take good care of what they had to do; and if they were men of understanding, and would follow his fortune, and be his friends, they should seize on *Soliman Chékoub*, and bring him to him.

Jesseigne found himself perplexed enough ^{Which is effected.} what he should do, still much apprehending *Chah-Jehan* and *Dara*, and more to lay hands upon a royal person, well knowing, that some mischief might therefore fall on him, sooner or later, even from *Aureng-Zebe* himself. Besides, he knew that *Soliman Chékoub* had too much courage to let himself be taken after that manner, and that he would rather die in defending himself. Behold therefore, what he at last resolved! After having taken council with *Delil-Kan*, his great friend, and after they had renewed to one another the oath of mutual fidelity, he went directly to the tent of *Soliman Chékoub*, who with great impatience expected him, (for he also had heard the news of the defeat of *Dara* his father) and had already divers times sent for him. To him he frankly discovered all things, shewed him the letter of *Aureng-Zebe*, told him what course was for him to take, represented to him the danger he was in; that there was no reason he should trust in *Delil-Kan*, or in *Daoud-Kan*, or in the rest of his army; but that as soon as he could, he should gain the mountains of *Serenaguer*; that that was the best expedient he could take; that the *Raja* of that country being in unaccessible places, and not apprehending *Aureng-Zebe*, would doubtless receive him gladly; and, for the rest, he would soon see how things would go, and be always in a condition to come down from the mountains, when he should think good.

The young prince understood well enough by this kind of discourse, that there was no ground to trust henceforth in this *Raja*, and that there was no more safety for his person; and that the rather, because he knew that *Delil-Kan* was altogether devoted to him; and he saw well enough, that there was a necessity to take this course suggested. Whereupon he soon commanded, that his baggage should be put up to march towards the mountains. Some of his most affectionate friends, as a good number of *Manseb-Dars*, of *Sajeds*, and others, put themselves in order to attend him; the rest of the army, altogether astonished, remained with the *Raja*. But that which was very mean for a great *Raja*, and a very fordid barbarousness, was, that he and *Delil-Kan*, sent, under-hand, some to fall upon his baggage, who also took other things, and among them an elephant laden with rupies of gold, which caused a great disorder among those small troops that followed him; and which was an occasion that many of them returned and abandoned him; and invited also the country-people to set upon his men, pillaging them, and even killing some of them:

Yet

Yet he made a shift to gain the mountains. with his wife and children, where the *Raja* of *Serenaguer* received him with all the honour and civilities he could desire, assuring him, that he was in safety, as much as if he were king of that country, and that he would protect and assist him with all his forces. In the mean time, behold what happened on *Agra's* side.

Arives at the wall of *Agra*.

Sends an eunuch to his father.

His message how received.

Receives a message from his father.

Discovers the deceit of his father's message.

Three or four days after the battle of *Samonguer*, the victorious *Aureng-Zebe*, together with *Morad-Bakche*, came directly to the gate of the town into a garden, which may be a little league distant from the fortrefs, and sent from thence an able eunuch, and one of those whom he most confided in, to *Chab-Jehan*, to salute him with a thousand fair protestations of his affection and submission; that he was exceedingly sorry for what had passed, and for having been obliged, by reason of the ambition and evil designs of *Dara*, to proceed to all those extremities; that, for the rest, he rejoiced extremely to hear that he began to find himself better, and that he was come thither for no other end than to receive his commands.

Chab-Jehan was not wanting to express to the eunuch much satisfaction, as to the proceedings of *Aureng-Zebe*, and to receive the submissions of this son with all possible appearances of joy; though he saw very well that matters had been carried too far, and sufficiently knew the reserved and crafty humour of *Aureng-Zebe*, and his secret passion for reigning; and that therefore he was not much to be trusted, for all his fair words. And yet notwithstanding he suffers himself to be circumvented, and instead of playing the surest chart, by using his utmost power, by stirring, by appearing, by causing himself to be carried through the town, and by assembling all his *Omrahs*, (for it was yet time to do all this) he goes about to outwit *Aureng-Zebe*, him that was his craft's-master, and attempts to draw him into a snare, wherein he will be found taken himself. He then sends also an eunuch to this son to let him know, that he well understood the ill conduct, and even the incapacity of *Dara*; that he could not but call to mind the particular inclination he always had and expressed towards him, that he could not doubt of his affection; and lastly, that he should come to see him, and to advise with him what was fit to be done in these disorders; and that he passionately wished to embrace him.

Aureng-Zebe, on his side, saw also well enough, that he was not to trust too much to the words of *Chab-Jehan*, knowing especially, that *Begum-Sabe*, his enemy as well as sister, was night and day about him, and that 'twas very probable he acted nothing

but by her motion. And he apprehended, that if he should come into the fortrefs, he might be seized on, and ill treated; as it was said, that the resolution was indeed taken to do so, and several of those lusty *Tartarian* women, which serve in the *Seraglio*, were armed to set upon him as soon as he should enter. Whatever it be, he would never hazard himself, and yet spread a rumour abroad, that the next day he would go to see his father *Chab-Jehan*. But when the day was come, he put it off till another, and so he delay'd it from day to day, without ever making the visit. In the meantime he continued his secret negotiations and cabals, and founded the mind of all the greatest *Omrahs* so far, that at last, after he had well and closely laid his design, and politickly disposed all things for the success thereof, all were amazed to see, that one day, when he had sent *Sultan Mahmoud*, his eldest son, to the fortrefs, under a pretence of seeing *Chab-Jehan* in his name; this young prince, bold and undertaking, falls presently upon the guards that were at the gate, and vigorously driveth all before him, whilst a great number of men appointed, who were there all ready, did enter with fury, and made themselves masters of the walls.

Takes measures to strengthen his interest.

How he seized the fortrefs, and the emperor.

If ever a man was astonish'd, *Chab-Jehan* was, seeing that he was fallen into the snare which he had prepared for others, that himself was imprisoned, and *Aureng-Zebe* master of the fortrefs. 'Tis said, that he presently sent to sound the mind of *Sultan Mahmoud*, promising him upon his crown and upon the *Alcoran*, that if he would be faithful to him, and serve him in this conjuncture, he would make him king; that he should come presently to see him within, and not lose this occasion: Besides, that it would be an action that would accumulate on him the blessings of heaven, and an immortal glory; in regard it would be said for ever, that *Sultan Mahmoud* had delivered *Chab-Jehan* his grand-father out of prison.

And certainly, if *Sultan Mahmoud* had been resolute enough to give this stroke, and *Chab-Jehan* could have come abroad to shew himself to the town, and to take the field, no man doubts but that all his great *Omrahs* would have followed him; nor would *Aureng-Zebe* himself have had the boldness nor the savageness to fight against his own father in person, especially since he must have apprehended, that all the world would have abandoned him, and possibly *Morad-Bakche* himself. And 'tis the great fault which *Chab-Jehan* is observ'd to have committed after the battle, and the flight of *Dara*, not to have come out of the fortrefs. But yet I have conversed with

Reflections on these mis-carriages.

with many, who maintained, that *Chab-Jehan* did prudently in it. For this hath been a question much agitated among the politicians, and there are no reasons wanting to countenance the sentiment of the latter sort; who also add, that men almost always judge of things by the event; that often very foolish enterprizes have been observed to succeed, and which therefore are approved by all; that if *Chab-Jehan* had prospered in his design, he would have been esteemed the most prudent and the most able man in the world; but now being taken, he was nothing but a good old man, that suffered himself to be led by a woman, his daughter *Begum*, which was blinded by her passion, and had the vanity to believe, that *Aureng-Zebe* would come to see her, that the bird of itself would fly into the cage, or at least, that he would never be so bold as to attempt the seizure of the fortress, nor have the power to do so. These same reasoners maintain also stily, that the greatest fault that *Sultan Mahmoud* could possibly commit, was, that he knew not how to take the occasion to assure himself of the crown, by the rarest and the most generous action that ever was, to put his grandfather at liberty, and thus to do himself right and justice, as the sovereign umpire of affairs; whereas, as things now stand, he must one day go and die in *Goualeor*. But *Sultan Mahmoud* (whether it was that he feared his grandfather would not keep his word with him, or that he should be himself detained within, or that he durst not play tricks with his father *Aureng-Zebe*) would never hearken to any thing, nor enter into the apartment of *Chab-Jehan*, answering very closely, that he had no order from his father to go and see him, but that he was by him commanded not to return, without bringing him the keys of all the gates of the fortress, that so he might come with all safety to kiss the feet of his majesty. There passed almost two whole days before he could resolve to surrender the keys; during which time, *Sultan Mahmoud* staid there, unalterable in his resolutions, keeping himself upon his guard night and day, with all his troops about him; till at length *Chab-Jehan*, seeing that all his people that were upon the guard at the little gate, little by little disbanded, and that there was no more safety on his side, gave him the keys, with an order to tell *Aureng-Zebe*, that he should come presently if he were wise, and that he had most important things to discourse with him about. But *Aureng-Zebe* was too cunning to commit so gross a fault: On the contrary, he made his eunuch *Etbar-kan*, governor of the fortress, who presently shut up *Chab-Jehan*, together with

Begum-Sabeb, and all his women; causing divers gates to be walled up, that so he might not be able to write or speak to any body, nor go forth out of his apartment without permission.

Aureng-Zebe in the mean time writ to him a little note, which he shew'd to every body before he sealed it; in which, among other things, he told him with dry expressions, that he knew from good hands, that notwithstanding those great protestations of esteem and affection he made to him, and of contempt he made of *Dara*, he had, for all that, sent to *Dara*, two elephants charged with rupies of gold, to raise him again, and to re-commence the war; and that therefore, in truth, it was not he that imprisoned him, but *Dara*, and that he might thank him for it, as the cause of all these misfortunes; and if it had not been for him, he would have come the very first day to him, and paid him all the most dutiful respects he could have looked for from a good son: That for the rest, he begged his pardon, and a little patience; as soon as he should have disabled *Dara* from executing his evil designs, he would come himself and open the gates to him.

I have heard it said concerning this note, that *Chab-Jehan* in very deed, the same night that *Dara* departed, had sent to him these elephants laden with rupies of gold, and that it was *Rauchnara-Begum* that found a way to discover it to *Aureng-Zebe*; as she also had detected to him that plot which was laid against him with those *Tartarian* women; and that *Aureng-Zebe* himself had intercepted some letters of *Chab-Jehan* to *Dara*.

I have conversed with others, that maintain there is no such thing, and that this writing which *Aureng-Zebe* shewed to all, was only to cast sand into the eyes of the people, and to labour, in some degree, to justify himself in so strange an action, and to devolve the cause of it upon *Chab-Jehan* and *Dara*, as if he had been forced to such proceedings. They are things, which are difficult enough well to discover. However it be, as soon as *Chab-Jehan* was shut up, almost all the *Omraks* were in a manner necessitated to go and make their court to *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*; and (which is almost incredible) there was not one that had the courage to stir, or to attempt the least in the behalf of his king, and for him that had made them what they were, and raised them from the dust, and perhaps from slavery itself (which is ordinary enough in that court) to advance them to riches and honour. Yet some few there are, as *Danechmend-Kan*, and some others, that took no side; but all the rest declared for *Aureng-Zebe*.

'Tis notwithstanding to be noted what I said, that they were necessitated to do what they did. For 'tis not in the *Indies*, as in *France*, or other states of christendom, where the grandees and nobles have large possessions of land, and great revenues, which enables them for a while to subsist of themselves. There they have nothing but pensions (as I have already touch'd above) which the king can take away from them at all hours, and thus ruin them in an instant; so that they shall be considered no more than if they never had been, nor have any credit to borrow a farthing.

Aureng-Zebe therefore having thus assured himself of *Chab-Jehan*, and of all the *Omrahs*, took what sums of money he thought fit out of the treasury; and then having left *Chab-best-Kan*, his uncle, governour of the town, he went away with *Morad-Bakche* to pursue *Dara*.

Morad-Bakche persuaded not to trust *Aureng-Zebe*.
Refuseth the advice.
The army marches to *Dehli*.

The day that the army was to march out of *Agra*, the particular friends of *Morad-Bakche*, especially his eunuch *Chab-Abas*, who knew, that the excess of civility and respect is ordinarily a sign of imposture, counselled him, that since he was king, and every body treated him with the title of majesty, and *Aureng-Zebe* himself acknowledged him for such, he should let him go to pursue *Dara*, and stay himself with his troops about *Agra* and *Dehli*. If he had followed this counsel, 'tis certain, that he would have embarrassed *Aureng-Zebe* not a little; but 'twas fatal, that he should neglect so good advice: *Aureng-Zebe* is too fortunate; *Morad-Bakche* entirely confideth in his promises; and in the oaths of fidelity they had sworn to one another upon the *Alcoran*. They went away together, and went with the same pace towards *Dehli*.

How *Aureng-Zebe* contrived to get clear of his ally *Morad-Bakche*.

When they were come to *Maturas*, three or four small days journey from *Agra*, the friends of *Morad-Bakche*, who perceived something, endeavour'd again to persuade him, that he should beware; assuring him that *Aureng-Zebe* had evil designs, and that beyond all doubt some mischief was upon the anvil; that they had notice of it from all parts, and that by no means, for that day at least, he should go to see him; that it would be much better to prevent the stroke the soonest it might be; that he was only to forbear going to visit him that day, excusing himself with some indisposition. But whatsoever could be said to him, he believed nothing of it, his ears were stopped to all the good advice that was given him, and as if he had been enchanted by the friendship of *Aureng-Zebe*, he could not hold to go to him that very night, and

to stay at supper with him. As soon as he was come, *Aureng-Zebe*, who expected him, and had already prepared all things with *Mirkan*, and three or four of his most intimate captains, who not wanting in embracements, and in redoubling his courtship, civilities and submissions, in so much as gently to pass his handkerchief over his face, and to wipe off his sweat and dust, treating him still with the title of king and majesty. In the mean time, the table is served, they sup, the conversation grows warm, they discourse of various things as they use to do; and at last there is brought a huge bottle of excellent *Chiras* wine, and some other bottles of *Caboul* wine, for a debauch. Then *Aureng-Zebe*, as a grave serious man, and one that would appear a great *Mahometan*, and very regular, nimbly riseth from table, and having with much kindness invited *Morad-Bakche*, who loved a glass of wine very well, and who relish'd the wine that was served, scrupled not to drink of it to excess. In a word, he made himself drunk, and fell asleep. This was the thing that was wished; for presently some servants of his that were there, were commanded away, under a pretence, to let him sleep without making any noise; and then his zable and poynard were taken from about him: But *Aureng-Zebe* was not long, but came himself and waken'd him. He entered into the chamber, and roughly hit him with his foot, and when he began to open a little his eyes, he made to him this short and surprizing reprimand: What means this? (said he) What shame and what ignominy is this, that such a king as you are, should have so little temper, as thus to make himself drunk! What will be said both of you and me? Take this infamous man, this drunkard, tie him hand and foot, and throw him into that room to sleep out his wine. No sooner said, but it was executed; notwithstanding all his appeal and out-cry, five or six persons fall upon him, and fetter his hands and feet. These things could not be done, but some of his men that were thereabout had news of it, they made some noise, and would enter forcibly; but *Allah-Couly*, one of his chief officers, and the master of his artillery, that had been gained long before, threatened them, and made them draw back. Without any delay, men were sent through the whole army to calm this first commotion, which also might have proved dangerous; they made them believe it was nothing, they having been present; that *Morad-Bakche* was only drunk; that in that condition he had railed at every body, and *Aureng-Zebe* himself, in so much that there had been a necessity, seeing him drunk and

and furious, to keep him apart; that the next day they would see him abroad, after he had digested his wine. In the mean time, the presents walked about all night among the chief officers of the army, their pay was forthwith increased, they had great promises made them; and as there was none, that had long since had not apprehended some such thing, there was no great wonder to see almost all things quieted the next morning; so that the very next night this poor prince was shut up in a little close house, such an one as is wont to be placed on elephants to carry women, and he was carried directly to *Debli* into *Slimager*, which is a little old fortress in the midst of the river.

Morad-Bakche made prisoner.

His army submits to *Aureng-Zebe*, who pursues *Dara*.

After that all was thus appeased, except the eunuch *Chab-Abas*, who caused difficulty enough, *Aureng-Zebe* received the whole army of *Morad-Bakche* into his service, and went after *Dara*, who marched apace towards *Labor*, with an intention well to fortify himself in that place, and thither to draw his friends. But *Aureng-Zebe* followed him with so much speed, that he had not time to do any great matter, finding himself necessitated to retreat, and to take the way of *Multan*, where also he could do nothing considerable, because that *Aureng-Zebe*, notwithstanding the great heat, marched night and day; insomuch, that to encourage all to make haste, he sometimes advanced, almost all alone, two or three leagues before the whole army, finding himself often obliged to drink ill water like others, to be content with a crust of dry bread, and to sleep under a tree, staying for his army in the midst of the high-way, laying his head on his shield like a common soldier. So that *Dara* found himself constrained to abandon *Multan* also, that he might avoid being near *Aureng-Zebe*, whom he was not able to encounter. Here 'tis that the statesmen of this country have reasoned very diversly: For 'tis said, that if *Dara*, when he went out of *Labor*, had cast himself into the kingdom of *Caboul*, as he was advised, he would there have found above ten thousand warlike men, designed against the *Augans*, the *Persians* and the *Uzbeks*, and for a guard to that country, the governor whereof was *Mohabet-Kan*, one of the most potent and most ancient of *Indostan*, and that had never been *Aureng-Zebe's* friend; that, besides, he would have been there at the gate of *Persia* and *Uzbek*; that it was likely, that there being no want of money, all that *Militia*, and *Mohabet-Kan* himself, would have embraced his party, and that further he might have drawn assistance, not only from *Uzbek*, but also from *Persia*, as well as from *Houmayon*, whom the *Persians* had restored to

his country against *Zaber-Kan*, king of the *Patans*, who had driven him thence. But *Dara* was too unfortunate to follow so good advice. Instead of that, he went towards *Scindy*, to cast himself into the fortress of *Tatabakar*, that strong and famous place, seated in the midst of the river *Indus*.

Aureng-Zebe seeing him take this way, found it not fit to follow him further off, being extremely glad that he had not taken the way to *Caboul*. He contented himself to send after him seven or eight thousand men, under the conduct of *Mir-baba*, his foster-brother, and turned back with the same expedition to the place whence he was come, much apprehending lest any thing should fall out about *Agra*; lest some or other of those potent *Raja's*, as *Jesseigne*, or *Jesomseigne*, should make an attempt in his absence, to free *Chab-Jehan* out of prison; or lest *Soliman Chékoub*, together with the *Raja* of *Serenaguer*, should descend from the hills; or lest also *Sultan Sujab* should approach too near *Agra*. Behold a little accident, which one day befel him, for too great precipitation.

When he thus returned from *Multan* to-
wards *Labor*, and marched his ordinary
swift pace, he saw the *Raja Jesseigne*
come against him, accompanied with four
or five thousand of his *Ragipous*, in a very
good equipage. *Aureng-Zebe*, who had
left his army behind, and who also knew
that this *Raja* was very affectionate to *Chab-Jehan*, was sufficiently surprized, as may easily be imagined, fearing lest this *Raja* should make use of this occasion, and do a master-piece of state, by seizing on him, to draw *Chab-Jehan* out of prison, which at that time was very easy to do. Neither is it known, whether this *Raja* had not some such design; for he had marched with extraordinary speed, in so much that *Aureng-Zebe* had no news of it, believing him yet to be a *Debli*. But what may not resolution and presence of mind do? *Aureng-Zebe*, without any alteration of his countenance, marched directly towards the *Raja*, and as far off as he could see him, maketh signs to him with his hands, importing that he should make haste to a nearer approach, crying out to him with a loud voice, *Salamed Bached Rajagi, Salamed Bached Babagi*, treating him with the titles of *Lord Raja* and *Lord Father*. When the *Raja* was come to him, I expected you, said he, with great impatience; the work is done, *Dara* is lost, he is all alone; I have sent *Mir-baba* after him, from whom he cannot escape: and for an excess of kindness to him, he took off his necklace of pearls, and put it about the neck of this *Raja*: And the sooner to rid himself handsomely of him, (for he wish'd him

The danger and stratagem of *Aureng-Zebe* to deliver himself therefrom.

him far enough) go, saith he, with all the expedition you can to *Labor*, my army is somewhat tired; go quickly to attend me there; I apprehend that else something sinister might fall out there; I make you governor of that place, and put all things into your hands. For the rest, I am exceedingly obliged to you for what you have done with *Soliman Chékoub*: Where have you left *Delil-Kan*? I shall find my revenge of him. Make all possible dispatch, *Salamed Bached*, farewell.

Dara's attempts to recover his losses.

Dara being arrived at *Tata-bakar*, made governor of that place a very understanding, gallant, and generous eunuch, with a very good garrison of *Patans* and *Sayeds*; and for cannoneers, a good number of *Franguis*, *Portugals*, *English*, *French*, and *Germans*, who had follow'd him out of great hopes he had given them, (for, if his affairs had prospered, and he were become king, we must all have resolved to be *Omrabs*, as many *Franguis* as we were.) He there left also the greatest part of his Treasure; he wanted as yet no gold nor silver; and staying there but a very few days, he marched away with two or three thousand men only, descending along the river *Indus* towards *Scindy*, and from thence crossing with an incredible celerity all those territories of the *Raja Katche*, he arrived in *Guzaratte*, and came to the gates of *Amadevat*. The father-in-law of *Aureng-Zebe*, called *Chab-Navaze-Kan*, was governor there, with a very good garrison, able to resist. Yet notwithstanding, whether it was that he was surprized, or that he wanted courage, (for although that he was of those antient princes of *Machate*, yet he was no great soldier, though a man of a very obliging and civil conversation) he did not oppose *Dara*, but rather received him very honourably, and even managed him afterwards with so much dexterity, that *Dara* was so simple as to trust himself with him, and to communicate to him his designs; in so much that he shewed him the letters which he received from the *Raja Jessomseigne*, and of many other of his friends, which prepared themselves to come to him; although it proved too true, what every body told him, and his friends confirmed by letters, that certainly this *Chab-Navaze-Kan* would betray him.

Suffers himself to be deceived.

Never was any man more surprized than *Aureng-Zebe*, when he heard that *Dara* was in *Amadevat*: For he well knew that he wanted no money, and that all his friends, and all the discontented party, which was numerous, would not fail to betake themselves by little and little to him: And on the other side, he found it not safe to go and find him out himself in that place, by removing himself so far from *Agra* and

Chab-Jeban, to go and embarrass himself in all those countries of the *Raja's Jessaigne*, *Jessomseigne*, and others that are in those provinces. Besides he apprehended, lest *Sultan Sujab* should advance with a strong army, which was already about *Elebas*, and lest the *Raja of Serenaguer* should descend from the hills with *Soliman Chékoub*: So that he was sufficiently perplexed and troubled, not knowing what way to turn. At last he believed it best, to leave *Dara* for a time quiet where he was, and to go thither where his presence and army was most necessary, which was towards *Sultan Sujab*, who had already passed the river *Ganges* at *Elabas*.

Aureng-Zebe resolves to attack *Sultan Sujab*.

This *Sultan Sujab* was come to encamp in a little village called *Kadjoue*, and had conveniently seized himself of a great *Talob*, or reservatory of water, which is there in the way; and *Aureng-Zebe* came to place himself on the side of a small torrent, at the distance of a mile and an half from thence, on *Agra's* side. Between both was a very fair campaign, very proper for a battle. *Aureng-Zebe* was no sooner arrived, but being impatient to end this war, at break of day he went to face *Sujab*, leaving his baggage on the other side of the torrent. He fell upon *Sujab* with an effort unimaginable. *Emir-Jemla*, prisoner of *Decan*, and who arrived just on the day of the combat, fearing *Dara* no more, because his family was more in safety, did there also lay out all his force, courage and dexterity. But seeing that *Sultan Sujab* had well fortified himself, and was accompanied with a very good artillery, advantageously placed, it was not possible for *Aureng-Zebe* to force him, nor to make him retreat from thence, so as to make him lose those waters. On the contrary, he was obliged himself to draw back several times, so vigorously was he repulsed, in so much that he found himself in great perplexity. *Sultan Sujab* not being willing to advance too far into the campaign, nor to remove from that advantageous place where he was, pretending only to defend himself; which was very prudently done. For he foresaw, that *Aureng-Zebe* could not stay there long, and that in that hot season he would be absolutely obliged to turn back towards the torrent for the water; and that, when he should do so, he would fall upon his rear. *Aureng-Zebe* also foresaw well enough the same thing, and that was the reason why he was so forward and pressing; but behold another more troublesome accident.

Attacks him without success.

In this very time he receiveth intelligence, that the *Raja Jessomseigne*, who in appearance had accommodated himself with him, was fallen upon his rear, and plundered

dered his baggage and treasure. This news astonished him much, and the more, because he perceived that his army which had heard of it was thereby frightened, and fallen into disorder. Yet he loses not his judgment for all this; and being well aware, that to turn back was to hazard all, he resolved, as in the battle of *Dara*, to bear up the best he could, and to expect with a steady foot all events. In the mean time, the disorder grew worse and worse in his army: *Sujab*, who was resolved to profit of the occasion, taketh his time, and presseth him vigorously. He that led *Aureng-Zebe's* elephant is killed with the shot of an arrow; he leads the beast as well as he can himself, till another could be had in that leader's place. Arrows rain upon him; he returns many himself, his elephant begins to be frightened, and to go back. Behold him now in great extremity, and brought to that point, that one foot of his was out of the seat, as if he meant to cast himself to the ground; and no man knows what in that trouble he had not done, if *Emir Jemla*, being nigh, and performing, like a great man as he was, beyond imagination, called to him, in holding up his hand, *Decan-kou, Decan-con*, where is *Decan*? This seems to have been the greatest extremity, to which *Aureng-Zebe* could be reduced. One would have said, 'twas now and here that fortune had abandon'd him, and there is almost no appearance of a possibility to escape. But his good fortune is stronger than all that: *Sultan Sujab* must be routed, and take flight, like *Dara*, to save his life: *Aureng-Zebe* must remain victorious, carry away the bell, and be king of the *Indies*.

How recovered.

We are to remember the battle of *Samonguer*, and that, in appearance, slight accident which ruined *Dara*: 'Tis the same over-sight, or rather the same treason, which is now destroying *Sultan Sujab*. One of his chief captains, *Allab-verdi-Kan*, who, as some say, had been gained, useth the same artifice that *Calil-ullah-Kan* had employed towards *Dara*; though there were some who believed, that there was no malice in the case, and that it was a mere piece of flattery. For seeing that the whole army of *Aureng-Zebe* was in disorder, he ran towards *Sultan Sujab*, telling him the same thing, that *Calil-ullah-Kan* did to *Dara*, and begging of him with folded hands, that he would stay no longer in so great danger upon his elephant. Come down, said he, in the name of God, mount on horse-back, God hath made you sovereign of the *Indies*, let us pursue those fugitives, let not *Aureng-Zebe* escape us.

But not to stay long from declaring the strange fortune of *Aureng-Zebe*, and the

incredible conjuncture that recovers his desperate condition; *Sultan Sujab*, not more considerate than *Dara*, commits the same fault; and he was no sooner come down from his elephant, but his army seeing him no more, was struck with a terror, believing there was treason, and that he was either taken or slain. Whereupon they disbanded without any more ado, as *Dara's* army did in the battle of *Samonguer*; and the defeat was so great, that the *Sultan* was fortunate in that he could save himself. Conquers.

Jessomseigne hearing this unexpected news, and perceiving it was not very safe for him to tarry there, contented himself with the spoil he had got, and with all diligence marched streight to *Agra*, thence to pass to his country. The noise was already in *Agra*, that *Aureng-Zebe* had lost the battle, that he was taken, together with *Emir-Jemla*, and that *Sultan Sujab* brought them both prisoners. Infomuch that *Chab-best-Kan*, who was governor of the town, and uncle to *Aureng-Zebe*, seeing *Jessomseigne*, whose treachery he had heard of, at the gates, and despairing of his life, had taken into his hand a cup of poison to make himself away, and had, as they say, in very deed swallowed it, if his women had not fallen upon him and hindered him: So that 'tis thought, if *Jessomseigne* had had the wit and courage to stay longer in *Agra*, if he had threatned boldly, and promised and acted vigorously for the freedom of *Chab-Jehan*, he might have drawn him out of prison; so much the more easily, because all *Agra* was for two whole days in that belief, that *Aureng-Zebe* was overcome. But *Jessomseigne*, who knew how all things went, and who durst not long stay there, nor attempt any thing, did nothing but pass, returning with all speed homewards.

Aureng-Zebe, who apprehended mischief from *Agra*, and feared lest *Jessomseigne* should undertake something for *Chab-Jehan*, was not long in the pursuit after *Sultan Sujab*; he turned short for *Agra* with his whole army, where he staid a good while, giving order for all things. Mean time he received intelligence, that *Sultan Sujab* had not lost many men in his being routed, for want of farther pursuit; that also from the lands of the *Raja's*, which are in those quarters, on the right and left of *Ganges*, he raised great forces, upon the score of the reputation he had of being very rich, and very liberal, and that he fortified himself in *Elabas*, that important and famous passage of *Ganges*, which with its fortress is the first in-let into *Bengal*. And then he considered also, that he had about him two persons, which indeed were

very capable to serve him, *Sultan Mahmoud* his eldest son, and *Emir-Jemla*; but he well knew, that those who have done good service to their prince, grow often insolent, in the belief that all is due to them, and that they cannot be recompensed enough. He perceived already, that the former of them began very much to emancipate himself, and that every day he became more arrogant, for having seized on the fortress of *Agra*, and by that means had broken all the designs which *Chah-Jehan* could have formed, and as to the latter, he knew indeed the force of his understanding, his conduct, and valour; but that was the very thing which made him apprehend him the more: For knowing that he was very rich, that his reputation was great, that he passed for the first mover in affairs, and for the ablest man in all the *Indies*, he doubted not, but that after the example of *Sultan Mahmoud*, he entertained himself with big hopes. All this certainly would have been able to perplex an ordinary spirit, but *Aureng-Zebe* found a remedy to all. He knew to remove them both with so much prudence, and even with so much handsomness, that neither of them found any cause to complain of it. He sent them both against *Sultan Sujab* with a puissant army, letting *Emir* secretly know, that the government of *Bengal*, which is the best quarter of *Indostan*, was designed for him, to hold it during his life, and for his son after his decease; and that thereby he would begin to express to him his acknowledgments for the great services he had done him; and that therefore it belonged only to him to defeat *Sujab*, and that as soon as he should have compassed it, he would make him *Mir-ul Omrabs*, which is the first and the most honourable place of *Indostan*, and no less than the prince of the *Omrabs*.

To *Sultan Mahmoud*, his son, he said only these few words: Remember that thou art the eldest of my children, that 'tis for thy self that thou goest forth to fight; that thou hast done much, but yet nothing, if thou overcomest not *Sujab*, who is our greatest and powerfulest enemy; I hope, God assisting me, to be soon master of the rest.

Sends his son and Emir against Sultan Sujab. With these words he dismissed them both, with ordinary honours, that is, with rich vests, some horses and elephants gallantly harnessed, making in the mean time *Emir-Jemla* to consent, that his only son, *Mahmet-Emir-Kan*, should stay with him for a good education, or rather for a pledge of his fidelity; and *Sultan Mahmoud*, that his wife should remain in *Agra* (which was the daughter of the above-mentioned king

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of *Golkonda*) as too troublesome a thing in an army, and in such an expedition.

Sultan Sujab, who was always in the apprehension, lest the *Rajas* of the lower *Bengal*, which he had ill treated, should be raised against him, and who feared nothing more than to have to do with *Emir-Jemla*, had no sooner received this news, but apprehending that the passage to *Bengal* would be obstructed, and that *Emir* would pass in some other place of the river *Ganges*, either lower or higher than *Elabas*, raised his camp, and went down to *Benares* and *Patna*, whence he betook himself to *Mogiere*, a small town seated upon the *Ganges*, a place commonly called the key of the kingdom of *Bengal*, being a kind of streight between the mountains and the woods, which are not far from thence. He thought fit to stay in that place, and there to fortify himself; and for greater safety, he caused a great trench to be made, which I have seen, passing that way some years after, from the town and river unto the mountain, being well resolved there to attend *Emir-Jemla*, and to dispute that passage with him. But he was sufficiently astonished, when he was told that the troops of *Emir*, which slowly descended along the river *Ganges*, were certainly for nothing but to amuse him; that himself was not there; that he had gained the *Raja's* of those mountains which are on the right-hand of the river; and that he and *Sultan Mahmoud* marched apace over their lands with all the flower of the army, drawing strait to *Rage-Mehalle* to intercept him: So that he was constrained to quit, as soon as he could, his fortifications; yet notwithstanding he made so much haste, that tho' he was obliged to follow those windings which the river *Ganges* on that side maketh toward the left hand, he prevented *Emir* by some days, and arrived first at *Rage-Mehalle*, where he had time to fortify himself; because *Emir* having heard this news, took his march to the left-hand towards *Ganges*, through very ill ways, there to expect his troops, which came down with the body of the artillery and the baggage along the river. As soon as all was come, he went to attack *Sultan Sujab*, who defended himself very well for five or six days; but seeing that the artillery of *Emir*, which played incessantly, ruined all his fortifications which were made but of sandy earth and faggots, and that he could not but with much difficulty make resistance in that place, besides that the season of the rain began, he retired himself, at the favour of the night, leaving behind two great pieces of cannon. *Emir* durst not follow him in the night for fear of some ambush, putting

Sultan Sujab perplexed at the news thereof.

Fortifies himself and waits their coming.

Retires.

off the pursuit till the next morning: But *Sujab* had the good luck, that at the break of day there began to fall a rain, which lasted above three days; so that *Emir* could not only not stir out of *Rage-Meballe*, but saw himself obliged to pass the winter there, by reason of the excessive rains in that country, which render the ways troublesome for more than four months, viz. *July, August, September* and *October*, that the armies cannot possibly march. And hereby *Sultan Sujab* had the means to retire himself, and to chuse what place he would, having time enough to fortify his army, and to send out of the inferior *Bengal* for many pieces of cannon, and a good number of *Portugueze* that were retired thither because of the great fertility of the country: For he much courted all those *Portugal* fathers, Missionaries, that are in that province, promising them no less than that he would make them all rich, and build churches for them where-soever they would. And they were indeed capable to serve him, it being certain, that in the kingdom of *Bengal*, there are to be found no less than eight or nine thousand families of *Franguize, Portugueze*, and these either natives or mesticks.

Sultan Mahmoud quarrels with *Emir*

But *Sultan Mahmoud*, who for the reason above-mentioned was grown fierce, and aspired perhaps to greater things than at that time he ought, did pretend to command the army absolutely, and that *Emir-Jemla* should follow his orders, letting also from time to time fall insolent words in reference to his father *Aureng-Zebe*, as if he were obliged to him for the crown, and uttering expressions of contempt against *Emir-Jemla*; which caused great coldness betwixt them two, which lasted a pretty while, until *Sultan Mahmoud* understood that his father was very much dissatisfied with his conduct: And apprehending lest *Emir* had order to seize on his person, he went away to *Sultan Sujab*, accompanied with a very small number, and to him he made great promises, and swore fidelity. But *Sujab*, who feared *Aureng-Zebe* and *Emir-Jemla*'s snares, could not trust him, having always an eye upon his actions, without giving him any considerable command; which he so disgusted, that some months after, not knowing what would become of him, he left *Sultan Sujab*, and returned to *Emir*, who received him well enough, assuring him, that he would write in his behalf to *Aureng-Zebe*, and do his utmost to make him forget that fault.

Flies to *Sujab*.

Returns to his colours.

I think fit here to take notice, by the bye, of what many have told me, viz. That this escape of *Sultan Mahmoud* was altogether made by the artifices of *Aureng-Zebe*, who cared not much to hazard this son of his to try to destroy *Sujab*, and

who was glad enough, that whatever the event were, he might have a specious pretence to put him in a place of surety. However it be, he afterwards shewed himself much dissatisfied with him, and wrote to him a severe letter, in which he enjoined him to return to *Debli*, but giving order in the mean time that he should not come so far: For he no sooner had passed the river *Ganges*, but he met with troops that stopped him, and put him up in a small chair, (as was done to *Morad-Bakche*) and carried him to *Goualeor*, whence 'tis thought he will never be set at liberty: *Aureng-Zebe* by this means freeing himself from great perplexity; who then also let his second son, *Sultan-Mazum*, know, that the point of reigning is so delicate a thing, that kings must be jealous even of their own shadow; adding, that if he be not discreet, the like may befall him which had befallen his brother, and that he ought to think *Aureng-Zebe* was not a man that would suffer that to be done to himself, what *Chab-Jehan* did to his father *Jehan-Guyre*, and what he had also lately seen done to *Chab-Jehan*.

Is seized and secured.

And indeed we may on this occasion say, that if this son continue to behave himself as he hath done hitherto, *Aureng-Zebe* will have no cause to suspect him, and to be dissatisfied with him: For no slave can be more tractable, and *Aureng-Zebe* himself never appeared more careless of greatness, nor more given to devotion than he: Yet I have known men of parts who believed, that he is not so in good earnest, but by superlative policy and craft, like that of his father, which we may have the proof of in time.

Whilst all these things were thus transacted in *Bengal*, and that *Sultan Sujab* resisted, the best he could, the forces of *Emir-Jemla*, passing now on one side of the river *Ganges*, of a channel, or some other river, (for that country is full of them) then on the other; *Aureng-Zebe* kept himself about *Agra*, going to and fro, and at length, after he had also sent *Morad-Bakche* to *Goualeor*, he came to *Debli*, where in good earnest he took upon him publicly to act the king, giving order for all affairs of the kingdom, and especially thinking on means to catch *Dara*, and to get him out of *Guzaratte*, which was a very hard thing, for the reasons already mentioned. But the great good fortune, and the singular dexterity of *Aureng-Zebe* soon drew him thence; which now follows next to be related.

Aureng-Zebe comes to *Debli*, and acts the king.

Jessomseigne, who had retired himself to his country, and made the best of what he had taken in the battle of *Kadjoue*, raised a strong army, and wrote to *Dara*, that he should come to *Agra* as soon as he could, and

How *Dara* is persuaded to leave *Amadewad*

and that he would join with his forces. *Dara*, who had by this time set on foot a pretty numerous army (though it consisted, for the most part, but of gathered people) and who hoped, that approaching to *Agra*, many of his old friends, seeing him with *Jessomseigne*, would not fail to join with him also, immediately leaveth *Amadevad*, and marcheth with great speed to *Asmire*, seven or eight days journey from *Agra*. But *Jessomseigne* kept not his word with him: The *Raja Jessaigne* interposed to make his peace with *Aureng-Zebe*, and to fasten him to his party, or at least to hinder his design, which was capable to ruin himself, and to make all the *Rajas* rise; and wrote to him several letters, giving him to understand the great danger he went to expose himself to, by espousing a party in that extremity, as that of *Dara's* was; that he should well consider what he was going to do; that he went about wholly to destroy himself, and all his whole family; that *Aureng-Zebe* would never forgive him; that he was a *Raja* as himself; that he should think on sparing the blood of the *Ragipous*; that if he thought to draw the *Rajas* to his party, he would find those that would hinder him from it. In a word, that it was a business which concerned all the gentry of *Indostan*, and exposed them to danger, if way were given to kindle a fire, which would not be extinguished at pleasure. And lastly, if he would leave *Dara* to himself, *Aureng-Zebe* would forget all that had passed, and present him with all he had taken, and give him that very instant the government of *Guzaratte*, which would be very convenient for him, that country being near his lands; that he could be there in liberty and safety, and as long as he pleased, and that himself would be caution for all. In a word, this *Raja* acted his part so well, that he made *Jessomseigne* return to his land, whilst *Aureng-Zebe* approached with his whole army to *Asmire*, and encamped in the sight of that of *Dara*.

Is drawn into great straits.

His resolution.

And now what could this poor prince *Dara* do? He seeth himself abandoned and frustrated of his hopes. He considers, that to turn back safe to *Amadevad* was impossible, in regard that it was a march of thirty and five days; that it was in the heart of summer; that water would fail him; that they were all the lands of *Rajas*, friends or allies of *Jessaigne* or *Jessomseigne*; that the army of *Aureng-Zebe*, which was not harassed like his, would not fail to follow him. 'Tis as good, saith he, to perish here; and although the match be altogether unequal, let us venture all, and give battle once more. But alas! what does he mean to do? He is not only abandoned by all, but he hath yet with him *Chab-*

Navaze-Kan, whom he trusts, and who betrays him, and discovers all his designs to *Aureng-Zebe*. 'Tis true, that *Chab-Navaze-Kan* was punished for his perfidiousness, and killed in the battle; whether it was by the hands of *Dara* himself, as many told me, or (which is more probable) by some of *Aureng-Zebe's* army, who being secret partisans of *Dara*, found means to get to him and dispatch him, fearing lest he should discover them, and have some knowledge of the letters they had written to *Dara*. But what did it benefit him at that time that *Chab-Navaze-Kan* was dead? *Dara* should have sooner followed the advice of his friends, and never have confided in him.

The fight began between nine and ten Fights of the clock in the morning: *Dara's* ar- and is be- tillery, which was very well placed on a lit- trayed. tle eminency, was loud enough; but, as was said, most of the pieces without bullets, so was he betray'd by all. 'Tis needless to relate the other particulars of this battle; it was properly not a battle, but a rout. I shall only say, that hardly the onset was begun, but *Jessaigne* was near and in sight of *Dara*, to whom he sent word, that he should fly presently, unless he would be taken. So that this poor prince, being altogether surpris'd, was constrained to run Runs away. away instantly, and with so much disorder and precipitation, that he had not leisure to put up his baggage. It was no small matter, that was able to get away with his wife, and the rest of his family. And 'tis certain, that if the *Raja Jessaigne* would have done what he could, he could never have escaped; but he always had a respect to the royal family; or rather, he was too crafty and politick, and had too great forecast to venture to lay hands on a prince of the blood.

This unfortunate prince, deserted by almost all, and finding himself accompanied but of two thousand men at most, was forced in the hottest of summer to cross, without tents or baggage, all those countries of the *Rajas*, that are almost from *Asmire*, to *Amadevad*. Mean time the *Koullis*, which are the country people, and the worst of all the *Indies*, and the greatest robbers, follow him night and day, rifle and kill his soldiers, with so much cruelty that no man could stay two hundred paces behind the body but he was presently stripped naked, or butchered upon the least resistance. Yet notwithstanding, *Dara* made shift to get near *Amadevad*, when he hoped that the Arrives at next day, or soon after, he should enter *Amadevad* into the town to refresh himself, and to try once more to gather again some forces: But all things fall out contrary to vanquished and unfortunate men.

The governor, whom he had left in the castle of *Amadevad*, had already received both menacing and promising letters from *Aureng-Zebe*, which made him lose courage, and incline to that side; infomuch that he wrote to *Dara*, forbidding him to come nearer, if he did, he would find the gates shut, and all in arms.

Is denied entrance.

The author retain'd as physician to *Dara*.

Three days before I met this unhappy prince, by a strange accident, when he oblig'd me to follow him; having no physician about him; and the night before that he received this news from the governor of *Amadevad*, he did me the favour to make me come into the *Karavan-Serrak* where he was, fearing lest the *Koullis* should assassinate me: And (what is hard enough to believe in *Indostan*, where the grandees especially are so jealous of their wives) I was so near to the wife of this prince, that the cords of the *Kanates*, or wind-screen, which enclosed them (for they had not so much as a poor tent) were fastened to the wheels of my chariot. I relate this circumstance by the by only, to shew the extremity *Dara* was reduced to.

When these women heard this sad news, (which was at the break of day, as I well remember) they broke out upon a sudden into such strange cries and lamentations, that they forced tears from one's eyes. And now behold all was in an unexpressible confusion: Every one looks upon his neighbour, and no-body knows what to do, or what will become of him. Soon after we saw *Dara* come forth, half dead, now speaking to one, then to another, even to the meanest soldiers. He seeth all astonished, and ready to abandon him. What council? whither can he go? He must be gone instantly. You may judge of the extremity he must needs be in, by this small accident I am going to mention. Of three great oxen of *Guzaratte*, which I had for my chariot, one died the night before, another was dying, and the third was tired out (for we had been forced to march for three days together, almost night and day, in an intollerable heat and dust:) Whatever *Dara* could say or command, whether he alledged it was for himself, or for one of his women that was hurt in the leg, or for me, he could not possibly procure for me, whether ox, or camel, or horse: So that he was oblig'd, to my good fortune, to leave me there. I saw him march away, and that with tears in his eyes, accompanied with four or five hundred cavalries at most, and with two elephants, that were said to be laden with gold and silver; and I heard them say, that they were to take their march towards *Tatabakar*; for he had no

The grief and confusion of *Dara's* attendants.

Dara's extremity and flight.

other game to play, though even that seem'd in a manner impossible, considering the small number of people left him, and the great sandy deserts to be waded through in the hottest season, most of them without water fit to drink. And indeed most of those that follow'd him, and even divers of his women, did there perish, either of drought, or the unwholesome waters, or the tiresome ways and ill food, or lastly, because stripp'd by the *Koullis* above-mentioned. Yet notwithstanding all this, *Dara* made hard shift to get to the *Raja Katche*; unhappy even herein, that he perished not himself in this march.

Arrives at *Raja Katche*.

This *Raja* at first gave him a very good reception, even so far as to promise him assistance with all his forces, provided he would give his daughter in marriage to his son. But *Jesseigne* soon wrought as much with this *Raja*, as he had done with *Jessomseigne*. So that *Dara* one day seeing the kindness of this barbarian cool'd upon a sudden, and that consequently his person was in danger there, he betakes himself to the pursuit of his expedition to *Tatabakar*.

To relate how I got away from those robbers, the *Koullis*, in what manner I moved them to compassion, how I saved the best part of my small treasure, how we became good friends by the means of my profession of physic, my servants (perplexed as well as myself) swearing that I was the greatest physician of the world, and that the people of *Dara*, at their going away, had ill-treated me, and taken me from all my best things: How, after having kept me with them seven or eight days, they had so much kindness and generosity, as to lend me an ox, and to conduct me so far, that I was in sight of *Amadevad*: And lastly, how from thence after some days I returned to *Debli*, having lighted on an occasion to go with a certain *Omrab*, passing thither; in which journey I met from time to time, on the way, with carcases of men, elephants, oxen, horses and camels, the remainder of that unfortunate army of *Dara*. These are things, I say, I must not insist upon to describe them.

The author's escape from the robbers.

Whilst *Dara* advanced towards *Tatabakar*, the war continues in *Bengal*, and much longer than was believed, *Sultan Sujah* putting forth his utmost, and playing his last game against *Emir-Jemla*: Yet this did not much trouble *Aureng-Zebe*, who knew 'twas a great way between *Bengal* and *Agra*, and was sufficiently convinced of the prudence and valour of *Emir-Jemla*. That which disquieted him much more was, that he saw *Soliman Chekouh* so near (for from *Agra*

to the mountains 'tis but eight days journey) whom he could not master, and who perpetually allarm'd him by the rumors that went continually about, as if he were coming down the mountains with the *Raja*. 'Tis certainly very hard to draw him thence: But behold how he manages the matter to compass it.

Aureng-Zebe's policy to gain Soliman Chékoub.

He maketh the *Raja Jasseigne* write one letter after another to the *Raja of Serenaguer*, promising him very great things, if he would surrender *Soliman Chékoub* to him, and menacing war at the same time, if he should obstinately keep him. The *Raja* answers, that he would rather lose his estate, than do so unworthy an action. And *Aureng-Zebe*, seeing his resolution, taketh the field, and marcheth directly to the foot of the hills, and with an infinite number of pike-men causeth the rocks to be cut, and the passage to widened. But the *Raja* laughs at all that; neither hath he more cause to fear on that side. *Aureng-Zebe* may cut long enough, they are mountains inaccessible to an army, and stones would be sufficient to stop the forces of four *Indostans*; so that he was constrained to turn back again.

Dara arrives at Tatabakar.

Dara in the mean time approacheth to the fortrefs of *Tatabakar*, and when he was but two or three days journey off, he received the news, that *Mir-baba*, who had long held it besieged, had at length reduced it to extremity: As I afterwards learned of our *French*, and other *Franguis* that were there, a pound of rice and meat having cost there above a crown, and so of other victuals in proportion: Yet the governor held out; made sallies, which extremely incommoded the enemy; and shewed all possible prudence, courage and fidelity; deriding the endeavours of the general, *Mir-baba*, and all the menaces and promises of *Aureng-Zebe*.

And this also I learned afterwards of my country-men, the *French*, and of all those other *Franguis* that were with him; who added, that when he heard that *Dara* was not far off, he redoubled his liberalities, and knew so well to gain the hearts of all his soldiers, and to encourage them to do bravely, that there was not one of them, that was not resolved to sally out upon the enemy, and to hazard all to raise the siege, and to make *Dara* enter; and that he also knew so well to cast fear and terror into the camp of *Mir-baba*, by sending spies about very cunningly to assure, that they had seen *Dara* approach with great resolution, and very good forces; that if he had come, as was believed he would do every moment, the army of the enemy was for disbanding upon his appearance, and even in part to go over to him.

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But he is still too unfortunate, to undertake any thing prosperously. Believing therefore, that to raise the siege with such an handful of men as he had was impossible, he did deliberate to pass the river *Indus*, and to endeavour to get into *Persia*; although that also would have had mighty difficulties and inconveniences, by reason of the desarts, and the small quantity of good waters in those parts; besides, that upon those frontiers there are but mean *Raja's* and *Patans*, who acknowledge neither the *Persian* nor the *Mogol*. But his wife did very much dissuade him from it, for this weak reason, that he must, if he did so, expect to see his wife and daughter slaves of the king of *Persia*; that that was a thing altogether unworthy of the grandeur of his family, and it was better to die, than to undergo this infamy.

Dara, being in great perplexity, remembered, that there was thereabout a certain *Patan*, powerful enough, called *Gion-Kan*, whose life he had formerly saved twice, when *Chab-Jehan* had commanded he should be cast under the feet of an elephant, for having rebelled divers times: He resolved to go to him, hoping that he could give him sufficient succours to raise the siege of *Tatabakar*; making account, that thence he would take his treasure, and that going from thence, and gaining *Kandabar*, he could cast himself into the kingdom of *Caboul*, having great hopes of *Mohabet-Kan*, who was governor of it, because he was both potent and valiant, well beloved of his country, and had obtained this government by his (*Dara's*) favour. But his grand-child, *Sepe-Chékoub*, yet but very young, seeing his design, cast himself at his feet, intreating him for God's sake, not to enter into the country of that *Patan*. His wife and daughter did the same, remonstrating to him, that he was a robber, a revolted governor, that he would infallibly betray him; that he ought not to stand upon raising of the siege, but rather endeavour to gain *Caboul*, that the thing was not impossible, forasmuch as *Mir-baba* was not like to quit the siege to follow him, and to hinder him from getting thither.

Is deaf to all advice, and puts himself into the hands of *Gion-Kan*.

Dara, being carried head-long by the force of his unhappy destiny, rejected this council, and would hearken to nothing of what was proposed to him, saying, as was true, that the march would be very difficult, and very dangerous; and maintaining always, that *Gion-Kan* would not be so mean, as to betray him, after all the good he had done him. He departed, notwithstanding all that could be said to him, and went to prove, at the price of his life, that no trust is to be given to a wicked man.

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This robber, who at first believed that he had numerous troops following him, gave him the fairest reception that could be, and entertained him with very great kindness and civility in appearance, placing his soldiery here and there among his subjects, with a strict order to treat them well, and to give them what refreshments the country afforded: But when he found that he had not above two or three hundred men in all, he quickly shew'd what he was. It is not known, whether he had not received some letters from *Aureng-Zebe*, or whether his avarice had not been tempted by some mules said to be laden with gold; which was all that could be saved hitherto, as well from the hands of robbers, as of those that conveyed it. Whatever it be, on a certain morning, when no-body looked for any such thing, all being taken up with the care of refreshing themselves, and believing all to be safe; behold this traitor, who had been stirred himself all night to get armed men from all parts, fell upon *Dara* and *Sepe-Chekoub*, killed some of their men that stood up to defend themselves; forgot not to seize on the loads of the mules, and of all the jewels of the women; made *Dara* to be tied fast upon an elephant, commanding the executioner to sit behind, and to cut off his head upon the least sign given, in case he should be seen to resist, or that any one should attempt to deliver him. And in this strange posture he was carried to the army before *Tatabakar*, where he put him into the hands of *Mir-baba*, the general, who caused him to be conducted in the company of this same traitor to *Labor*, and thence to *Debli*.

Is seized upon.

Delivered to *Mir-baba*, *Aureng-Zebe's* general.

Is brought to *Debli*.

When he was at the gates of *Debli*, it was deliberated by *Aureng-Zebe*, whether he should be made to pass through the midst of the city, or no, to carry him thence to *Goualeor*. Many did advise, that that was by no means to be done; that some disorder might arise; that some might come to save him; and besides, that it would be a great dishonour to the family royal. Others maintained the contrary, viz. That it was absolutely necessary he should pass through the town, to astonish the world, and to shew the absolute power of *Aureng-Zebe*, and to disabuse the people, that might still doubt, whether it were himself, as indeed many *Om-rabs* did doubt; and to take away all hopes from those, who still preserved some affection for him. The opinion of these last was followed; he was put on an elephant, his grand-child, *Sepe-Chekoub*, at his side; and behind them was placed *Bhadur-Kan*, as an executioner. This was none of those brave elephants of *Ceilan* or *Pegu*, which

Carried as a criminal through that city.

he was wont to ride on, with gilt harness and embroidered covers, and seats with canopies very handsomely painted and gilt, to defend themselves from the sun: It was an old caitiff animal, very dirty and nasty, with an old torn cover, and a pitiful seat, all open. There was no more seen about him, that necklace of big pearls, which those princes are wont to wear, nor those rich turbans and vests embroidered. All his dress was a vest of coarse linnen, all dirty, and a turban of the same, with a wretched scarf of *Kachimere* over his head, like a varlet; his grandson, *Sepe-Chekoub*, being in the same equipage. In this miserable posture he was made to enter into the town, and to pass through the greatest streets of merchandize, to the end that all the people might see him, and entertain no doubt any more whether it was he.

As for me, I fancied we went to see some strange massacre, and was astonish'd at the boldness of making him thus pass through the town, and that the more, because I knew that he was very ill guarded, neither was I ignorant, that he was very much beloved by the lower sort of people, who at that time exclaimed highly against the cruelty and tyranny of *Aureng-Zebe*, as one that kept his father in prison, as also his own son *Sultan-Mahmoud*, and his brother *Morad-Bakche*. I was well prepared for it, and with a good horse and two good men I went, together with two others of my friends, to place myself in the greatest street, where he was to pass. But not one man had the boldness to draw his sword, only there were some of the *Fakires*, and with them some poor people, who seeing that infamous *Gion-Kan* ride by his side, began to rail and throw stones at him, and to call him traitor. All the shops were ready to break for the crowd of spectators, that wept bitterly; and there was heard nothing but loud outcries and lamentations, invectives and curses, heaped on *Gion-Kan*. In a word, men and women, great and small (such is the tenderness of the hearts of the *Indians*) were ready to melt into tears for compassion; but not one there was that durst stir to rescue him. Now after he had thus passed through the town, he was put into a garden called *Heider-Abad*.

Lamented by the spectators.

There were not wanting to tell *Aureng-Zebe*, how the people at this sight had lamented *Dara*, and cursed the *Patan* that had delivered him; and how the same was in danger to have been stoned to death, as also that there had been a great apprehension of some sedition and mischief. Hereupon another council was held, whether he should be carried to *Goualeor*, as had been

been concluded before; or whether it were not more expedient to put him to death, without more ado? Some were of opinion, that he should go to *Goualeor* with a strong guard; that that would be enough; *Danechmend-Kan*, though *Dara's* old enemy, insisting much upon that. But *Rauchenara-Begum*, in pursuance of her hatred against this brother of hers, pushed *Aureng-Zebe* to make him away, without running the danger there was of sending him to *Goualeor*; as also did all his old enemies, *Calil-ullah-Kan*, and *Chab-besh-Kan*, and especially a certain flatterer, a physician, who fled out of *Persia*, first called *Hakim-Daoud*, and afterwards being become a great *Omrab* named *Takarrub-Kan*: This villain boldly rose up in a full assembly, and cry'd out, that it was expedient for the safety of the state to put him to death immediately, and that the rather, because he was no *Mussulman*; that long since he was turned *Kafire*, Idolater, without religion, and that he would charge the sin of it upon his own head: Of which imprecation he soon after felt the smart; for within a short time he fell into disgrace, and was treated like an infamous fellow, and died miserably. But *Aureng-Zebe*, carried away by these instances and motives, commanded that he should be put to death, and that *Sepe-Chekoub*, his grand-child, should be sent to *Goualeor*.

The charge of this tragical execution was given to a certain slave called *Nazer*, that had been bred by *Chab-Jehan*, and was known to have been formerly ill treated by *Dara*. This executioner, accompanied with three or four parricides more, went to *Dara*, who was then himself dressing some lentils with *Sepe-Chekoub* his grandchild. He no sooner saw *Nazer*, but cry'd out to *Sepe-Chekoub*, My dear son, behold those that come to kill us! laying hold at the same time of a small knife, which was all the arms that were left him. One of these butchers immediately fell upon *Sepe-Chekoub*; the others, upon the arms and legs of *Dara*, throwing him to the ground, and holding him under, till *Nazer* cut his throat. His head was forthwith carried to the fortress to *Aureng-Zebe*, who presently commanded it to be put in a dish, and that water should be fetched; which when brought, he wiped it with an handkerchief, and after he had caused the face to be washed clean, and the blood done away, and was fully satisfied that it was the very head of *Dara*, he fell a weeping, and said these words; Ah *Bed-bakt*! ah unfortunate man! Take it away, and bury it in the sepulchre of *Houmayon*.

At night, the daughter of *Dara* was brought into the *Seraglio*; but afterwards sent to *Chab-Jehan*, and *Begum-Sabeb*, who

asked her of *Aureng-Zebe*. Concerning *Dara's* wife, she had ended her days before at *Labor*: she had poisoned herself, foreseeing the extremities she was falling into, together with her husband. *Sepe-Chekoub* was sent to *Goualeor*. And after a few days, *Gion-kan* was sent for, to come before *Aureng-Zebe* in the assembly: To him were given some presents, and so he was sent away; but being near his lands, he was rewarded according to his desert, being killed in a wood. This barbarous man not knowing, or not considering, that if kings do sometimes permit such actions for their interest, yet they abhor them, and sooner or later revenge them.

In the mean time, the governor of *Tata-Tatabakar*, by the same orders that had been required of *Dara*, was obliged to surrender the fortress. It was indeed upon such a composition as he would have, but it was also with an intention not to keep word with him; for the poor eunuch, arriving at *Labor*, was cut in pieces, together with those few men he had then with him, by *Kalil-ullah-Kan*, who was governor thereof. But the reason of the non-observance of the capitulation was, that there was come intelligence, that he secretly prepared himself to go directly to *Soliman Chekoub*, sparing no gold, which under-hand he conveyed into the hands of our *Frangueze*, and to all those that were come with him out of the fortress to follow him, under pretext of accompanying him as far as *Debli* to *Aureng-Zebe*, who had often said, that he should be very glad to see so gallant a man, and who had so valiantly defended himself.

There remained therefore none of the family of *Dara*, but *Soliman Chekoub*, who could not easily be drawn away from *Serenaguer*, if the *Raja* had been steady to his first declarations. But the secret practices of the *Raja Jессейне*, the promises and threats of *Aureng-Zebe*, the death of *Dara*, and the other *Zajas* his neighbours that had been gained, and were prepared by the orders, and at the cost of *Aureng-Zebe*, to make war against him, did at last shake the faith of this perfidious protector, and made him consent to their demands. *Soliman-Chekoub*, who was advertised of it, fled through the midst of those horrid countries and fearful deserts, towards the great *Tibet*. But the son of the *Raja*, soon pursuing and overtaking him, caused him to be assaulted with stones. The poor prince was hurt, seized, and carried to *Debli*, where he was imprisoned in *Serenaguer*, that little fortress, where at first they had put *Morad-Bakche*.

Aureng-Zebe, to observe what he had practiced towards *Dara*, and that no body might

Is condemned to die.

Is executed or murdered.

His head presented to Aureng-Zebe.

How Aureng-Zebe got Soliman-Chekoub into his power, and treated him.

might doubt it was *Soliman-Chekoub* himself, commanded him to be brought before him in the presence of all the *grande*s of the court. At the entry of the gate, the chains were taken from his feet, leaving those he had about his hands, which seemed gilt. When this proper young man, so handsome and gallant, was seen to enter, there was a good number of *Omrabs* that could not hold their tears; and, as I was informed, all the great ladies of the court, that had leave to see him come in, fell a weeping. *Aureng-Zebe*, who appeared himself to be touched at his misfortunes, began to speak very kindly to him, and to comfort him; telling him, amongst other things, that he should fear nothing, that no hurt should be done to him; on the contrary, that he should be well treated, and therefore be of good courage; that he had caused his father to be put to death for no other reason, than that he was turned *Kafer*, and a man without religion. Whereupon this young prince returned him the *Salem*, and blessed him, abasing his hands to the earth, and lifting them, as well as he could, up to his head, after the custom of the country; and told him with resolution enough, That if he were to drink the *Pouft*, he intreated him that he might die presently, being very willing to submit to his fate. But *Aureng-Zebe* promised him publicly that he should drink none of it; that he should rest satisfied as to that, and not entertain any sad thoughts about it. This being said, he once more repeated the *Salem*: And after they had asked him several questions, in the name of *Aureng-Zebe*, touching that elephant which was charged with roupies of gold, taken from him when he went to *Serenaguer*, he was sent to *Goualeor* to the rest. This *Pouft* is nothing else but poppy expressed, and infused a night in water. And 'tis that potion, which those that are kept at *Goualeor*, are commonly made to drink; I mean those princes whose heads they think not fit to cut off. This is the first thing that is brought them in the morning, and they have nothing given them to eat till they have drank a great cup full of it; they would rather let them starve. This emaciates them exceedingly, and maketh them die insensibly, they losing little by little their strength and understanding, and growing torpid and senseless. And by this very means 'tis said that *Sepe-Chekoub*, and the grand-child of *Morad-Bakche*, and *Soliman-Chekoub*, were dispatched.

As to *Morad-Bakche*, he was made away by a more violent death. For *Aureng-Zebe* seeing, that though he was in prison, yet the generality had an inclination to him, and that many verses were spread in

the praise of his valour and courage, thought himself not safe enough by putting him to death in private, by giving him *Pouft* like others; apprehending, that his death would be still doubted of, and that that might one time or other occasion some commotion, and therefore devised the following charge against him.

The children of a certain *Sayed*, very rich, whom he had caused to be put to death in *Amadevad*, to get his estate, when he there made his preparations for war, and borrowed, or took by force, great sums of money from all the rich merchants, appeared in full assembly, making their complaints, and demanding justice, and the head of *Morad-Bakche*, for the blood of their father. Not one of the *Omrabs* durst contradict it, both because he was a *Sayed*, that is, one of *Mahomet's* kindred, to whom great veneration was paid; and that every body sufficiently understood the design of *Aureng-Zebe*, taking this for a pretence to rid himself openly of *Morad-Bakche*, under a shew of justice. So that the head of him, that had killed the father of the plaintiffs, was granted them without any other form of process. Whereupon they went with necessary orders issued out for that purpose, to cut it off in *Goualeor*.

There remained no other thorn in the foot of *Aureng-Zebe* but *Sultan Sujab*, who kept himself still in *Bengal*; but he also was forced to yield at last to the power and fortune of *Aureng-Zebe*. There were sent so many troops of all sorts to *Emir-Jemla*, that at last he was encompassed on all sides, both on this and that side of the river *Ganges*; so that he was necessitated to fly to *Dake*, which is the last town of *Bengal* on the sea-side; and here comes the conclusion of this whole tragedy.

This prince being destitute of ships to put to sea, and not knowing whither to fly, sent his eldest son, *Sultan Banque*, to the king of *Racan* or *Moy*, a heathen or idolatrous king, to know whether he would give him leave to make his country his place of refuge only for some time, and do him the favour, when the *Monsons*, or the season-winds should come, to furnish him with a vessel for *Mecha*, from thence to pass into some part of *Turky* or *Persia*. That king sent answer, that he should be very welcome, and have all possible assistance. So *Sultan Banque* returned to *Dake* with some galleasses, manned with *Franguis*, (I mean with those fugitive *Portuguese*, and other straggling christians, that had put themselves in service to that king, driving no other trade than to ravage all this lower *Bengal*;) upon which *Sultan Sujab* embarked, with his whole family, viz. His wife, three sons, and daughters.

Promises him his life.

Is sent to *Goualeor*.

Pouft, what it is and its use.

Morad-Bakche put to death.

Under what pretence.

Sultan Sujab flies to *Dake*.

Craves protection of the king of *Racan*.

Is admitted into his kingdom.

ters. They were well enough received ; whatever was necessary for their subsistence, such as that country would afford, was provided for them, in the name of that king. Some months pass, the season of the favourable winds come in, but not a word of the vessel, though he demanded it no otherwise than for his money ; for as yet he wanted no roupies of gold, nor silver, nor gems : He had too great a plenty of them ; his riches were, in all appearance, the cause of his ruin, or at least contributed much to it. Those barbarous kings have no true generosity, and are not much refrained by the faith they have given, regarding nothing but their present interests, without so much as considering the mischiefs that may befall them for their perfidiousness and brutality. To get out of their hands, one must either be the stronger, or have nothing that may tempt their avarice. *Sultan Sujab* may long enough solicit for a vessel ; all is in vain, he effects nothing : On the contrary, the king begins to shew much coldness, and to complain of his not coming to see him. I know not, whether *Sultan Sujab* thought it unworthy of himself, and too mean a thing to give him a visit ; or rather, whether he feared, that being in the king's house he might not there be seized on, to take away all his treasure, and then be delivered into the hands of *Emir-Jemla*, who for that purpose promised, in the name of *Aureng-Zebe*, great sums of money, and many other considerable advantages. Whatever the matter was, he would not go thither himself, but sent his son *Sultan Banque*, who being near the king's house, began to shew liberality to the people, throwing out to them a good quantity of half rupies, and whole rupies, of gold and silver. And being come before the king, he presented him with store of embroideries, and of rare pieces of gold-smith's work, set with precious stones of great value, excusing his father *Sultan Sujab*, as being indisposed, and beseeching him in his name, that he would remember the vessel, and the promise made to him thereof. But all that did not advance his business ; on the contrary, five or six days after, this king sent to *Sultan Sujab*, to ask of him one of his daughters in marriage ; which he could never resolve to grant him, whereat this barbarous prince was highly offended. What then could he do in this case ? The season passeth away. What shall become of him ? What other resolution can he take, but to do a desperate action ? Behold a strange undertaking, which may give a great example of what despair can do !

VOL. II.

Although this king *Racan* be an heathen, yet there is in his dominions store of *Mahometans* mingled with the people, that are retired thither, or have been, for the most part, taken slaves, here and there by those *Frangis* above-mentioned. *Sultan Sujab* did under-hand gain these *Mahometans* ; and with two or three hundred men, whom he yet had remaining of those that had followed him from *Bengal*, he resolved, one day to fall unexpectedly upon the house of this barbarian, to kill all, and to make himself proclaimed king of *Racan*. This was a very bold enterprize, and such a one, as had more of a *Desperado* in it, than of a prudent man. Yet notwithstanding, as I was informed, and by what I could learn from many *Mahometans*, and *Portuguese* and *Hollanders*, that then were there present, the thing was feasible enough. But the day before the stroke was to be given, the design was discovered ; which did altogether overthrow the affairs of *Sultan Sujab*, and was soon after the cause of his ruin. For not finding hereafter any way more to recover himself, he attempted to fly towards *Pegu* ; which was a thing in a manner impossible, by reason of the vast mountains and forests to be passed. Besides, he was immediately pursued so close, that he was overtaken the same day he fled. It may well be thought, that he defended himself with as much courage as possible. He killed so many of those barbarians, that it will scarce be believed but he was so overpowered by the multitude of pursuers, that he was obliged to quit the combat. *Sultan Banque*, who was not so far advanced as his father, defended himself also like a lion ; but at length, being all bloody of the wounds, by stones poured upon him from all sides, he was seized on, and carried away, with his two little brothers, his sisters, and mother.

As to the person of *Sultan Sujab* himself, all that could be learnt of it, is this : That he, with one woman, one eunuch, and two other persons, got up to the top of the mountain ; that he received a wound in his head by a stone, which struck him down, and yet he rose again, the eunuch having wound his head about with his turban, and that they escaped through the midst of the woods.

I have heard the relation three or four other manner of ways, even by those persons that were upon the place. Some did assure, that he had been found among the dead, but was not well known : And I have seen a letter of the chief of the *Dutch* factory, confirming this. So that 'tis difficult enough to know aright what is become of him. And this it is, which hath

hath administred ground to those so frequent alarms, given us afterwards at *Dehli*: For at one time it was rumored, that he was arrived at *Maslipatan*, to join with the kings of *Golkonda* and *Visapour*; another time it was related for certain, that he had passed in sight of *Suratte* with two ships, bearing the red colours, which the king of *Pegu* or the king of *Siam* had given him; by and by, that he was in *Persia*, and had been seen in *Cbiras*, and soon after in *Kandabar*, ready to enter into the kingdom of *Caboul* itself. *Aureng-Zebe* one day said smiling, that *Sultan Sujab* was at last become an *Agy* or pilgrim. And at this very day there are abundance of persons who maintain, that he is in *Persia*, returned from *Constantinople*, whence he is said to have brought with him much money. But that which confirms more than enough, that there is no ground for any of these reports, is that letter of the *Hollanders*; and that an eunuch of his, with whom I travelled from *Bengal* to *Maslipatan*, as also the great master of his artillery, whom I saw in the service of the king of *Golkonda*, have assured me, that he is no more in being, though they made difficulty to say any more concerning him; as also, that our *French* merchants, that lately came out of *Persia* and from *Hispan*, when I was yet at *Dehli*, had in those parts heard no news at all of him; besides that, I have heard that a while after his defeat, his sword and poynard had been found: So that 'tis credible, that if he was not killed upon the place, he soon died afterwards, and was the prey of

some robbers, or tygers, or elephants, of which the forests of that country are full. However it be, after this last action his whole family was put in prison, wives and children, where they were treated rudely enough; yet some time after they were set at more liberty, and they received a milder entertainment: And then the king called for the eldest daughter, whom he married. His family made prisoners. His daughter married to the king of *Racan*.

Whilst this was doing, some servants of *Sultan Banque*, joined with divers of those *Mahometans* which I have mentioned, went to plot another conspiracy like the first. But the day appointed for it being come, one of the conspirators, being half drunk, began too soon to break out. Concerning this also I have heard forty different relations, so that 'tis very hard to know the truth of it. That which is undoubted is this, that the king was at length so exasperated against this unfortunate family of *Sujab*, that he commanded it should be quite rooted out. Neither did there remain any one of it, that was not put to death, save that daughter which the king had made his wife. *Sultan Banque*, and his brothers had their heads cut off with blunt axes; and the women were mured up, where they died of hunger and misery. His sons were beheaded. And his daughters immured.

And thus endeth this war, which the lust of reigning had kindled among those four brothers, after it had lasted five or six years, from 1655, or thereabout, to 1660 or 1661; which left *Aureng-Zebe* in the peaceable possession of this puissant empire.

P A R T I C U L A R

E V E N T S:

O R,

The most considerable Passages after the War, of
Five Years, or thereabout,

I N T H E

E M P I R E

O F T H E

G R E A T M O G O L.

The Tar-
tars of Uf-
bec send
embassa-
dors to
Aureng-
Zebe.



THE war being ended, the *Tartars* of *Usbec* entertained thoughts of sending embassadors to *Aureng-Zebe*. They had seen him fight in their country, when he was yet a young prince; *Chab-Jehan* having sent him to command the succours, which the *Kan* of *Samarkand* had desired of him against the *Kan* of *Balk*. They had experienced his conduct and valour on many occasions, and they consider'd with themselves, that he could not but remember the affront they did him, when he was just taking *Balk*, the capital town of the enemy: For the two *Kans* agreed together, and obliged him to retreat, alledging, that they apprehended he might render himself master of their whole state, just as *Ekbar* had formerly done of the kingdom of *Kachimere*. Besides, they had certain intelligence of all he had done in *Indostan*, of his battles, fortune, and advantages; whence they might sufficiently estimate, that though *Chab-Jehan* was yet living, yet *Aureng-Zebe* was master, and the only person that was to be owned king of the *Indies*. Whether then they feared his just resentments, or whether it was, that their inbred avarice and sordidness made them hope for some considerable present, the two *Kans* sent to him their embassadors to offer him their service, and to congratulate him upon the happy beginning of his reign. *Aureng-Zebe* saw very well, that the war being at an end, this offer was

out of season, and that it was nothing but fear or hope, as we said, that had brought them. Yet for all this, he received them <sup>How re-
ceived by
him.</sup> honourably; and, since I was present at their audience, I can relate the particulars of it with certainty.

They made their reverence at a considerable distance from him, after the *Indian* custom, putting thrice their hands upon their heads, and as often letting them down to the ground. Then they approached so near, that *Aureng-Zebe* himself might very well have taken their letters immediately from their hands; but yet it was an *Omrah* that took and opened them, and gave them to him. He forthwith read them with a very grave countenance; and afterwards commanded, there should be given to each of them an embroidered vest, a turban, and a girdle of silk in embroidery, which is that which they call *Ser-apah*, that is, an habit from head to foot. After this, <sup>Their
presents.</sup> their presents were called for, which consisted in some boxes of choice *Lapis Lazulus*, divers camels with long hair, several gallant horses, some camel-loads of fresh fruit, as apples, pears, raisins and melons; (for 'tis chiefly *Usbec* that furnishes these sorts of fruit, eaten at *Debli* all the winter long) and in many loads of dry fruit, as prunes of *Bokara*, aperecks, raisins without any stones that appeared, and two other sorts of raisins, black and white, very large and very good.

Aureng-

Aureng-Zebe was not wanting to declare how much he was satisfied with the generosity of the *Kans*, and much commended the beauty and rarity of the fruit, horses, and camels; and after he had a little entertained them of the state of the academy of *Samerkand*, and of the fertility of their country, abounding in so many rare and excellent things, he desired them to go and repose themselves, intimating withal, that he should be very glad to see them often.

They came away from their audience full of contentment and joy, not being much troubled, that they had been obliged to make their reverence after the *Indian* custom, though it have something of slavish in it; nor much resenting it, that the king had not taken their letters from their own hands. I believe if they had been required to kiss the ground, and even to do something of a lower nature, they would have complied with it. 'Tis true, it would have been in vain, if they had desired to make no other salute, but that of their own country, and to deliver to the king their letters with their own hands; for that belongs only to the ambassadors of *Persia*, nor have these this favour granted them, but with much difficulty.

The em-
bassadors
characters
How dis-
missed.

They stay'd above four months at *Debli*, what diligence soever they could use to be dispatch'd, which did incommode them very much: for they fell almost all sick, and even some of them died, because they were not accustomed to such heats as are in *Indostan*, or rather because they were sordid, and kept a very ill diet. I know not whether there be a more avaricious and uncleanly nation than they are. They laid up the money, which the king had appointed them for their maintenance, and lived a very miserable life, altogether unworthy of ambassadors: Yet they were dismissed with great honour: The king, in the presence of all the *Omrabs*, presented each of them with two rich *Ser-apaks*, and gave order, that eight thousand rupies should be carried to their lodgings, which amounted to near two thousand crowns each. He also gave them, for presents to the *Kans* their masters, very handsome *Ser-apaks*, store of the richest and best wrought embroideries, a good quantity of fine cloth, and silk stuffs, wrought with gold and silver, and some tapestries, and two poinards set about with precious stones.

During their stay, I went thrice to see them, being presented to them as a physician by one of my friends, that was son of an *Usbec*, that had made his fortune in that court. I had a design to have learned something in particular of their country,

but I found them so ignorant, that they knew not so much as the confines of their state; much less could they inform me of any thing concerning the *Tartars* that have conquered *China* of late years: In short, they told me nothing that I knew not before. I had once the curiosity to dine with them, which liberty I obtained easily enough.

They are not men of much ceremony; it was a very extraordinary meal for such a one as I, it being mere horse-flesh; yet for all this I got my dinner with them; there

Eat horse-flesh.

was a certain ragou, which I thought passable: And I was obliged to express a liking of so exquisite a dish, which they so much lust after. During dinner there was a strange silence; they were very busy in carrying in with their whole hands, for they know not what a spoon is; but after that this horse-flesh had wrought in their stomachs, they began to talk, and then they would persuade me, they were the most dextrous at bows and arrows, and the strongest men in the world. They called for bows, which are much bigger than those of *Indostan*, and would lay a wager, to pierce an ox or my horse through and through. Then they proceeded to commend the strength and valour of their women, which they described to me quite otherwise than the *Amazons*; telling me very wonderful stories of them, especially one, which would be admirable indeed, if I could relate it with a *Tartarian* eloquence as they did.

A story of the strength of the *Usbec* women.

They told me, that at the time when *Aureng-Zebe* made war in their country, a party of twenty-five or thirty *Indian* horsemen came to fall upon a small village; whilst they plundered and tied all those whom they met with to make them slaves, an old woman said to them: Children, be not so mischievous, my daughter is not far off, she will be here very shortly, retreat if you be wise, you are undone if she light upon you. They laugh'd at the old woman and her advice, and continued to load, to tie, and to carry away herself; but they were not gone half a mile, but this old woman, looking often backward, made a great out-cry of joy, perceiving her daughter coming after her on horse back; and presently this generous *She-Tartar*, mounted on a furious horse, her bow and arrows hanging at her side, called to them at distance, that she was yet willing to give them their lives, if they would carry to the village all they had taken, and then withdraw without any noise. The advice of this young woman affected them as little as that of her old mother; but they were soon astonish'd, when they found her let fly at them in a moment three or four great arrows, which struck as many of their men to the ground, which forced them to fall to their quivers

quivers also. But she kept herself at that distance from them, that none of them could reach her. She laughed at all their effort, and at all their arrows, knowing how to attack them at the length of her bow, and to take her measure from the strength of her arm, which was of another temper than theirs; so that after she had killed half of them with her arrows, and put them into disorder, she came and fell upon the rest with the sabre in her hand, and cut them all in pieces.

Aureng-Zebe falls sick.

The ambassadors of *Tartary* were not yet gone away from *Debli*, when *Aureng-Zebe* fell exceeding sick; a violent and continued fever made him sometimes lose his understanding: His tongue was seized with such a palsy, that he lost almost his speech, and the physicians dispaired of his recovery; nothing was heard for the time, than that he was gone, and that his sister *Rauchenara-Begum* concealed his death out of design. It was already bruited, that the *Raja Jessomseigne*, governor of *Guzaratte*, was on the way to deliver *Chab-Jehan*; that *Mohabet-Kan* (who had at length obeyed the orders of *Aureng-Zebe*) quitting the government of *Caboul*, and being already on this side *Labor* to come back, made haste also with three or four thousand horse for the same end; and that the eunuch *Etbar-kan*, who kept *Chab-Jehan* in the fortress of *Agra*, would have the honour of his delivery. On one side we see *Sultan Mazum* bestir himself exceedingly with bribes, endeavouring by promises to assure himself of the *Omrabs*, so far, as that one night he went disguised to the *Raja Jessomseigne*, intreating him with expressions of deep respect, that he would engage himself for his interest.

Its consequences.

We knew from other hands, that *Rauchenara-Begum*, together with *Teday-kan*, the great master of artillery, and many *Omrabs*, declared for the young prince *Sultan Ekbar*, the third son of *Aureng-Zebe*, though he was but seven or eight years old; both parties in the mean time pretending, they had no other design than to deliver *Chab-Jehan*: So that the people believed, that now he was going to be set at liberty, though none of the grandees had any such thing in their thoughts, spreading this rumour only to gain credit and concourse, and because they feared, least by the means of *Etbar-kan*, or some other secret intrigue, he should one day appear in the field. And indeed of all the parties, there was not one that had reason to wish for his liberty and restoration to the throne, except *Jessomseigne*, *Mohabet-kan*, and some others, that as yet had done no great matter to his disadvantage. The rest had been all against him, at least they

had vilely abandoned him. They knew very well he would be like an unchained lion, if he came abroad: Who then could trust him? And what could *Etbar-kan* hope for, who had kept him up so close? I know not, if by some adventure or other he should come out of prison, whether he would not have stood single, and been alone of his party.

But though *Aureng-Zebe* was very sick, yet for all this he gave order for all things, and particularly for the sure custody of *Chab-Jehan* his father; and though he had advised *Sultan Mazum* to go and open the gates to *Chab-Jehan*, in case he should die, yet he omitted not to have *Etbar-kan* incessantly writ to. And the fifth day, in the height of his sickness, he caused himself to be carried into the assembly of the *Omrabs* to shew himself, and to disabuse those who might believe him to be dead, and to obviate popular tumults, or such accident as might have caused *Chab-Jehan* to be set at liberty. The seventh, ninth, and tenth day, he made himself to be carried again into the said assembly for the same reason; and what is almost incredible, the thirteenth, after he had recollected himself from a fit of swooning, which occasioned a rumor through the whole town of his being dead, he called for two or three of the greatest *Omrabs*, and the *Raja Jessomseigne*, to let them see that he was alive, made himself to be raised in his bed, called for ink and paper to write to *Etbar-kan*, and sent for the great seal, which he had trusted with *Rauchenara-Begum*, and commonly enclosed in a small bag, sealed with a seal he always wore about his arm, fearing lest she had already made use of it for her designs. I was nigh my *Agā* when all this news was told him; and I understood, that lifting up his hands to heaven he said, What a soul is this? A matchless fortitude and courage of spirit! God preserve thee *Aureng-Zebe* for greater things; certainly he will not that thou shouldest yet die. And indeed after this fit he recovered by little and little.

He had no sooner recovered his health, but he sought to get out of the hands of *Chab-Jehan* and *Begum-Sabeb*, the daughter of *Dara*, to secure the marriage of *Sultan-Ekbar*, his third son, with this princess; on purpose thereby to gain him authority, and to give him the greater right to the empire; for he it is, who is thought to be by him designed for it. He is yet very young, but he hath many near and powerful relations at the court, and is born of the daughter of *Chab-Navaze-kan*, and consequently of the blood of the ancient sovereigns of *Machate*; whereas *Sultan Mahmoud* and *Sultan Ma-*

Provides for the safe custody of his father.

Recovers his health, and endeavours to strengthen his power.

zum are only sons of *Ragipontnis*, or daughters of *Rajas*. These kings, though *Mahometans*, do, for all that, marry of the daughters of the heathen, either for state-interest, or for extraordinary beauty. But *Aureng-Zebe* was disappointed in this design. It will hardly be believed, with what height and fierceness of spirit *Chab-Jehan* and *Begum* rejected the proposition, and the young princess herself, who in the fear of being carried away, was for some days desperate, and protested she would rather kill herself an hundred times over, if it were possible, than to marry the son of him that had murdered her father.

He had no better satisfaction from *Chab-Jehan* about certain jewels which he asked of him, in order to finish a piece of work which he caused to be added to a famous throne, which is so highly esteemed. For he fiercely answered, that *Aureng-Zebe* should take no other care but to rule better than he did; that he should let his throne alone; that he was weary to hear of these jewels, and that the hammers were ready to beat them to dust the first time he should be importuned again about them.

The Dutch
send an
embassage
to him.

The *Hollanders* would not be the last in doing reverence to *Aureng-Zebe*; they had thoughts of sending an ambassador to him. They pitched upon Monsieur *Adrican*, the commander of their factory at *Surat*; and being a right honest man, and of good sense and judgment, not neglecting to take the council of his friends, he well acquitted himself of this employment. *Aureng-Zebe*, though he carries it very high, and affects to appear a zealous *Mahometan*, and consequently to despise the *Frangueze* or christians, yet thought fit to receive them with much respect and civility. He even was desirous, that this ambassador should compliment him in the mode of the *Frangueze*, after he had been made to do it the *Indian* way. 'Tis true, he received his letters by the hand of an *Omrab*; but that was not to be taken for any contempt, he having shewed no more honour to the ambassadors of *Usbec*. After this he intimated to him, that he might produce his present; and at the same time he caused him, and some of his train, to be dressed with a *Ser-apab* embroidered. The present consisted of store of very fine scarlet, some large looking-glasses, and divers excellent pieces of *Chinese* and *Japanese* work, among which there was a *Paleky*, and a *Tackravan*, or a field-throne of admirable workmanship.

Their
presents.

This ambassador was not so soon dispatch'd as he wished, it being the custom of the kings of *Mogol* to detain ambassadors as long as they well can, from a belief they have, that 'tis the interest of their greatness, to oblige strangers to give long attendance

at their court; yet he was not kept so long as the ambassadors of *Usbec*. Mean time he had the misfortune, that his secretary died there, and the rest of his retinue began to grow sick. When the king dismissed him, he gave him such another *Ser-apab* embroidered, as the first was, for himself; and another, a very rich one, for the general of *Batavia*, together with a poignard, set about with jewels, all accompanied with a very obliging letter.

The chief aim of the *Hollanders* in this embassy was, to make themselves immediately known to the king, thereby to gain credit, and to intimidate the governors of the sea-ports, and other places, where they have their factories; that so they may not attempt, when they please, to insult over them, or to trouble them in their trade; thereby letting them know, that they had to do with a potent nation, and that hath a door open to address themselves, and to complain immediately to the king. Their end also was to make it appear, what interest the king had in their commerce; and therefore they shewed long rolls of commodities, bought up by them through the whole kingdom, and lists of considerable sums of gold and silver every year brought thither by them; but saying not a word of those which they draw thence, from the copper, leand, cinnamon, cloves, muscadin, pepper, wood of aloes, elephants, and other commodities which they vend there.

About this time, one of the most considerable *Omrab's* of *Aureng-Zebe* addressed himself to him, and represented, that this multitude and variety of perplexing affairs, and this perpetual attention of mind in him, might soon cause a great alteration in his temper, and a dangerous inconvenience in his health. But *Aureng-Zebe*, seeming to take almost no notice of what that *Omrab* said, turned himself another way, and approaching to another of the prime *Omrabs* of the court, a person of great knowledge and judgment, spoke to him in this purpose (as I was informed by the son of this lord, who was my friend.)

Aureng-Zebe
exhorted
by an *Omrab*
to desist
from
business.

You other sages, are you not all of my mind, that there are times and conjunctions so urgent, that a king ought to hazard his life for his subjects, and sacrifice himself for their defence with arms in his hands? And yet this effeminate man would dissuade me from taking pains, and debort me from watching and solicitude for the publick; and carry me by pretences of health, to the thoughts of an easy life, by abandoning the government of my people, and the management of affairs, to some *Visir* or other. Doth he not know, that providence having given me a royal extraction, and raised me to the crown of *Indostan*,
bath

His answer.

bat's not made me for myself alone, but for the good and safety of the public, and for the procurement of tranquility and happiness to my subjects as far as that may be obtained by justice and power? He seeth not the consequence of his councils, and what mischiefs do attend visirships. Doth he think it to be without reason that our grand Sady hath so generously pronounced; O kings, cease, cease to be kings, or govern your kingdoms yourselves? Go tell thy countryman, that I shall well like of the care he is constantly to take of the faithful discharge of his place; but advise him also, not any more to run out himself so far as he hath done. We have natural inclination enough to a long, easy, and careless life, and there need no counsellors to shake off business and trouble. Our wives that lie in our bosom, do too often, besides our own genius, incline us that way.

At the same time there happened an accident, that made a great noise at *Debli*, especially in the seraglio, and disabused a great many, that could as hardly believe as myself, that eunuchs, though they had their genitals quite cut away, could become amorous as other men. *Didar-kan*, one of the chief eunuchs of the seraglio, who had built an house, where he came often to divert himself, fell in love with a very beautiful woman, the sister of a neighbour of his, that was an heathen scrivener.

These amours lasted a good while before any body blamed them, since it was but an eunuch that made them, which sort of men have the privilege to go where they please; but the familiarity grew so great, and so extraordinary betwixt the two lovers, that the neighbours began to suspect something, and to rally the scrivener, which did so touch him, that he threatned both his sisters and the eunuch to kill them if they should continue their commerce. And soon after, finding them in the night lying together, he stabbed the eunuch out-right, and left his sister for dead. The whole seraglio, women and eunuchs, made a league together against him to make him away; but *Aureng-Zebe* dissipated all these machinations, and was content to have him turn *Mahometan*. Mean time 'tis thought, he cannot long avoid the malice and power of the eunuchs; for 'tis not, as is the common saying, with men as with brutes; these latter become gentler and more tractable when they are castrated; but men more vicious, and commonly very insolent, though sometimes it turneth to an admirable fidelity and gallantry.

It was also about the same time, that *Aureng-Zebe* was somewhat discontented with *Rauchenara-Begum*, because she was suspected to have given access to two

young gallants into the seraglio, who were discovered and brought before *Aureng-Zebe*. Yet this being but a suspicion, he expressed to her no great resentment of it; ^{The amours of Rauchenara-Begum.}

nor did he make use of so great rigour and cruelty against those poor men, as *Chah-Jehan* had done against the person above spoken of. The matter was related to me by an old *Portuguese* woman (that had a long while been slave to the seraglio, and went out and in at pleasure) as followeth: She told me that *Rauchenara-Begum*, after she had drawn from a young man, hidden by her, all his ability, deliver'd him to some women to convey him away in the night thorough some gardens, and so to save him: But whether they were discovered, or whether they feared they should be so, or what else might be the cause, they fled, and left him there wandering in the midst of those gardens, not knowing which way to get out: And being at last met with, and brought before *Aureng-Zebe*, who examin'd him strictly, but could draw nothing else from him, than that he was come in over the walls, he was commanded to get out the same way by which he entered: But it seems the eunuchs did more than *Aureng-Zebe* had given order for, for they cast him down from the top of the walls to the bottom. ^{How punished.}

As for the other young gallant, this same woman assured me, that he was found wandering in the garden like the first; and having confessed that he was come in by the gate, *Aureng-Zebe* commanded likewise that he also should pass away again by the same gate; yet reserving to himself a severe chastisement for the eunuchs, since not only the honour of the royal house; but also the safety of the king's person is herein concerned.

Some months after, there arrived at *Debli* several ambassadors, almost at the same time. The first was *Xerif of Meccha*, ^{More embassages from Mecca.} whose present did consist of some *Arabian*

horses: The second and third ambassadors were, he of the king of *Hyeman*, or *Happy Arabia*, and he of the prince of *Bassora*, ^{Arabia Felix. Bassora.} who likewise presented *Arabian* horses.

The two remaining ambassadors were sent from the king of *Ethiopia*. ^{Ethiopia.} To the three first no great regard was given; they appeared in so miserable and confused an equipage, that it was perceived they came only to get some money by the means of their present, and of the many horses ^{How received.} and other merchandize, which under the pretence of ambassadors, entered without paying any duty into the kingdom, there to be sold, and to buy for the money a quantity of *Indian* stuffs, and so to return without paying likewise any impost at all.

But as to the *Ethiopian* embassy, that deserves to be otherwise taken notice of; ^{the}

The amours of an eunuch.

Its consequence.

The *Ethiopian* ambassadors described.

the king of *Ethiopia* having received the news of the revolution of the *Indies*, had a design to spread his name in those parts, and there to make known his grandeur and magnificence by a splendid embassy; or, as malice will have it, or rather as the very truth is, to reap some advantage by a present as well as the rest. Behold therefore this great embassy! He chose for his ambassadors two persons, that one would think were the most considerable in his court, and the most capable to make such a design prosper. And who were they? The one was a *Mahometan* merchant, whom I had seen some years ago at *Moka*, when I passed there coming out of *Egypt* over the *Red Sea*, where he was to sell some slaves for that prince, and to buy of the money raised thence, some *Indian* commodities. And this is the fine trade of that great christian king of *Africa*. The other was a christian merchant of *Armenia*, born and married in *Aleppo*, known in *Ethiopia* by the name of *Murat*. I had seen him also at *Moka*, where he had accommodated me also with the half of his chamber, and assisted me with very good advice, whereof I have spoken in the beginning of this history, as a thing taking me off from passing into *Ethiopia*, according to my first design. He also came every year to that place, in that king's name, for the same end that the *Mahometan* did, and brought the present which the king made every year, to the gentlemen of the *English* and *Dutch* company of the *East-Indies*, and carried away theirs. Now the king of *Ethiopia*, suitably to his design, and the desire he had of making his ambassadors appear with great splendor, put himself to great expences for this embassy: He gave them thirty-two young slaves, of both sexes, to sell them at *Moka*, and thence to make a sum of money to bear their charges. A wonderful largess! Slaves are commonly sold there for twenty-five or thirty crowns a piece, one with another. A considerable sum. Besides, he gave them for a present to the *Great Mogol* five and twenty choice slaves, among which there were nine or ten very young, proper to make eunuchs of. A very worthy present for a king, and he a christian, to a *Mahometan* prince! It seems the christianity of the *Ethiopians* is very different from ours. He added to that present, twelve horses, esteem'd as much as those of *Arabia*, and a kind of little mule, of which I saw the skin, which was a very great rarity, there being no tyger so handsomely speckled, nor silken stuff of *India* so finely, so variously, and so orderly streaked, as that was. Moreover, there were for a part of the present, two

Their presents.

elephant's teeth, so prodigious, that they assured it was all that a very able-bodied man could do to lift up one of them from the ground. Lastly, an horn of an ox full of civet, and so big, that the aperture of it being measured by me, when it came to *Debli*, it had a diameter of half a foot, and somewhat better. All things being thus prepared, the ambassadors depart from *Gondez*, the capital of *Ethiopia*, situated in the province of *Dambea*, and came through a very troublesome country to *Beiloul*, which is a dispeopled seaport over against *Moka*, nigh to *Babel-mandel*, not daring to come (for reasons elsewhere to be alledged) the ordinary way of the *Caravans*, which is made with ease in forty days to *Arkiko*, and thence to pass to the isle of *Masoua*. During their stay at *Beiloul*, and expecting a bark to *Moka*, to waft over the *Red Sea*, there died some of their slaves, because the vessel tarried, and they found not in that place those refreshments that were necessary for them. When they came to *Moka*, they soon sold their merchandise to raise a stock of money according to order: But they had this ill luck, that that year the slaves were very cheap; because the market was glutted by many other merchants; yet they raised a sum to pursue their voyage. They embarked upon an *Indian* vessel to pass to *Surat*: Their passage was pretty good; they were not above five and twenty days at sea; but whether it was that they had made no good provision, for want of stock, or what else the cause might be, many of their slaves and horses, as also the mule, whereof they saved the skin, died. They were no sooner arrived at *Surat*, but a certain rebel of *Visapour*, called *Seva-Gi*, came and ranfack'd and burned the town, and in it their house, so that they could save nothing but their letters, some slaves that were sick, or which *Seva-Gi* could not light on, their *Ethiopian* habits which he cared not for, and the mule's skin, and the ox's horn, which was already emptied of the civet. They very much exaggerated their misfortune; but those malicious *Indians* that had seen them arrive in such a wretched condition, without provisions, without habits, without money, or bills of exchange, said, that they were very happy, and should reckon the plunder of *Surat* for a piece of their best fortune; for as much as *Seva-Gi* had saved them the labour of bringing their miserable present to *Debli*, and had furnished them with a very specious pretence for their beggarly condition, and for the sale they had made of their civet, and of some of their slaves, and for demanding of the governor of *Surat* provisions for their

their subsistence; as also some money and chariots to continue their voyage to *Debli*.

Monsieur *Adrican*, chief of the *Dutch* factory, my friend, had given to the *Armenian Murat* a letter of recommendation to me, which he delivered himself at *Debli*, not remembering that I had been his host at *Moka*. It was a very pleasant meeting when we came to know one another, after the space of five or six years. I embraced him affectionately, and promised him that I would serve him in whatever I could; but that, though I had acquaintance at the court, it was impossible for me to do them any considerable good office there: For since they had not brought with them any valuable present, but only the mule's skin, and the empty ox's horn; and that they were seen going upon the streets without any *Paleky* or horses, save that of our father missionary, and mine (which they had almost killed) cloathed like beggars, and followed with seven or eight slaves, bare-headed and bare-foot, having nothing but an ugly sharfe tied between their legs, with a ragged cloth over their left shoulder, passing under their left arm like a summer-cloak; since, I said, they were in such a posture, whatever I could say for them was insignificant; they were taken for beggars, and no body took other notice of them. Yet notwithstanding, I said so much of the grandeur of their king to my *Aga Danechmend-kan*, who had cause to hearken to me, as managing all foreign affairs there, that *Aureng-Zebe* gave them audience, receiv'd their letters, presented them each with an embroider'd vest, a silken embroider'd girdle, and a turban of the same, gave order for their entertainment, and dispatch'd them in a little time, and that with more honour than there was ground to expect: For in dismissing them, he presented them each with another such vest, and with 6000 rupies for them all, which amounteth to about 3000 crowns, of which the *Mahometan* had four thousand, and *Murat*, because a christian, but two thousand. He also gave them for a present to their master, a very rich *Ser-apah* or vest, two great silver and gilt trumpets, two silver timbals, a poignard covered with jewels, and the value of about twenty thousand francs in gold and silver rupies, to let their king see money coined, as a rarity he had not in his country: But *Aureng-Zebe* knew very well that these rupies would not go out of the kingdom, and that they were like to buy commodities for them: And it fell out so; for they laid them out, partly in fine cotton cloth, to make shirts of for their king, queen, and their only lawful son that is to be the successor; partly in silken stuffs streaked with gold or silver, to make vests

and summer drawers of; partly in *English* scarlet, to make two *Arabian* vests of for their king also; and lastly, in spices, and in store of coarser cloth, for divers ladies of his *Seraglio*, and for the children he had by them; all without paying any duty.

For all my friendship with *Murat*, there were three things which made me almost repent to have served them. The first, because *Murat* having promised me to leave with me for 50 rupies, a little son of his, that was very pretty, of a delicate black, and without such a swell'd nose, or such thick lips as commonly the *Ethiopians* have, broke his word with me, and let me know, that he should take no less for him than 300 rupies. For all this, I had thoughts of buying him for rarities sake, and that I might say, a father had sold me his son. The second, because I found that *Murat*, as well as the *Mahometan*, had obliged themselves to *Aureng-Zebe*, that they would employ their interest with their king, that he might permit in *Ethiopia* to rebuild an old *Mosque* ruined in the time of the *Portuguese*, and which had been built for a tomb of a great *Dervich*, which went from *Mecha* into *Ethiopia* for the propagation of *Mahometanism*, and there made great progress. They received of *Aureng-Zebe* two thousand rupies for this engagement. This *Mosque* had been pull'd down by the *Portuguese*, when they came with their suc-
cours into *Ethiopia*, which the then king, who turned catholick, had asked of them against a *Mahometan* prince, invading his kingdom. The third, because they desired *Aureng-Zebe*, in the name of their king, to give them an *Alcoran*, and eight other books, which I well remember were of the most reputed in the *Mahometan* religion: Which proceeding seemed to me very unworthy of a christian ambassador, and christian king, and confirmed to me what I had been told at *Moka*, that the christianity of *Ethiopia* must needs be some odd thing; that it favours much of *Mahometanism*, and that the *Mahometans* increase exceedingly in that empire, especially since the *Portuguese*, that came in there for the reason lately expressed, were either killed, upon the death of the king, by the cabal of the queen-mother, or expelled, together with the patriarch jesuit, whom they had brought along from *Goa*.

During the time that the ambassadors were at *Debli*, my *Aga*, who is more than ordinary curious, made them often come to him, when I was present, to inform himself of the state and government of their country, and principally to learn something of the source of the *Nile*, which they call *Ababile*, of which they discoursed to us as a thing so well known, that no body

Remarks
on the
christiani-
ty of *Ethi-
opia*.

The
source of
the Nile.

doubted of it. *Murat* himself, and a *Mogol*, who was returned out of *Ethiopia* with him, had been there, and told us very near the same particulars with those I had received of it at *Moka*; viz. That the *Nile* had its origin in the country of *Agaus*; that it issued out of the earth by two springs bubbling up, near to one another, which did form a little lake of about thirty or forty paces long; that coming out of this lake, it did make a considerable river: and that from space to space it received small rivers increasing it. They added, that it went on circling, and making as it were a great isle; and that afterwards it tumbled down from steep rocks into a great lake, in which there were divers fruitful isles, store of crocodiles, and (which would be remarkable enough, if true) abundance of sea-calves, that have no other vent for their excrements than that by which they take in their food; this lake being in the country of *Dambee*, three small days journey from *Gondar*, and four or five days journey from the source of the *Nile*: And lastly, that this river did break out of this lake, being augmented with many river-waters, and with several torrents falling into it, especially in the rainy season (which do regularly begin there, as in the *Indies*, about *July*, which is very considerable and convincing for the inundation of the *Nile*) and so runs away through *Sonnar*, the capital city of the king of *Fungi*, tributary to the king of *Ethiopia*, and from thence passeth to the plains of *Mesre*, which is *Egypt*.

Remarks
on *Ethio-*
pia.

The ambassadors were not wanting to say more than was liked, on the subject of their king's greatness, and of the strength of his army; but the *Mogolian* did not over-much agree with them in it; and in their absence represented to us this army, which he had seen twice in the field, with the *Ethiopian* king at the head of it, as the most wretched thing in the world.

They also related to us divers particulars of that country, which I have put in my journal, one day perhaps to be digested and copied: In the mean time I shall insert here three or four things which *Murat* told me, because I esteem them very extravagant for a christian kingdom. He said then, that there were few men in *Ethiopia*, who besides their lawful wife, had not many others; and himself owned that he had two, without reckoning her which he had left at *Aleppo*: That the *Ethiopian* women did not so hide themselves as they do in the *Indies* among the *Mahometans*, nor even as among the *Gentiles*: That those of the meaner sort of people, maids or married women, slaves or free, were often together pell-mell, night and day, in the same chamber, without those jealousies so

common in other countries: That the women of lords did not stick much to go into the house of a simple cavalier, whom they knew to be a man of execution: That if I had gone into *Ethiopia*, they would soon have obliged me to marry, as they had done, a few years since, a certain *European* who named himself a *Greek* physician: That an ancient man, of about fourscore years of age, did one day present to the king fourscore sons, all of age, and able to bear arms; and that the king asked him, whether he had no more but them? To whom having answered, no, but only some daughters, the king sent him away with this reproach; *Begone, thou calf, and be ashamed for having no more children at that age, as if women were wanting in my dominions!* That the king himself had at least fourscore sons and daughters running about pell-mell in the *Seraglio*, for whom he had caused to be made a number of round varnished sticks, made like a little maze; those children being fond of having that in their hand like a scepter, distinguishing them from those that were children of slaves, or from others living in that place.

Aureng-Zebe sent also twice for these ambassadors, for the same reason that my *Aga* did, and especially to enquire after the state of *Mahometanism* in that country. He had also the curiosity of viewing the skin of the mule, which remained, I know not how, in the fortress among the officers; which was to me a great mortification, because they had designed it for me for the good services I had done them. I made account to have one day presented it to some very curious person in *Europe*. I urged often, that together with the mule's skin, they should carry the great horn to *Aureng-Zebe*, to shew it him; but they feared lest he should make a question, which would have perplexed them; viz. How it came to pass, that they had saved the horn from the plunder of *Surat*, and lost the civet?

Whilst these ambassadors of *Ethiopia* *Aureng-Zebe* were at *Debli*, it came to pass that *Aureng-Zebe* called together his privy-council, and the most learned persons of his court, to chuse a new master for his third son, *Sultan Eckbar*, whom he designed for his successor. In this council he shewed the passion he hath to have this young prince well educated, and to make him a great man. *Aureng-Zebe* is not ignorant of what importance it is, and how much 'tis to be wish'd, that as much as kings surmount others in greatness, they may also exceed them in virtue and knowledge. He also well knows, that one of the principal sources of the misery, of the mis-government, of the unpeopling, and the decay of the empires of

The
bad con-
sequences
of want of
education
in a prince

of *Asia* proceeds from thence, that the children of the kings thereof are brought up only by women and eunuchs, which often are no other than wretched slaves of *Russia*, *Circassia*, *Mingrelia*, *Gurgistan* and *Ethiopia*; mean and servile, ignorant and insolent souls. These princes become kings when they are of age, without being instructed, and without knowing what 'tis to be a king; amazed when they begin to come abroad out of the *Seraglio*, as persons coming out of another world, or let out of some subterraneous cave, where they had lived all their life time; wondering at every thing they meet, like so many innocents; believing all, and fearing all, like children, or nothing at all, as if they were stupid: And all this according to their nature, and suitable to the first images imprinted upon them; commonly high and proud, and seemingly grave, but of that kind of pride and gravity, which is so flat and distasteful, and so unbecoming them, that one may plainly see, 'tis nothing but brutality or barbarousness, and the effect of some ill-studied and ill-digested documents; or else they fall into some childish civilities, yet more unsavory; or into such cruelties, as are blind and brutal; or into that mean and gross vice of drunkenness, or into an excessive and altogether unreasonable luxury, either ruining their bodies and understandings with their concubines, or altogether abandoning themselves to the pleasures of hunting, like some carnivorous animals, preferring a pack of dogs before the lives of so many poor people, whom they force to follow them in the pursuit of their game, and suffer to perish of hunger, heat, cold, and misery. In a word, they always run into some extreme or other, being altogether irrational and extravagant, according as they are carried by their natural temper, or by their first impressions that are given them; thus remaining, almost all, in a strange ignorance of what concerns the state of the kingdom; the reins of the government being abandoned to some visir, who entertains them in their ignorance and in their passions, which are the two strongest supports he can have to rule always according to his own mind, with most assurance, and the least contradiction; and given over also to those slaves their mothers, and to their eunuchs, who often know nothing but to continue plots of cruelty, whereby they strangle and banish one another, and sometimes the visirs, and even the grand seignors themselves; so that no man whatsoever, that hath any estate, can be in safety of his life.

A *Persian* But to return; after all these embassadors which we have spoken of, there came

at last news, that the ambassador of *Persia* was upon the frontiers. The *Persian* Omrahs, that are at the service of the *Mogol*, spread a rumor that he came for affairs of great importance; though intelligent persons much doubted of a commission of that nature, considering that the time of great conjunctures was passed, and that those Omrahs, and the other *Persians* did what they did, rather to make a show, than for any thing else. Mean time, on the day of the entry, this ambassador was received with all possible respect: The *Bazars*, through which he passed, were all new painted, and the cavalry attending on the way for above the length of a whole league. Many Omrahs accompanied him with musick, timbals and trumpets, and when he entered into the fortress, or palace of the king, the guns went off. *Aureng-Zebe* received him with much civility, and was content he should make his address to him after the *Persian* mode, receiving also, without any scruple, immediately from his hands the letters of his king; which, out of respect, he lifted up even to his head, and afterwards read them with a grave and serious countenance: Which done, he caused an embroidered vest to be brought, together with a rich turban and girdle, commanding it to be put on him in his presence. A little after, it was intimated to him, that he might order his present to be brought in, which consisted of twenty-five as handsome horses as ever I saw, led, and covered with embroidered trappings; and of twenty very flately and lusty camels, as big as elephants: Moreover, of a good number of boxes, said to be full of most excellent rose-water; and of a certain distill'd water, very precious and esteemed highly cordial; besides, there were displayed five or six very rich and very large tapisseries, and some embroidered pieces exceeding noble, wrought in small flowers, so fine and delicate, that I know not whether in all *Europe* any such can be met with. To all this were added four damaskin'd swords, with as many poynards, all covered with jewels; as also five or six harnesses of horses, which were much esteemed, being also very fine and rich, the stuff being raised with rich embroidery set with small pearls, and very fair turcoises of the old rock.

It was observed, that *Aureng-Zebe* beheld this present very attentively; that he admired the beauty and rarity of every piece, and that several times he extolled the generosity of the king of *Persia*; assigning to the ambassador a place among his chief Omrahs. And after he had entertained him a-while with a discourse about the inconveniencies and hardships of his voyage,

he dismissed him, and made instance, that he should come every day to see him.

Is maintained at Aureng-Zebe's cost.

How dismissed.

During the four or five months that the ambassador staid at *Debli*, he was always splendidly treated at *Aureng-Zebe's* charge; and the greatest *Omrabs* presented him one after another; and at last he was very honourably dismissed: For *Aureng-Zebe* had him apparell'd with another rich *Sera-pak* or vest, to which he added considerable presents for himself, reserving those he intended for his king, till he should send an ambassador expressly; which sometime after he did.

The contents of the king's letter.

Notwithstanding all these testimonies of honour and respect which *Aureng-Zebe* had shewed to his ambassador, the same *Persians*, above spoken of, gave out, that their king had sensibly reproached him in his letters, with the death of *Dara*, and the imprisonment of *Chab-Jehan*, as actions unworthy of a brother and a son, and a muselman; and that he had also hit him with the word *Alem-Guire*, or conqueror of the world, which *Aureng-Zebe* had caused to be engraven on his coin. But 'tis hard to believe, that the king of *Persia* should do any such thing to provoke such a victorious prince, since *Persia* is not in a condition to enter into a war with *Indostan**; I am rather apt to believe, that *Persia* hath work enough to keep *Kandabar* on the side of *Indostan*, and the frontiers on the side of *Turky*: Its forces and riches are known; it produceth not always such great kings as the *Chab-Abbas*, valiant, intelligent and politic, knowing to make use of every thing, and to do much with small expences. If it were in a condition of undertaking any thing against *Indostan*, or really sensible of piety, and the muselman faith, why was it that in these last troubles and civil wars, which continued so long in *Indostan*, the *Persians* sat still and looked on when *Dara*, *Chab-Jehan*, *Sultan Sujab*, and perhaps the governor of *Caboul* desired their assistance; and they might with no very great army, nor great expences, have seized on the fairest part of *India*, beginning from the kingdom of *Caboul*, unto the river *Indus*, and beyond it, and so made themselves umpires of all things? Yet notwithstanding there must needs have been some offensive expressions in those *Persian* letters, or else the ambassador must have done or said something that displeased *Aureng-Zebe*; because two or three days after he had dismissed him, he made a rumour to be spread abroad, that the ambassador had caused the ham-strings of the presented horses to be cut; and the ambassador being yet upon the frontiers, he made him re-

turn all the *Indian* slaves which he carried along with him, of which he had a prodigious number.

Mean while *Aureng-Zebe* was not so much concerned, nor troubled himself so much with this ambassador, as *Chab-Jehan*, upon a like occasion, did with him, that was sent to him from the great *Chab-Abbas*. When the *Persians* are in the humour of rallying against the *Indians*, they relate these three or four little stories of them: They say, that *Chab-Jehan* seeing that the courtship and promises made to their ambassador were not able to prevail with him, so as to make him perform his salute after the *Indian* mode, he devised this artifice; he commanded to shut the great gate of the court of the *Amkas*, where he was to receive him, and to leave only open the wicket, through which one man could not pass but very difficultly, by stooping and holding down his head, as the fashion is when one maketh an *Indian* reverence, to the end that it might be said, he had made the ambassador put himself in a posture which was something lower than the *Indian* salam or salute; but that that ambassador being aware of this trick, came in with his back foremost: and that *Chab-Jehan*, out of indignation to see himself caught, told him *Eb-bed-bakt*, 'Thou wretch, dost thou think thou comest into a stable of asses, such as thou art?' And that the ambassador, without any alteration, answered; *Who would not think so, seeing such a little door?*

Another story is this; that at a certain time *Chab-Jehan* taking ill some coarse and fierce answers returned to him by the *Persian* ambassador, could not hold to tell him; What, hath *Chab-Abbas* no other men at his court, that he must send to me such a fool as thyself? And that the ambassador answered; He hath many better and wiser men than me, but to such a king, such an ambassador: They add, that on a certain day *Chab-Jehan*, who had made the ambassador to dine in his presence, and sought some occasion to affront him, seeing that he was busy in picking and gnawing of bones, asked him smiling, *Eb Elt-chi-Gy*, My lord ambassador, what will the dogs eat? And that he answered readily, *Kicherry*, that is, a dish of pulse, which is the food of the meaner sort of people, and which he saw *Chab-Jehan* eat, because he loved it.

They say also, that *Chab-Jehan* once asked him, what he thought of his new *Debli* (which was building) in comparison of *Hispaban*? And that he answered aloud, and with an oath, *Billab, Billab, Hispaban doth not come near the dust of Dehli*; which *Chab-Jehan* took for a high

* Tho' the present emperor of *Persia* has conquered it.

commendation, though the ambassador mocked him, because the dust is so troublesome at *Debli*.

Lastly they relate that *Chab-Jehan* one day pressing him to tell him, what he thought of the grandeur of the kings of *Indostan*, compared to that of the kings of *Persia*? He answered, that, in his opinion, one could not better compare the kings of *India* than to a large moon of fifteen or sixteen days old, and those of *Persia*, to a small moon of two or three days. And that this answer did at first please *Chab-Jehan*; but that soon after he perceived, that that comparison did him but little honour, the ambassador's sense being, that the kings of *Indostan* were decreasing, and those of *Persia* increasing.

Whether these points are so commendable, and such marks of wit, every one is free to judge, as he seeth cause. My opinion is, that a discreet and respectful gravity is much more becoming ambassadors, than rallery and roughness, especially, when they have to do with kings, who will not be raillied with, witness an accident that befel this very ambassador; for *Chab-Jehan* was at length so weary of him, and his freedom, that he called him no otherwise than fool; and one day gave secret order, that when he should enter into a pretty long and narrow street, that is near the fortress, to come to the hall of the assembly, they should let loose upon him an ill-conditioned and fierce elephant; and certainly, if the ambassador had not nimbly leapt out of his *Paleky*, and, together with his dextrous attendants, shot some arrows into the trump of the elephant, which forced him to turn back, he had been utterly spoiled.

Aureng-Zebe's
tutor
comes to
court for
prefer-
ment.

It was at this time, upon the departure of the *Persian* ambassador, that *Aureng-Zebe* received with that admirable wisdom his tutor *Mallab-Sale*, the history of which is rare and considerable. This old man, who long since had retired himself towards *Caboul*, and settled himself on some lands, which *Chab-Jehan* had given him, had no sooner heard of the great fortune of *Aureng-Zebe* his discipline, who had overcome *Dara* and all his other brothers, and was now king of *Indostan*, but he came in haste to the court, swelled with hopes of being presently advanced to no less than the dignity of an *Omrah*. He maketh his court, and endeavours to engage all his friends, and *Rauchanara-Begum*, the king's sister, employs herself for him. But yet there was three whole months, that *Aureng-Zebe* does not so much as look upon him; till at length wearied to have him always at his elbow, and before his face, he sent for him

How re-
ceived.

to a place apart, where there was no-body but *Hakim-lul-Mouluk*, *Danech-mend-Kan*, and three or four of those *Omrahs*, that pretend to science, and then spoke to him to this effect (as I was informed by my *Agab*.)

What is it you would have of me doctor? Can you reasonably desire I should make you one of the chief Omrahs of my court? Let me tell you, if you had instructed me as you should have done, nothing would be more just: For I am of this persuasion, that a child well educated and instructed, is as much, at least, obliged to his master as to his father: But where are those good documents you have given me? In the first place you have taught me, that all that Frangastican (so it seems they call Europe) was nothing, but I know not what little island, of which the greatest king was he of Portugal, and next to him he of Holland, and after him he of England; and as to the other kings, as those of France, and Andalusia, you have represented them to me as our pretty Raja's; telling me, that the kings of Indostan were far above them altogether, and that they were the true and only Houmajons, the Ekbars, the Jehan-Guyres, the Chah-Jehans, the fortunate ones, the great ones, the conquerors and kings of the world; and that Persia and Usbec, Kach-guer, Tartar and Catay, Pegu, China, and Matchina did tremble at the name of the kings of Indostan: Admirable geography! You should rather have taught me exactly to distinguish all those different states of the world, and well to understand their strength, their way of fighting, their customs, religions, governments and interests; and by the perusal of solid history, to observe their rise, progress, decay, and whence, how, and by what accidents and errors, those great changes and revolutions of empires and kingdoms have happened. I have scarce learnt of you the name of my grandfathers, the famous founders of this empire; so far were you from having taught me the history of their life, and what course they took to make such great conquests. You had a mind to teach me the Arabian tongue, to read and to write, I am much obliged to you (forsooth) for having made me lose so much time upon a language, that requires ten or twelve years to attain to its perfection; as if the son of a king should think it to be an honour to him, to be a grammarian or some doctor of the law, and to learn other languages than those of his neighbours, when he cannot well be without them; he, to whom time is so precious for so many weighty things, which he ought by times to learn. As if there were any spirit that did not with some reluctancy, and even with a kind of debasement, employ itself in so sad and dry an exercise, so longsome and tedious, as is that of learning words.

Thus did *Aureng-Zebe* resent the pedantic instructions of his tutor; to which 'tis affirmed in that court, that after some entertainment which he had with others, he further added the following reproof.

'Know you not, that childhood well governed, being a state which is ordinarily accompanied with an happy memory, is capable of thousands of good precepts and instructions, which remain deeply impressed the whole remainder of a man's life, and keep the mind always raised for great actions? The law, prayers and sciences, may they not as well be learned in our mother-tongue, as in *Arabic*? You told my father *Chab-Jeban*, that you would teach me philosophy. 'Tis true, I remember very well, that you have entertained me for many years with airy questions, of things that afford no satisfaction at all to the mind, and are of no use to human society, empty notions, and mere fancies, that have only this in them, that they are very hard to understand, and very easy to forget, which are only capable to tire and spoil a good understanding, and to breed an opinion that is unsupportable. I still remember, that after you had thus amused me, I know not how long, with your fine philosophy, all I retained of it, was a multitude of barbarous and dark words, proper to bewilder, perplex and tire out the best wits, and only invented, the better to cover the vanity and ignorance of men like yourself, that would make us believe, that they know all, and that under those obscure and ambiguous words, are hid great mysteries, which they alone are capable to understand: If you had seasoned me with that philosophy, which formeth the mind to ratiocination, and insensibly accustoms it to be satisfied with nothing but solid reasons; if you had given me those excellent precepts and doctrines, which raise the soul above the assaults of fortune, and reduce her to an unshakeable and always equal temper, and permit her not to be lifted up by prosperity, nor debased by adversity; if you had taken care to give me the knowledge of what we are, and what are the first principles of things; and had assisted me in forming in my mind a fit idea of the greatness of the universe, and of the admirable order and motion of the parts thereof; if, I say, you had instilled into me this kind of philosophy, I should think myself incomparably more obliged to you than *Alexander* was to his *Aristotle*; and believe it my duty to recompence you otherwise, than he did him. Should not you, instead of your flattery, have taught me somewhat

of that point so important to a king, which is, what the reciprocal duties are of a sovereign to his subjects, and those of subjects to their sovereign? And ought not you to have considered, that one day I should be obliged with the sword to dispute my life and the crown with my brothers? Is not that the destiny almost of all the sons of *Indostan*? Have you ever taken any care to make me learn, what 'tis to besiege a town, or to set an army in array? For these things I am obliged to others, not at all to you. Go, and retire to the village, whence you are come, and let no-body know who you are, or what is become of you.'

At that time there arose a kind of tempest against astrologers, which did not displease me. Most people of *Asia* are so infatuated by judiciary astrology, that they believe there is nothing done here below, but 'tis written above (for so they speak.) In all their undertakings therefore they consult astrologers. When two armies are ready to give battle, they beware of falling on, till the astrologer hath taken and determined the moment he fancies propitious for the beginning of the combat. And so, when the matter is about electing a captain-general of an army, of dispatching an ambassador, of concluding a marriage, or beginning a voyage, and of doing any other thing, as buying a slave, putting on new apparel, &c. nothing of all that is done without the sentence of Mr. star-gazer; which is an incredible vexation, and a custom drawing after it such important consequences, that I know not how it can subsist so long. For the astrologer must needs have knowledge of all that passeth, and of all that is undertaken, from the greatest affairs to the least.

But behold, it happened, that the prime astrologer of the king was drowned, which occasioned a great noise at court, and was a great discredit to astrology: For he being the person that determined the moments of all enterprizes and actions for the king, and the *Omrabs*, every one wondered, how a man so experienced, and that for so long time had dispensed good adventures to others, could not foresee his own misfortune. There were not wanting those, who pretended to be wiser than others, and said, that in *Frangistan*, where sciences did flourish, the grandes do suspect all such kind of people, and that some hold them even no better than mountebanks, that 'tis much doubted, whether this knowledge is grounded upon good and solid reasons, and that it may very well be some fancy of astrologers, or rather an artifice to make themselves necessary to the great

Judiciary
astrology
admired
in *Asia*.

Remarks
upon a-
strology.

great ones, and to make them in some measure to depend on them.

All these discourses very much displeased the astrologers; but nothing angered them so much as this story, become very famous, viz. That the great *Chab-Abas* king of *Persia*, commanded to be digged and prepared a little place in his *Seraglio*, to make a garden; that the young trees were all ready, and that the gardiner made account to plant them the next day. Mean time the astrologer taking upon him, said, that a good nick of time was to be observed for planting them, to make them prosper. *Chab-Abas* being content it should be so, the star-gazer took his instruments, turned over his books, made his calculation, and concluded, that by reason of such and such a conjunction and aspect of the planets, it was necessary they should be set presently. The master gardiner, who minded nothing less than this astrologer, was not then at hand; yet for all that they fell to work immediately, making holes, and planting the trees, *Chab-Abas* himself setting them, that it might be said, that they were trees set with *Chab-Abas's* own hands. The gardiner returning at night, was sufficiently amazed when he saw the work done; and finding that the right place and order designed by him was not taken; that, for example, an apricock-tree stood where an apple-tree should stand, and a pear-tree where an almond-tree; being heartily angry with the astrologer, caused all the trees to be plucked up again, and laid them down, with some earth about them, for next morning, the time chosen by himself. The news hereof came soon to the ears of the astrologer, who presently told *Chab-Abas* of it: He forthwith sent for the gardiner, and with some indignation asked him, What had made him so bold as to pull up those young trees he had planted with his own hand; that the time had been so exactly taken for them, that so good an one would never be had again; and that so he had marred all. The rude gardiner, who had a cup of *Chiras* wine in his head, looked aside upon the astrologer, and grumbling and swearing, said to him these words, *Billab, Billab*, that must needs be an admirable point of time which thou hast taken for these trees; unhappy astrologer! they were planted this day noon, and this evening they have been plucked up again. When *Chab-Abas* heard this, he fell a laughing, turned his back upon the astrologer, and went away.

I shall here add two particulars, tho' they happened in the time of *Chab-Jehan*, because such things fall out often enough, and do withal give occasion to observe that ancient and barbarous custom, which makes

the kings of *India* heirs of the goods of A legacy those that die in their service: The first left to the was of *Neiknam-kan*, one of the most an- great Mo-
cient *Omrabs* of the court, and who for gol.
the space of 40 or 50 years, wherein he had always been employ'd in considerable offices, had heaped up great store of gold and silver. This lord seeing himself near his end, and thinking upon this unreasonable custom, which often renders the wife of a great man, upon his decease, poor and miserable in an instant, and necessitates her to present a petition, begging some small pension for her subsistence and for that of her children, who are constrained to lift themselves for common soldiers under some *Omrab*; who, I say, considering this with himself, secretly distributed all his treasure to indigent knights and poor widows, fill'd his trunks with old pieces of iron, old shoes, rags and bones, and locked and sealed them, telling every body that they were goods belonging to *Chab-Jehan* the king. These trunks, after his death, were brought before *Chab-Jehan*, when he was in the assembly, and by his command instantly opened in the presence of all the *Omrabs*, that saw all this fine stuff, which so provoked and discomposed *Chab-Jehan*, that he rose in great fury, and went away.

The other is only a piece of gallantry. A rich *Banean*, or heathen merchant, being a great usurer, (as most of them are) who had always been in employment, and in the pay of the king, came to die. Some years after his death, his son did extremely importune the widow, his mother, to let him have some money: She finding him to be a prodigal and debauched youth, gave him as little as she could. This young fool, by the persuasion of others like himself, made his complaints to *Chab-Jehan*, and was so silly, as to discover to him all the goods his father had left, which amounted to two hundred thousand rupies, or hundred thousand crowns. *Chab-Jehan*, who soon got an itch for this treasure, sent for the widow, and commanded her in the open assembly to send him an hundred thousand rupies, and to give fifty thousand to her son, giving order at the same time to put her away. The old woman, though surprised at this command, and perplexed enough, that she was so suddenly thrust out, without the liberty of speaking, yet lost not her judgment, but with a loud voice gave out, that she had something of moment to discover to his majesty: Whereupon being brought in again, she said, *God save your majesty; I find that my son hath some reason to demand of me the goods of his father, as being of his and my flesh and blood, and therefore our heir; but I would gladly know, what kindred your majesty is to my deceased*

ceased husband, to be his heir. When *Chab-Jehan* heard so plain a piece of raillery, and a discourse of parentage of the king of the *Indies* with a she-Banian, or idolatrous she-merchant, he could not hold laughing, and commanded she should be gone, and that nothing should be asked of her.

But to return, I shall not relate all the other considerable things that have happened since the end of the war, that is, since 1660, unto my departure, which was above six years after; though doubtless that would tend much to the design I had in relating the other particulars, which is, to make known the genius and temper of the *Mogols* and *Indians*. This I may do in another place: Here I shall only give an account of five or six particulars, which those that shall have read this relation will doubtless be curious of.

How and where *Chab-Jehan* was confined.

The first, that though *Aureng-Zebe* made *Chab-Jehan*, his father, to be kept in the fortrels of *Agra* with all imaginable care and caution; yet notwithstanding he still left him his old apartment with *Begum-Sabeb*, his eldest daughter, his other women, singers, dancers, cooks, and others; nothing of that kind was wanting to him. There were also certain *Mullabs*, that were permitted to come and to read the *Alcoran* to him (for he was become very devout.) And when he thought fit, there were brought before him brave horses, and tam'd *Gazelles*, (which is a kind of goat) to make them fight with one another; as also divers sorts of birds of prey, and several other rare animals, to divert him as formerly. *Aureng-Zebe* himself used an art to overcome at last his fierceness and obstinacy, which he had hitherto kept, though a prisoner. And this was the effect of the obliging letters, full of respect and submission, which he often wrote to his father, consulting him often as his oracle, and expressing a thousand cares for him; sending him also incessantly some pretty present or other; whereby *Chab-Jehan* was so much gained, that he also wrote very often to *Aureng-Zebe* touching the government and state affairs, and of his own accord sent him some of those jewels, which before he had told him of, that hammers were ready to beat them to powder the first time he should again ask for them. Besides, he consented that the daughter of *Dara*, which he had so peremptorily denied, should be delivered to him; and granted him at length that pardon and paternal blessing, which he had so often desired without obtaining it. Yet, under all this, *Aureng-Zebe* did not always flatter him; on the contrary, he sometimes returned sharp answers, when he met with strains in his father's letters that were pregnant, or expressed something of his former height

How treated by his son.

and authority. Of this we may judge by the letter, which I know from a very good hand was once written to him by *Aureng-Zebe*, to this effect:

Sir, You would have me indispensably follow those ancient customs, and make myself heir to all those that are in my pay with the wonted rigour: An Omrah, and even a merchant can no sooner die, and sometimes even before his death, but we seal up his trunks, and seize on his goods, and make a strict enquiry into his estate, imprisoning and ill-treating the officers of the house to discover to us all he hath, even to the least jewels. I will believe that there is some policy in doing so, but it cannot be denied that 'tis very rigorous, and sometimes very unjust; and to speak the very truth, we may deserve well enough, that the same should befall us every day, what happened to you from your *Neikman-kan*, and from the widow of your rich Indian merchant. Moreover (said he) it seems, I am by you reputed proud and haughty now I am king; as if you knew not by the experience of more than forty years of your reign, how heavy an ornament a crown is, and how many sad and restless nights it passeth through; as if I could forget that excellent passage of *Mir-Timur* (commonly called *Tamerlane*) which is so seriously delivered to us by that great grand-father of ours, *Ekbar*, to the end that we might the more weigh the importance and value of it, and consider, whether we have cause to pride ourselves so much in a crown. You well know, that he said, that the same day when *Timur* took *Bajazet*, he made him come before him, and having fixed his eyes on him, fell a laughing; at which *Bajazet* being highly offended, fiercely said to him, Laugh not at my fortune, *Timur*; know that 'tis God that is the dispenser of kingdoms and empires; and that the same can befall you to-morrow, that hath befallen me to-day. Whereupon *Timur* made this serious and brave answer; I know as well as you, *Bajazet*, that 'tis God that distributeth kingdoms and empires; I laugh not at your ill fortune, God forbid I should do so: But beholding your face, I smiled, and had this thought, That certainly these kingdoms and empires must in themselves be very little and contemptible things in the eyes of God, since he giveth them to persons so ill made as you and I both are; a deformed one-ey'd man, as you; and a lame wretch, as myself. You require also, that abandoning all my other employments, which I believe very necessary for the establishment and happiness of this state, I should think on nothing but conquests, and the enlargement of the empire. I must confess that this is indeed the business of a great monarch, and of a soul truly royal, and that I should not deserve to be of the blood of the great *Timur*, if I were not of that mind, and had not such inclina-

inclinations. Mean time, I think I sit not idle, and my armies are not useless in the kingdoms of Decan and Bengal: But we must also aver, that the greatest conquerors are not always the greatest kings; that we too often see a barbarian making conquests, and that those great bodies of conquests do ordinarily fall of themselves, and by their own weight. He is a great king, that knows to acquit himself worthily of that great and august employment and charge of kings, which is to dispence justice to their subjects, &c.

The rest is not come to my hands.

The second is in regard of *Emir-Jemla*. It were to injure this great man, to pass by with silence his deportment to *Aureng-Zebe* after the war, and the manner of ending his days. This eminent person after he had dispatched the affair of *Bengala*, with *Sultan Sujah* (the second of these four brothers) not like *Gion-kan*, that infamous *Patan*, with *Dara*; nor like the *Raja* of *Serenaguer* with *Soliman-Chekoub*; but like a great captain and dextrous politician, pursuing him as far as the sea-side, and necessitating him to fly and to escape out of his hands; after, I say, he had done these things, he sent an eunuch to *Aureng-Zebe*, intreating him, that he would give him leave to transport his family to *Bengal*; that now that the war was at an end, and he broken with age, he hoped he would grant him the advantage of ending his life in the company of his wife and children.

His request.

But *Aureng-Zebe* is too sharp-sighted, not to pierce into the designs of *Emir*. He seeth him triumphing over *Sujah*; he knows his great credit and reputation, and that he hath the esteem of a very wise, undertaking, valiant and rich man; and that the kingdom of *Bengal* is not only the best of all *Indostan*, but strong of itself; and further, that this *Emir* is in the head of a well disciplined army, which both honours and fears him. Besides, he is not ignorant of his ambition, and foreseeth well enough, that if he should have with him his son *Mahmet-Emir-kan*, he would aspire to the crown, and at least take full possession of *Bengal*, if he should not be able to advance things further. At the same time he is also well aware, that there is danger in refusing him, and that he may possibly prove such a man, as in case of denial, may run into some dangerous extreme, as he had done in *Golkonda*. How then, think ye, did he carry himself in this conjuncture?

How rewarded.

He sends to him his wife and daughter, and all the children of his son: He maketh the *Emir* a *Mir-ul-Omrab*, which is in that empire the greatest degree of honour that a favourite can be raised to: And as to *Mahmet-Emir-kan*, he maketh him the

great *Bakchis*, which is a dignity and charge like that of our great master of the horse, the second or third office in the state, but such a one as absolutely obligeth the possessor of it to be always at the court, not suffering him, but very difficultly, to be absent from the person of the king.

The *Emir* soon perceived, that *Aureng-Zebe* had skilfully put by the stroke; that it would be in vain the second time to ask of him his son; that he could not do it without offending him; and that therefore the safest way would be to rest contented with all the testimonies of friendship, and with all the honours, together with the government of *Bengal*; being in the mean time always upon his guard, and in such a posture, that since he could attempt nothing against *Aureng-Zebe*, *Aureng-Zebe* should not be able to attempt any thing against him.

Thus have we seen these two great men carrying themselves to one another: And in this condition did affairs remain for almost a year; till *Aureng-Zebe*, too well knowing that a great captain cannot be long at rest; and that, if he be not employed in a foreign war, he will at length raise a domestick one; proposed to him to make war upon that rich and potent *Raja* of *Acham*, whose territories are on the north of *Dake*, upon the gulf of *Bengal*. The *Emir*, who in all appearance had already designed this same thing of himself, and who believed, that the conquest of this country would make way for his immortal honour, and be an occasion of carrying his arms as far as *China*, declared himself ready for this enterprize. He embarked at *Dake* with a puissant army, upon a river which comes from those parts; upon which having gone about an hundred leagues north-eastward, he arrived at a castle called *Azo*, which the *Raja* of *Acham* had usurped from the kingdom of *Bengal*, and possessed for many years. He attacked this place, and took it by force in less than fifteen days; thence marching over-land towards *Chamdara*, which is the inlet into the country of that *Raja*; he entered into it after twenty six days journey, still northward: There a battle was fought, in which the *Raja* of *Acham* was worsted, and obliged to retreat to *Guerguon*, the metropolis of his kingdom, four miles distant from *Chamdara*. The *Emir* pursued him so close, that he gave him no time to fortify himself in *Guerguon*: For he arrived in sight of that town in five days, which constrained the *Raja*, seeing the *Emir's* army, to fly towards the mountains of the kingdom of *Lassa*, and to abandon *Guerguon*, which was pillaged, as had been *Chamdara*. They found there vast riches, it being a great,

Is sent against the Raja of Acham.

His success.

very fair and merchant-like town, and where the women are extraordinarily beautiful. Mean time, the season of the rains came in sooner than usually; and they being excessive in those parts, and overflowing all the country, except such villages as stand on raised ground, the *Emir* was much embarrassed. For the *Raja* made his people of the mountains come down from all parts thereabout, and to carry away all the provisions of the field; whereby the *Emir's* army (as rich as it was) before the end of the rains, fell into great straits, without being able to go forward or backward. It could not advance, by reason of the mountains very difficult to pass, and continually pester'd with great rains; nor retreat, because of the like rains and deep ways; the *Raja* also having caused the way to be digged up as far as to *Chamdara*: So that the *Emir* was forced to remain in that wretched condition during the whole time of the rain; after which, when he found his army distasted, tired out, and half starved, he was necessitated to give over the design he had of advancing, and to return the same way he was come. But this retreat was made with so much pains, and so great inconveniencies, by reason of the dirt, the want of victuals, and the pursuit of the *Raja* falling on the rear, that every body (but he) that had not known how to remedy the disorder of such a march, nor had the patience to be sometimes five or six hours at one passage to make the soldiery get over it without confusion, would have utterly perished, himself, army and all; yet he, notwithstanding all these difficulties and obstacles, made a shift to come back with great honour and vast riches. He designed to return thither again the next year, and to pursue his undertaking, supposing that *Azo*, which he had fortified, and where he left a strong garison, would be able to hold out the rest of the year against the *Raja*. But he was no sooner arrived there, but fluxes began to rage in his army: Neither had himself a body of steel more than the rest; he fell sick and died, whereby fortune ended the just apprehensions of *Aureng-Zebe*. I say, the just apprehensions; for there was none of those that knew this great man, and the state of the affairs of *Indostan*, who did not say, 'Tis this day that *Aureng-Zebe* is king of *Bengal*. And himself could not forbear to express some such thing; for he publickly said to *Mahmet-Emir-kan*: You have lost your father, and I the greatest and the most dangerous friend I had: Yet notwithstanding he comforted this son, and withal assured him, that he would ever be a father to him. And whereas 'twas thought that he would at least cut off his salary, and make inquisition into his treasury, he

confirmed him in his office of *Bakchis*, augmented his pension to a thousand rupies a month, and left him heir of all the estate of his father, although the custom of the country empowered him to seize on all.

The third is concerning *Chab-best-kan*, whom *Aureng-Zebe* made first governor of *Agra*, when he went out to the battle of *Kaajoue* against *Sultan Sujah*; and afterward, governor and general of the army in *Decan*; and at last, after the death of *Emir-Jemla*, governor and general of the army in *Bengal*, together with the charge of *Mir-ul-Omrab* which *Emir-Jemla* had possessed. This *Chab-best-kan* is he, whom in our history we have mentioned as uncle to *Aureng-Zebe*, and one that hath so much contributed to his happiness by his eloquent and skilful pen, as well as by his intrigues and counsels. It would be injurious to his renown also, to be silent of the important enterprize which he undertook presently when he enter'd upon his government; and that the rather, because *Emir-jemla*, whether out of policy, or for another cause, had no mind to tempt him; as also, because the particularities, which I am going to relate, will shew not only the passed and present state of the kingdoms of *Bengal* and *Rakan*, which hitherto hath not been well described to us by any; but also some other things that are worth knowing.

To the end therefore that the importance of *Chab-best-kan's* attempt may be well understood, and a good idea be had of what passeth about the gulf of *Bengal*; we are to know, that these many years there have always been in the kingdom of *Rakan* or *Moy*, some *Portugueze*, and with them a great number of their christian slaves, and other *Franguis*, gathered from all parts. That was the refuge of the run-aways from *Goa*, *Ceilan*, *Cochin*, *Malague*, and all those other places which the *Portugueze* formerly held in the *Indies*; and they were such as had abandoned monasteries, men that had been twice or thrice married, murderers: In a word, such as had deserved the rope, were most welcome and most esteemed there, leading in that country a life that was very detestable, and altogether unworthy of christians, insomuch that they impunely butchered and poisoned one another, and assassinated their own priests, who sometimes were not better than themselves. The king of *Rakan*, in the apprehension he hath ever had of the *Mogol*, kept them for a guard of his frontiers, in a port-town called *Chategon*, giving them land, and liberty to live as they pleased. Their ordinary trade was robbery and piracy. With some small and light gallies they did nothing but coast about that sea, and entering into all rivers thereabout, and into the channels

How embarrassed.

Retreats.

Dies.

Aureng-Zebe's behaviour to his son.

The residence of the *Portugueze* runagado's.

Their employment.

channels and arms of *Ganges*, and between all those isles of the lower *Bengal*, and often penetrating even so far as forty or fifty leagues up into the country, surprized and carried away whole towns, assemblies, markets, feasts and weddings of the poor *Gentiles*, and others of that country, making women slaves, great and small, with strange cruelty; and burning all they could not carry away. And thence it is, that at present there are seen in the mouth of *Ganges* so many fine isles quite deserted, which were formerly well peopled, and where no other inhabitants are found but wild beasts, and especially tygers.

This great number of slaves, which thus they took from all quarters, behold what use they made of. They had boldness and impudence enough, to come and sell to that very country the old people, which they knew not what to do with; where it so fell out, that those who had escaped the danger by flight, and by hiding themselves in the woods, laboured to redeem to-day their fathers and mothers, that had been taken yesterday. The rest they kept for their service, to make rowers of them, and such christians as they were themselves, bringing them up to robbing and killing; or else they sold them to the *Portuguese* of *Goa*, *Ceilan*, *St. Thomas*, and others; and even to those that were remaining in *Bengal* at *Ogouli*, who were come thither to settle themselves there by the favour of *Jehan-Guyre*, the grandfather of *Aureng-Zebe*, who suffered them there upon the account of traffic, and of his having no aversion to christians, as also because they promised him to keep the bay of *Bengal* clear from all pirates. And it was towards the isles of *Galles*, near the cape of *Palmes*, where this fine trade was. These pirates lay there in wait at the passage for the *Portuguese*, who filled their ships with them at a very easy rate; this infamous rabble impudently bragging, that they made more christians in one year, than all the missionaries in the *Indies* in ten; which would be a strange way of enlarging christianity.

These were the pirates that made *Chab-Jehan*, who was a more zealous *Mahometan* than his father *Jehan-Guyre*, to express at last his passion, not only against the reverend fathers the *Jesuits*, missionaries of *Agra*, in that he caused to be pulled down the best part of a very fair and large church that had been built, as well as that of *Labor*, by the favour of *Jehan-Guyre*, who, as I said, did not hate christianity; and upon which there stood a great steeple with a great bell in it, whose sound might be heard all over the town; not only, I say, against those *Jesuits*, but

also against the christians of *Ogouli*: For being impatient to see them connive at the pirates, to make the name of the *Franguis* formidable, and to fill their houses with slaves that were his own subjects, he wasted and utterly ruined them, after he had both with fair words and menaces drawn from them as much money as he could: And because they were indiscreetly obstinate, in refusing what he demanded of them, he besieged them, and caused them all to be brought to *Agra*, even their very children, their priests and friars. This was a misery and a desolation not to be paralleled; a kind of *Babylonian* transmigration. There they were all made slaves: The handsome women were shut up in the *seraglio*; the old women and others, were distributed among divers *Omrahs*. The young lads were circumcised, and made pages; and men of age renounced for the most part their faith, either terrified by the threatnings they heard daily, that they should be trampled upon by elephants, or drawn away by fair promises. 'Tis true, that there were some of those friars, who persisted, and that the missionaries of *Agra*, who, notwithstanding all this unhappiness, remained in their houses, found means afterwards, partly by friends, partly by money, to get many of them away, and to have them conveyed to *Goa*, and to other places belonging to the *Portuguese*.

They were also the same pirates, who some time after the desolation of *Ogouli*, offered to the vice-roy of *Goa* to put the whole kingdom of *Rakan* into their hands for the king of *Portugal*; but he refused, they say, this offer, out of arrogance and jealousy, and would not send the succours, which for that end was demanded of him by a certain *Bastian Consalve*, who had made himself head of those people, and was become so potent and considerable, that he married one of the king's daughters; being unwilling that it should be said, that a man of so mean extraction as this *Bastian* was, had done such a masterpiece. But it may be said on this occasion, that this is not much to be wondered at, considering that the *Portuguese* in the *Indies* by such a conduct have divers times been faulty on the like occasions, in *Japan*, in *Pegu*, in *Ethiopia*, and other places; not to mention, that by this way, and that perhaps by a just divine chastisement (as they all frankly confess themselves) they are become a prey to their enemies, and fallen so low in the *Indies*, that I know not whether they will ever recover there; whereas formerly, before they were corrupted by vice, and degenerated through pleasure, they made all

others tremble in those parts; forasmuch as then they were brave and generous men, zealous for the christian religion, considerable for gallant exploits and for riches; all the *Indian* kings seeking their friendship.

Besides this, the same pyrates seized at that time on the isle of *Sondiva*, an advantageous post to command a part of the mouth of *Ganges*: In which isle a certain *Augustin* friar, a very famous man, acted the king for many years, having taken a course, God knows how, to rid himself of the commander of that place.

Moreover, the same robbers took *Sultan Sujab* at *Daka*, to carry him away to their galeasses to *Rakan*, as we related above, and found means to open his coffers, and to rob him of good store of jewels, which afterwards were secretly, and at a very cheap rate sold at *Rakan*, most of them being fallen into the hands of people that had no skill in them, and afterwards into the hands of the *Hollanders*, and others, who knew how to buy them up quickly, making those fellows believe, that they were soft diamonds, and that they would pay them according to the degrees of their hardness.

Lastly, they are they that for many years have given exercise to the *Great Mogol* in *Bengal*; having obliged him there to keep always garisons every where upon the passes, and a great militia, and a fleet also of galeasses to oppose their courses, and who, notwithstanding all this, have made shift to make strange devastations, and often to enter far into the country, and to laugh at all the soldiery of the *Mogols*; in regard they were become so bold, and so dextrous at their weapons, and so skilful in piloting their galeasses, that four or five of them stuck not to set upon fourteen or fifteen *Mogolians*, which they also actually worsted, and took, or run a-ground. And upon these pirates *Chab-best-kan* cast his eyes as soon as he came into *Bengal*, taking a resolution to deliver the country of this plague of people, that had so long wasted it; and designing afterwards to pass on, and to attack the king of *Rakan*, according to the order of *Aureng-Zebe*, who at any price had a mind to revenge the blood of *Sultan Sujab*, and all his family, that had been so cruelly handled, and to teach that barbarian, how the blood royal was to be regarded and esteemed on any occasion whatsoever. Behold now with what dexterity *Chab-best-kan* carrieth on his design!

Knowing that 'tis impossible to pass any cavalry by land, no not so much as any infantry, from *Bengal* into *Rakan*, because of the many channels and rivers upon the

frontiers; and also that on the other side, those pirates of *Chatigon*, whom we just now were speaking of, would be powerful enough to hinder him from transporting them by sea; he thought upon this experiment, viz. to engage the *Hollanders* in his design. He therefore sent a kind of ambassador to *Batavia*, empowering him to treat upon certain conditions, with the general of that company, jointly to subdue the whole kingdom of *Rakan*; as formerly *Chab-Abbas* subdued that of *Ormuz*, in conjunction with the *English*. The general of *Batavia* seeing the thing to be possible, and that it was a means more and more to break the *Portugueze* in the *Indies*, and that it would turn to a very good account to the company, dispatcht away two men of war for *Bengal*, to favour the transportation of the *Mogolian* troops in spite of those pirates. But observe what *Chab-best-kan* did before these men of war arrived: He equipped a great number of galeasses, and many large vessels to transport the army; threatned the pirates, utterly to spoil and ruin them; acquainted them with the design of *Aureng-Zebe* upon *Rakan*; that a potent army of the *Dutch* was near; that they should think on themselves and their families, if they were wise; and in a word, if they would abandon the service of the king of *Rakan* and take that of *Aureng-Zebe*, he would procure very good conditions for them, distribute a-Transport mongst them as much land in *Bengal* as felves to they desired, and pay them the double of *Bengal*. what they had now.

'Tis doubtful, whether these menaces and promises made impression upon them, or whether it was not an accident that moved them; they having about that time assassinated one of the chief officers of the king of *Rakan*, and apprehending a punishment for that crime: However it be, they were caught, and they were one day struck with such a panic terror, that they shipped themselves all at once in forty or fifty of their galeasses, and waisted over to *Bengal* to *Chab-best-kan*, and that with so much precipitation, that they hardly took time to embark their wives and children, and what else was most precious to them. *Chab-best-kan* received them with open arms, courted them exceedingly, gave them very considerable pay, and without letting them cool, made them, jointly with his whole army, to attack and take the isle of *Sondiva*, which was fallen into the hands of the king of *Rakan*; and thence to pass with all his horse and foot to *Chatigon*. About this time the two *Holland* vessels arrived; but *Chab-best-kan*, who thought that henceforth it would be easy for him to compass his design, thanked them. I saw

saw these ships in *Bengal*, and their commanders, who were but little contented with such thanks and liberalities of *Chab-hest-kan*. As to the pirates, since now he holds them fast, and hopeless of ever returning to *Chatigon*, and hath no more need of them, he makes nothing of all those large promises he made them, and treats them not as he should, but as they deserve, leaving them whole months without pay, and not looking upon them otherwise than traitors and infamous men, unfit to be trusted, after they have so vilely deserted him, whose salt they had eaten so many years. After this manner did *Chab-hest-kan* put an end to this rabble, which, as I said, have ruined and despoiled all the lower *Bengal*. Time will shew whether he will be as happy in the remainder of his enterprize against the king of *Rakan*.

The fourth particular is concerning the two sons of *Aureng-Zebe*, viz. *Sultan Mahmud*, and *Sultan Mazum*. He still keeps the first of them in *Goualeor*, but (if one may believe the common report) without making him take the *Pouft*, which is the ordinary drink of those that are put into that place. As to the other, though he hath always been a pattern of reservedness and moderation, yet one knows not whether he was not too forward in making a party, when his father was so extremely sick; or whether *Aureng-Zebe* has not upon other occasions perceived something that might give him cause of jealousy; or whether he had not a mind to make an authentic proof of both his obedience and courage. However it be, one day he commanded him in an unconcerned manner, in a full assembly of the *Omrabs*, to go and kill a lion, that was come down the mountains, and had made great havock and waste in the country; and this he did without giving order to furnish him with those strong and large nets, which they are wont to employ in this dangerous kind of hunting in a real mood; telling the great hunting-master, who presently called for those nets, that when he was prince, he did not look for such formalities. It was the good fortune of *Sultan Mazum*, that he prospered in this attempt, not losing any more than two or three men, and some horses that were wounded, although, on the other hand, the matter went not off so pleasantly, the wounded lion having leaped up to the head of the *Sultan's* elephant. Since that time *Aureng-Zebe* hath not been backward to express much affection to him; he hath given him even the government of *Decan*, though with so little power and treasure,

that there is no great cause to apprehend any thing upon that account.

The fifth thing toucheth *Mohabet-Kan*, the governor of *Kabul*, whom *Aureng-Zebe* took from this government, and generously pardoned; not willing, as he said, to lose so brave a captain, and that had stuck so close to his benefactor *Chab-Jehan*. He made him even governor of *Guzerate*, in the place of *Jessomseigne*, whom he sent to make war in *Decan*. It may very well be, that some considerable presents he made to *Rauchbenara-Begum*, and a good number of excellent *Persian* horse and camels, wherewith he presented *Aureng-Zebe*, together with fifteen or sixteen thousand rupies of gold, did contribute to make his peace.

On this occasion of mentioning the government of *Kaboul*, which borders on the kingdom of *Kandabar*, which is now in the hands of the *Persians*, I shall here briefly add some particulars, that serve to this history, and will still more discover that country, and declare the interests between *Indostan* and *Persia*, which no-body that I know of, hath explained hitherto.

Kandabar, that strong and important place, which is the capital and the sway-^{Kandabar.} ing city of this noble and rich kingdom of the same name, hath in these latter ages been the subject of grievous wars between the *Mogols* and *Persians*, each of them pretending a right thereto. *Ekbar*, that great king of the *Indies*, took it by force from the *Persians*, and kept it during his life. And *Chab-Abbas*, that famous king of *Persia*, retook it from *Jehan-Guyre*, the son of *Ekbar*. Afterwards it returned to *Chab-Jehan*, son of *Jehan Guyre*, not by the sword, but by the means of the governor *Aly-Merdan-kan*, who surrendered it to him, and went over to live at his court, apprehending the artifices of his enemies, who had brought him into disfavour with the king of *Persia*, that sent for him to make him give an account, and to deliver up his government. The same city was besieged, and retaken afterwards by the son of *Chab-Abbas*, and since that besieged twice again, yet without being taken by *Chab-Jehan*. The first time it was saved from being taken by the ill understanding and jealousy between the *Persian Omrabs*, that are pensioners of the *Great Mogol*, and the most powerful of his court, as also by the respect they bear to their natural king: For they all behaved themselves very effeminately in the siege, and would not follow the *Raja Roup*, who had already planted his standards upon the wall on the side of the mountain. The second time it was saved by

How treated there.

Aureng-Zebe's behaviour to his sons.

by the jealousy of *Aureng-Zebe*, who would not fall into the breach of the wall, that our *Franguis*, the *English*, *Portugueze*, *Germans*, and *French* had made by their cannon, though it was a large one; being unwilling to have it said, that in the time of *Dara*, who was in a manner the first mover of that enterprize, and was then in the city of *Caboul*, with his father *Chab-Jeban*, the fortress of *Kandabar* was taken. *Chab-Jeban*, some years before the late trouble, was also ready to besiege it the third time, had not *Emir-Jemla* diverted him from it, advising him to turn his forces towards *Decan*, (as hath been said;) with whom *Aly-Merdan-kan* himself concurred who was so earnest in his dissuading him from it, as to say to him these words, which I shall punctually relate, as having something extravagant in them:

Your majesty will never take Kandahar, unless you had such a traitor there as myself; except you were resolved never to bring a Persian into it, and to make the bazars or markets wholly free, that is, to lay no impost on those that furnish the army with provision.

At length, *Aureng-Zebe*, like the others, had prepared himself in these latter years to besiege it also; whether it was that he was offended at the tart letters, written to him by the king of *Persia*, or by reason of the affronts and ill treatment which he had offered to *Tabiet-kan* his ambassador; that hearing of the king of *Persia's* death, he turned back, saying, (which yet is not very credible) that he would not meddle with a child, a new king, although *Chab-Soliman*, who hath succeeded his father, is, in my opinion, about twenty-five years of age.

How *Aureng-Zebe* rewarded his faithful servants.

The sixth particular we purposed to speak of, concerns those that have faithfully served *Aureng-Zebe*. Those he hath almost all raised to great places. For first, as we have already related, he made *Chab-best-kan*, his uncle, governor and general of the army of *Decan*, and afterwards, governor of *Bengal*. Next he made *Mir-kan* governor of *Kaboul*; then *Kalil-ullah-kan*, of *Labor*; and *Mirbaba* of *Elabas*; and *Lasker-kan*, of *Patna*. The son of that *Allah-Verdi-kan* of *Sultan Sujab* he appointed governor of *Scindy*; and *Fazel-kan*, who had considerably served him both by his counsels and dexterity, he made *Kane-saman*, that is, great steward of the house royal: And *Danechmend-kan*, governor of *Debli*, with this particular grace and privilege, that since he is perpetually employed in studies and foreign affairs, he so dispenseth with him for not coming twice a day (after the ancient custom) to wait on the king in the assembly, as not

to retrench any thing of his pension for his absence, as he doth to the other *Om-rabs*, if they fail. He hath given to *Di-anet-kan* the government of *Kachimer* (alias *Cassimere*) that little, and in a manner inaccessible kingdom, which *Ekbar* seized on by craft, that earthly paradise of the *Indies*; which hath its histories written in its peculiar language; whereof I have an abridgement in the *Persian* tongue, made by the command of *Jeban-Guyre*, containing a large catalogue of many very ancient kings, that often were so powerful, that they subdued the *Indies* as far as *China*.

'Tis true, that *Aureng-Zebe* dismissed *Nejabat-kan*, who did very well in the two battles of *Samonguer* and *Kadjoue*, but then 'tis not fit at all, that a subject should ever reproach his king, as he did, with the services done him.

As to those infamous men, *Gion-kan* and *Nazer*, 'tis known, that the former hath been recompenced as he deserved; but the other no man knows what is become of him.

What concerns *Jessomseigne* and *Jesseigne*, there is something as to them that is intricate, which I shall endeavour to unfold. There is a certain heathen revolted from the king of *Visapour*, who knew how to possess himself of many important fortresses, and of some sea-ports of that king. His name is *Seva-Gi*, that is, lord *Seva*. He is a stout man, valiant, bold, and undertaking in the highest degree, who gave *Chab-best-kan* more work and trouble in *Decan*, than the king of *Visapour* with all his forces, and all his *Raja's* joined with him for their common defence: Infomuch that having designed to take away *Chab-best-kan* and his treasures out of the midst of his army and of the town of *Aureng-Abad*, he carried on his design so far, that he had effected it, if he had not been discovered a little too soon; for one night, accompanied with a number of resolute fellows he hath about him, he was got into the very apartment of *Chab-best-kan*, where his son, who was forward in the defence, was killed, and himself grievously wounded; *Seva-Gi* in the mean time getting away as well as he came: Who for all this was so far from being daunted, that he undertook another very bold and very dangerous enterprize, which succeeded much better. He took two or three thousand chosen men of his army, with whom he took the field without noise, spreading a report by the way, that it was a *Raja* going to the court. When he was near *Suratte*, that famous and rich port of the *Indies*, instead of marching further (as he made the great provost of that

that country, whom he met, believe) he fell into that town, where he staid about three days, cutting off the arms and legs of the inhabitants, to make them confess where were the treasures; searching, digging, and loading away, or burning what he could not carry with him. Which done, he returned, none opposing his return, loaden with millions of gold, silver, pearls, silken stuffs, fine linnen, and other rich merchandise. *Jessomseigne* was suspected to have had since intelligence with this *Seva-Gi*, which was the cause that *Aureng-Zebe* called him away from *Decan*; but he, instead of going to *Debli*, went to his own territory.

I forgot to mention, that in the plunder of *Surat*, that ring-leader *Seva-Gi*, like a faint; had so much respect to the house of the reverend father *Ambrose*, a missionary *Capuchin*, that he gave order it should not be plundered; because, said he, I know that the fathers *Franguis* are good men. He had also regard to the house of the deceased *de Lale*, because he understood that he had been great almoner. He also considered the houses of the *English* and *Dutch*, not from devotion, as he did the former, but because they were in a good posture of defence; especially the *English*, who having had time to send for assistance from some of their ships that lay near the town, behaved themselves gallantly, and saved, besides their own, several other houses near them. But a certain *Jew* of *Constantinople*, who had brought rubies of a very great value, to sell them to *Aureng-Zebe*, carried away the bell from all, by saving himself from the hands of *Seva-Gi*; for, rather than to confess that he had any jewels, he was brought thrice upon his knees, and the knife held up to cut his throat: But it became none save a *Jew*, hardened in avarice, to escape in such a manner.

Touching *Jesseigne*, king *Aureng-Zebe* made him content to go general of the army in *Decan*, sending *Sultan-Mazum* with him, without any power. He presently and vigorously besieged the principal fortress of *Seva-Gi*, and knowing more than all the rest in matter of negotiation and treaty, he so ordered the business, that *Seva-Gi* surrendered before it came to extremity; and then he drew him to *Aureng-Zebe's* party against *Visapour*, king *Aureng-Zebe* declaring him a *Raja*, taking him under his protection, and giving the pension of a very considerable *Omrab* to his son. Some time after, *Aureng-Zebe* designing to make war against *Persia*, wrote to *Seva-Gi* such obliging letters touching his generosity, ability and conduct, that he made him resolve, upon the faith of *Jesseigne*, to come to him to *Debli*. There a kinswoman of

Aureng-Zebe, the wife of *Chah-best-kan*, (who was then at court) by the influence she had upon the spirit of *Aureng-Zebe*, persuaded him to arrest him that had murdered her son, wounded her husband, and sacked *Surat*: So that one evening *Seva-Gi* saw his pavillions beset with three or four *Omrabs*; but he made shift to get away in the night. This escape made a great noise at court, every one accusing the eldest son of the *Raja Jesseigne* to have assisted him in it. *Jesseigne*, who presently had news that *Aureng-Zebe* was very angry with him and his son, and was advised no more to go to the court, was day and night upon his guard, apprehending lest *Aureng-Zebe* should take this for a pretence to fall upon his lands, and possess himself of them. Whereupon he also soon left *Decan* to secure his estate; but when he was at *Bram-pour*, he died. Yet notwithstanding *Aureng-Zebe* was so far from expressing any coldness or resentment to the son of *Jesseigne*, that he sent to condole with him for the death of his father, and continued to him his pension; which confirms what many say, that it was by the consent of *Aureng-Zebe* himself, that *Seva-Gi* escaped, for as much as he could retain him no longer at court, because all the women there had too great a spleen against him, and looked upon him as a man that had embroiled his hands in the blood of his kinsmen.

But to return to *Decan*, we are to consider, that that is a kingdom which these forty years hath constantly been the theatre of war, and upon the score whereof the *Mogol* hath much to do with the kings of *Golkonda*, and of *Visapour*, and divers little sovereigns; which is not to be understood, unless it be known, what considerable things have passed in those parts, and the condition of the princes that govern them.

All this great peninsula of *Indostan*, cutting it from the bay of *Cambaja* unto that of *Bengal*, near *Jaganrate*, and passing thence to cape *Comori*, was scarce two hundred years since entirely (some mountainous parts excepted) under the dominion of one only prince, who consequently was a very great and very potent monarch: But now it is divided among many different sovereigns, that are also of different religions. The cause of this division was, that the king *Ramras*, the last of those that have possessed this mighty state entirely, did imprudently raise three slaves, *Gurgis*, he had about him too high, so as to make them all three governors of places: The first, of the greatest part of those countries, which at present are possessed by the *Mogol* in *Decan*, about *Daulet-Abad*, from *Bider*, *Paranda*, *Surat*, unto *Narbadar*: The second, of all the other lands, now comprehended under

Decan.

Indostan.

Why divided.

under the kingdom of *Visapour*: And the third, of all that is contained under the kingdom of *Golkonda*. These three slaves grew very rich, and found themselves supported by a good number of the *Mogols*, that were in the service of *Ramras*, because they were all three *Mahometans*, of the sect *Chyas*, like the *Persians*. And at length they all revolted together with one accord, killed king *Ramras*, and returned to their government, each taking upon him the title of *Chab* or king. The issue of *Ramras*, not finding themselves strong enough for them, were content to keep themselves in a corner, viz. in that country which is commonly called *Karnatek*, in our Maps, *Bisnaguer*, where they are still *Rajas* to this very day. All the rest of the state was also at the same time divided into all those *Rajas*, *Naiques*, and petty kings such as we see there. These three slaves and their posterity have always defended themselves very well in their kingdoms, whilst they kept a good mutual correspondence, and assisted one another in their grievous wars against the *Mogols*. But when they once came to think every one to defend their lands apart, they soon found the effects of their division. For the *Mogol* so well knew to take his time on that occasion (which is now about thirty five or forty years since) that he possessed himself within a little time of all the country of *Nejam-Chab*, or king *Nejam*, the fifth or sixth of the family of the first slave, and at last took him prisoner in *Daulet-Abad*, the capital, where he died.

After that time, the kings of *Golkonda* have maintained themselves well enough; not as if they could compare with the power of the *Mogol*, but because the *Mogol* hath always been employed against the two others; from whom he was to take *Amber*, *Paranda*, *Bider*, and some other places, before he could conveniently march towards *Golkonda*: And because they have always been so politick, being very opulent, as to furnish under hand the king of *Visapour* with money, and thereby to help him to maintain a war against the *Mogol*. Besides that, they ever have a considerable army on foot, which is always ready, and never fails to take the field, and to approach to the frontiers, at the time when there is news that that of the *Mogol* marches against *Visapour*; to let the *Mogol* see, not only that they are always ready to defend themselves, but also that they could easily assist the king of *Visapour*, in case he should be reduced to any extremity. Next, which is very considerable, they know also how to convey money under hand to the chieftains of the *Mogolian* army; who thereupon advise the court, that it is more to purpose

to attack *Visapour*, as being nearer to *Daulet-Abad*. Further, they send every year very considerable presents to the great *Mogol*, by way of tribute; which consist partly in some rare manufactures of the country; partly in elephants, which they send for from *Pegu*, *Siam*, and *Ceilan*, partly in fair ready money. Lastly, the *Mogol* considers that kingdom as his own, not only because he looks upon the king thereof as his tributary, but chiefly since that agreement heretofore spoken of, which the present king made with *Aureng-Zebe*, when he besieged *Golkonda*; and there being also no place able to resist, even from *Daulet-Abad* unto *Golkonda*, he judgeth, that when he shall think fit to push for it, he may take in the whole kingdom in one campaign; which in my opinion, he would certainly have done, if he did not apprehend, lest sending his forces towards *Golkonda*, the king of *Visapour* should enter into *Decan*; as, no doubt, he would do, knowing it to be very important to his conservation, that that kingdom may always subsist as now it is.

From all which, something may be understood of the interests and government of the king of *Golkonda* with the *Mogol*, and what way he taketh to support himself against him. Yet notwithstanding all this, I find this state much shaken, in regard that the king that now is, since that unhappy affair of *Aureng-Zebe* and *Emir-Jemla*, seems to have lost heart, and as it were abandoned the reins of the kingdom, not daring any more to go forth of this fortress of *Golkonda*, nor so much as appear in publick to give audience to his people, and to render justice according to the custom of the country: Which discomposeth things very much, and occasions the grandees to tyrannize over the meaner sort of people, and to lose even their respect to the king, often slighting his commands, and considering him no more than a woman; and the people, weary of the injustice and ill treatment, breathing after nothing but *Aureng-Zebe*. 'Tis easy to judge of the straits this poor king is in, by four or five particulars I am about to relate.

The first, that *An. 1667*. when I was at *Golkonda*, king *Aureng-Zebe* having sent an ambassador extraordinary to declare war to that king, unless he would furnish him with 10,000 horse against *Visapour*, he did extraordinary honour, and give excessive presents to that ambassador, as well for him in particular, as for *Aureng-Zebe*, and made an agreement with him, to send him, not 10,000 horse, but as much money as is necessary to maintain so many; which was all that *Aureng-Zebe* looked for.

The

The second is, that *Aureng-Zebe's* ambassador in ordinary that is constantly at *Golkonda*, commands, threatens, striketh, gives pass-ports, and saith and doth whatsoever he will, no man daring with the least word to cross him.

The third is, that *Mahmet-Emir-kan*, the son of *Emir-Jemla*, though he be no more than a simple *Omrab* of *Aureng-Zebe*, is yet so much respected through that whole kingdom, and especially in *Maslipatan*, that the *Taptata*, his commissioner, is as it were master thereof, buying and selling, bringing in and sending abroad his merchant ships, no body daring to contradict him in any thing, nor to demand any customs. So great was once the power of *Emir-Jemla* his father in this kingdom, which time hath not yet been able to root out.

The fourth is, that the *Hollanders* scruple not to threaten him sometimes, to lay an embargo upon all the merchant ships of the country that are in that port, and not to let them go out, until their demands be granted; as also to put in protestations against him; which I have seen actually done, upon the account of an *English* vessel, which they had a mind to take by force in the port of *Maslipatan* itself, the governor having hinder'd it, by arming the whole town against them, and threatening to put fire to their factory, and to put them all to death.

A fifth is, that the *Portugueze*, as poor and miserable and decayed as they are in the *Indies*, yet stick not to threaten that king also with war; and that they will come and sack *Maslipatan*, and all that coast, if he will not render them that place of *St. Thomas*, which some years ago they chose to put into his hands, rather than to be constrained to yield it up to the *Dutch*.

Yet for all this, I have been informed in *Golkonda*, by very intelligent persons, that this king is a prince of very great judgment, and that whatever he so does and suffers, is only in policy, to the end to provoke no body, and principally to remove all suspicion from *Aureng-Zebe*, and to give him to understand, that he hath in a manner no share any more in the kingdom: But that in the mean time a son of his, that is kept hid, grows up, the father watching for a fit time to declare him king, and so to laugh at the agreement made with *Aureng-Zebe*. Of this, time will shew us more; in the mean time, let us consider somewhat of the interests of *Visapour*.

Visapour. The kingdom of *Visapour* hath also not been wanting to support itself, though the *Mogol* do almost continually make war against it; not so much as if he of *Visapour* were able to bid head to the *Mogolian*

forces, but because there is never any great effort used against him. For it is not very frequent there, no more than 'tis elsewhere, for generals of armies to desire the end of a war; there being nothing so charming, as to be in the head of an army, commanding like little kings, remote from the court. It is also grown to a proverb, that *Decan* is the bread and life of the soldiers of *Indostan*. Besides, the country of *Visapour* is on the side of the *Mogol's* dominions of a very difficult access, upon the account of the scarcity of good waters, forage, and victuals; and because *Visapour*, the capital city, is very strong, and situate in a dry and sterile country, there being almost no good water but in the town. And lastly, because there are many fortresses in that country, seated on hills hard to climb.

Yet notwithstanding all this, that state is much shaken, if considering that the *Mogol* hath taken *Paranda*, the key, as it were, of that kingdom, as also that fair and strong town *Bider*, and some other very important places: But principally because the last king of *Visapour* died without heirs males; and he that now calls himself king is a youth, whom the queen, sister of the king of *Golkonda*, hath raised, and taken for her son, (a favour for which he hath made an ill return, having shew'd no esteem for this queen after her return from *Mecca*, under the pretext of some ill demeanour in her on a *Dutch* vessel that carried her to *Moka*;) Lastly, because that in the disorders of that kingdom, the heathen rebel, *Seva-Gi*, above discoursed of, found means to seize on many strong holds, mostly seated on steep mountains, where he now acteth the king, laughing at the *Visapour* and the *Mogol*, and ravaging the country every where, from *Surat* even to the gates of *Goa*. This notwithstanding, if he wrongs *Visapour* one way, he helps to support it another, forasmuch as he is resolutely bent against the *Mogol*, preparing always some ambush, and cutting so much work for his army, that there is no discourse, no apprehension but of *Seva-Gi*; insomuch that he hath come and sacked *Surat*, and pillaged the isle of *Burdes*, which belongs to the *Portugueze*, and is near the gates of *Goa*.

The seventh particular, which I learned at *Golkonda*, when I was come away from *Dehli*, is the death of *Chab-Jehan*; and that *Aureng-Zebe* had been exceedingly affected therewith, having discovered all the marks of grief, that a son can express for the loss of his father: That at the very hour of receiving that news, he went towards *Agra*; that *Begum-Sahab* caused the Mosque, and a certain place, where he was at first to stop before he enter'd the fort-

The death
of Chab-
Jehan.

treſs, to be hung with richly-embroidered tapifferies! That at his entering into the *Seraglio*, ſhe preſented him with a great golden baſon, wherein were all her jewels, and all thoſe of *Chab-Jehan*; and in ſhort, that ſhe knew to receive him with ſo much magnificence, and to entertain him with that dexterity and craft, that ſhe obtained his pardon, gained his favour, and grew very confident with him.

To conclude, I doubt not but moſt of thoſe, who ſhall have read my hiſtory, will judge the ways taken by *Aureng-Zebe*, for getting the empire, very violent and horrid. I pretend not at all to plead for him, but deſire only, that before he be altogether condemned, reflexion be made on that unhappy cuſtom of this ſtate, which leaving the ſucceſſion of the crown undecided, for

want of good laws ſettling it, as amongſt us, upon the eldeſt ſon, expoſeth it to the conqueſt of the ſtrongeſt, and the moſt fortunate, ſubjecting at the ſame time all the princes born in the royal family, by the condition of their birth, to the cruel neceſſity either to overcome, or to reign, by deſtroying all the reſt, for the aſſurance of their power and life, or to periſh themſelves, for the ſecurity of that of others: For I am apt to believe, that upon this conſideration the reader will not find *Aureng-Zebe*'s conduct ſo ſtrange as at firſt it appeared. However I am perſuaded, that thoſe who ſhall a little weigh this whole hiſtory, will not take *Aureng-Zebe* for a barbarian, but for a great and rare genius, a great ſtateſman, and a great king.

A Letter to the Lord COLBERT, of the extent of Indoftan; the circulation of gold and ſilver, coming at length to be ſwallowed up there, as in an abyſs; the riches, forces, juſtice, and the principal cauſe of the decay of the ſtates of Aſia.

My Lord,

SINCE it is the cuſtom of *Aſia*, never to approach great perſons with empty hands, when I had the honour to kiſs the veſt of the great *Mogol*, *Aureng-Zebe*, I preſented him with eight *Roupies* * as an expreſſion of reſpect; and the illuſtrious *Fazel-Kan*, the prime miniſter of ſtate, and he that was to eſtabliſh my penſion as phyſician, with a caſe of knives garniſh'd with amber. *My Lord*, though I intend not to introduce new cuſtoms in *France*, yet I cannot forget this upon my return from thoſe parts; being perſuaded, that I ought not to appear before the *King*, for whom I have a far deeper veneration than for *Aureng-Zebe*, nor before *You*, *My Lord*, for whom I have a much higher eſteem than for *Fazel-Kan*, without ſome little preſent to both, which is rare, at leaſt for its novelty, though it be not ſo upon the account of the preſenting hand. The revolution of *Indoſtan*, by reaſon of its extraordinary occurrences and events, hath to me ſeemed worthy of the greatneſs of our monarch, and this diſcourſe, for the quality of the matters therein contained, ſuitable to the rank you hold in his councils; to that conduct, which at my return appeared to me

ſo admirable in the order, which I found ſettled in ſo many things, that I thought incapable of it; and to the paſſion you entertain to make it known to the ends of the earth, what a monarch we have, and that the *French* are fit to undertake, and with honour to atchieve, whatſoever you ſhall have deſigned for their honour and advantage.

'Tis in the *Indies*, my lord, (whence I am lately returned after twelve years abſence) where I learned the felicity of *France*, and how much this kingdom is obliged to your cares; and where your name is ſo diffuſed, and ſo well known. This was a fair theme for me to enlarge upon; but my deſign being no other than to diſcourſe of things new, I muſt forbear to ſpeak of thoſe that are already ſo notorious to all the world. I ſhall doubtleſs pleaſe you better, by endeavouring to give you ſome idea of the ſtate of the *Indies*, which I have engaged myſelf to give you an account of.

My lord, you may have ſeen before this, by the maps of *Aſia*, how great every way is the extent of the empire of the *Great Mogol*, which is commonly called
India

* A Roupie is about half a crown.

The dimensions
of *Indo-*
stan.

India or *Indostan*. I have not measured it mathematically; but to speak of it according to the ordinary journeys of the country, after the rate of three whole months march, traversing from the frontiers of the kingdom of *Golkonda*, as far as beyond *Kazni* near *Kandabar*, which is the first town of *Persia*, I cannot persuade myself otherwise, but that it is at least five times as far as from *Paris* to *Lyons*, that is, about five hundred common leagues.

Soil.

Next, you may please to take notice, that of that vast extent of land, there are large countries that are very fertile, and some of them to that degree (for example, that whole great kingdom of *Bengal*) that they exceed those of *Egypt*, not only upon the account of the abundance of rice, corn, and all other things necessary for life, but also upon the score of all those commodities so considerable, which *Egypt* is destitute of, as silks, cottons, indigo, and so many others sufficiently related by authors.

Product.

Moreover, that of these same countries there are many that are well enough peopled and cultivated, and where tradesmen, though naturally very lazy there, are not wanting, either from necessity or other causes, to apply themselves to work, as to tapistries, embroideries, cloth of gold and silver, and to all those kinds of silk and cotton manufactures, that are used in the country, or transported to other parts.

How peo-
pled.

You may further observe, how that gold and silver circulating as it were upon the earth, comes at last to be swallowed up in this *Indostan*. For of that which comes out of *America*, and is dispersed through the several kingdoms of our *Europe*, we know, that one part is carried into *Turkey* many ways, for the commodities drawn thence; and that another part is conveyed into *Persia*, by the way of *Smyrna*, for the silks afforded there: That all *Turkey* generally needs coffee, which comes out of *Hyeman* or *Happy Arabia*, and is the common drink of the *Turks*: That the same *Turkey* as well as *Hyeman* and *Persia* cannot be without the commodities of *India*; and that thus all those countries are obliged to carry *Moka* over the *Red Sea*, near *Babelmandel*; and to *Bassora* the utmost part of the *Persian Gulf*; and to *Bandar-Abbasi*, or *Gomoron* near to *Ormus*, a part of that gold and silver, that had been brought into their country, to be thence transported into *Indostan*, in vessels that yearly, in the season of the *Monsons*, come purposely to those three famous parts: That on the other hand, all those ships of *India*, whether they be *Indian* ones, or *Dutch*, or *English*, or *Portuguese*, that every year transport merchandise out of *Indostan* to *Pegu*, *Tanasserri*, *Siam*, *Ceilan*, *A-*

chem, *Macasser*, the *Maldives*, *Mosambic*, and other places, bring back also much gold and silver from all those countries, which meets with the same destiny, that the other doth: That of that quantity of gold and silver which the *Hollanders* draw from *Japan*, (which is stored with mines) a part also comes to be at length discharged in this *Indostan*; and that lastly what is carried thither directly by sea, whether from *Portugal*, *England* or *France*, seldom comes back from thence but in merchandise, the rest remaining there, as the former.

I very well know, that it may be said, that this *Indostan* needs copper, cloves, nutmegs, cinamon, elephants, and sundry other things, which the *Hollanders* carry thither from *Japan*, the *Molucques*, *Ceilan* and *Europe*; as also that it hath occasion for lead, which in part it is furnished with out of *England*; likewise for scarlet, which it hath from *France*; moreover, that it stands in need of a good number of horses, it being certain, that from the side of *Ussac* it receives yearly more than 2500. That out of *Persia* also it is furnished with abundance of the same; as also out of *Ethiopia*, *Arabia*, the ports of *Moka*, *Bassora*, and *Bander-abbassy*: Besides that it needs that store of fresh fruit, which comes thither from *Samarkand*, *Ball-bocara* and *Persia*, as melons, apples, pears and grapes, that are spent at *Debli*, and bought at great rates, almost all the winter long; as well as dry fruit, which are had there all the year long, and come from the same countries, as almonds, pistaches, nuts, prunes, abricots, raisins, and the like: And that lastly, it wants those little sea-cockles of the *Maldives*, which serve for common coin in *Bengal*, and in some other places; as also amber-grease, carried thither from the said *Maldives* and *Mosambic*, rhinocero's horns, elephant's teeth, musk, *China* dishes, pearls of *Baharen*, and *Tutucoury* near *Ceilan*; and I know not of how many other things of this kind.

But all this makes not the gold and silver to go out of that empire, because the merchants at their return freight their ships with the commodities of the country, finding a better account by so doing, than if they should bring back money; so that that hinders not, but that *Indostan* proves, as we have said, a kind of abyss for a great part of the gold and silver of the world, which finds many ways to enter there, and almost none to issue thence.

In a word, you may take notice, that this *Great Mogol* makes himself heir of the *Omrahs* or lords, and of the *Mansebdars*, or petty lords, that are in his pay; and (which is of very great consequence) that all the lands of that empire are his property,

priety, excepting some houses and gardens, which he giveth leave to his subjects to sell, divide, or buy amongst them, as they shall think fit.

These are the things, which sufficiently show, both that there must needs be a very great store of gold and silver in *Indostan*, though there be no mines, and also that the *Great Mogol*, the sovereign of the same, at least of the best part of it, hath immense revenues and riches.

But on the other hand, there are also many things to be observed, which are a poise to these riches. The first, that among those vast tracts of land there is much, which is nothing but sand and steril mountains, little tilled or peopled: That even of those that would be fertil, there is much, that is not used for want of workmen, some of which have perished by the too evil treatment of the governors, who often take from them their necessary livelihood, and sometimes their very children whom they make slaves when they are not able, or are unwilling to pay: Others have abandoned the field for the same reason, and desponding out of the consideration that they laboured only for others, have cast themselves into towns or into armies, to serve there for porters, or waiting men, and many have fled to the lands of the *Rajas*, because there they found less tyranny, and more kindness.

The second is, that in this same extent of country there are sundry nations, which the *Mogol* is not full master of, most of them retaining yet their particular sovereigns and lords, that obey him not, nor pay him tribute but from constraint; many, that do little; some that do nothing at all; and some also, that receive tribute from him, as we shall see anon. Such are those petty sovereigns, that are seated on the frontiers of *Persia*, who almost never pay him any thing, no more than they do to the king of *Persia*: As also the *Balouches* and *Augans*, and other mountaineers, of whom also the greatest part pay him but a small matter, and even care but very little for him: Witness the affront they did him, when they stopped his whole army by cutting off the water, which they kept back within the mountains, when he passed from *Atek* on the river *Indus* to *Caboul*, to lay siege to *Kandabar*; not suffering the water to run down into the fields, where was the high-way, till they had received presents, although they asked them by way of alms. Such also are the *Patans*, a *Mahometan* people, issued from the side of the river *Ganges* towards *Bengal*; who before the invasion of the *Mogols* in *India*, had taken their time to make themselves potent in many places,

and chiefly at *Debli*, and to render many *Rajas* thereabout their tributaries. These *Patans* are fierce and warlike, and even the meanest of them, though they be waiting-men and porters, are still of a very high spirit, being often heard to say by way of swearing; *Let me never be king of Dehli, if it be not so*: A people that despite the *Indians*, heathen, *Mogols*, and mortally hate the last, still remembering what they were formerly, before they were by them driven away from their large principalities, and constrained to retire hither and thither, far from *Debli* and *Agra*, into the mountains, where now they are settled, and where some of them have made themselves petty sovereigns, like *Rajas*, but of small strength.

Such an one also is the king of *Visapour*, who pays to the *Mogol* nothing, and is always in war with him; maintaining himself in his country, partly by his own forces, partly because he is very remote from *Agra* and *Debli*, the ordinary places of residence of the *Great Mogol*; partly also because his capital city *Visapour* is strong and of difficult access to an army, by reason of the ill waters and the want of forage on the way; and partly because many *Rajas* join with him for their common defence, as did the famous *Seva-gi*, who not long since came pillaging and burning that rich sea-port, *Surat*, and who sometimes will pay little or no tribute.

Such is likewise that potent and rich king of *Golkonda*, who under-hand gives money to the king of *Visapour*, and hath always an army ready on the frontiers for his own defence, and for the assistance of *Visapour*, in case he find him too much pressed.

Of the like sort are more than an hundred *Rajas*, or considerable heathen sovereigns, dispersed through the whole empire, some near to, others remote from *Agra* and *Debli*: Amongst whom there are about fifteen or sixteen that are very rich and puissant; such as is *Rana* (who formerly was, as 'twere, emperor of the *Rajas*; and who is said to be of the progeny of king *Porus*;) *Jesseigne* and *Jessomseigne*, which are so great and powerful, that if they three alone should combine, they would hold him tack; each of them being able, in a very short time, to raise and bring into the field twenty-five thousand horse, better troops than the *Mogols*. These cavaliers are called *Ragipouts*, or the children of *Rajas*. They are men, who, as I have elsewhere said, carry swords from father to son, and to whom the *Rajas* allot land, on condition to be always ready to appear on horseback, when the *Raja* commands. They can

can endure much hardship, and they want nothing to make them good soldiers, but good order and discipline.

The third thing to be noted is, that the *Mogol* is a *Mahometan*, not of the sect called *Chias*, who follow *Aly* and his offspring, (such as the *Persians* are, and consequently the greatest part of his court;) but of that, which follows *Osman*, and thence are called *Osmanlys*, such as the *Turks* are. Besides, that he is a stranger, being of the race of *Tamerlane*, who was the head of those *Mogols*, that about the year 1401, over-ran *India*, where they made themselves masters: So that he is in a country almost all hostile; and that the more, because not only for one *Mogol*, but in general, for one *Mahometan*, there are hundreds of *Gentiles* or heathen; which obligeth him, constantly to entertain (for his defence among so many domestic and potent enemies. and against the *Persians* and *Usbecs*, his neighbours) very great armies, whether in time of peace or war, as well about his person as in the field; as well of the people of the country, (*Rajas* and *Patans*,) as chiefly *Mogolians*, or at least esteemed such because they are white, and *Mahometans*; which sufficeth at present; his court being no more now as 'twas at first, consisting altogether of true *Mogols*; but a mixture of all sorts of strangers, *Usbecs*, *Persians*, *Arabians*, and *Turks*, or their children; but with this distinction, that the children of the third or fourth generation, and that have taken the brown colour, and the soft humour of the country, are not so much esteemed as the new-comers; being also seldom raised to public offices; but counting themselves happy, if they may serve as simple horsemen or foot.

Of these armies I am now going to give you some description, that thereby knowing the great expences which the *Grand Mogol* is obliged to be at, you may the better judge of his true riches; let us first take a view of the field militia, he is necessitated to maintain.

The chief thereof are the *Rajas*, such as *Jesseigne*, *Jessomseigne*, and many others, to whom he allows very great pensions to have them always ready with a certain number of *Ragipouts*, esteeming them like *Omrabs*, that is, like other strangers, and *Mahometan* lords; both in the army, that is always about his person, and in those also, that are in the field. These *Rajas* are generally obliged to the same things that the *Omrabs* are, even to the point of keeping guard; yet with this distinction, that they keep not the guard within the fortrefs, as those, but without, under their tents; they not liking to be shut up twen-

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ty-four hours in a fortrefs, nor so much as ever to go thither but well attended with men resolute to be cut in pieces for their service; as hath appeared, when they have been ill dealt withal.

The *Mogol* is obliged to keep these *Rajas* in his service for sundry reasons. The first, because the militia of the *Rajas* is very good (as was said above,) and because there are *Rajas*, (as was intimated also) one of whom can bring into the field above twenty-five thousand men. The second, the better to bridle the other *Rajas*, and to reduce them to reason, when they cantonize, or when they refuse to pay tribute, or when out of fear or other cause they will not go out of their country to the army, when the *Mogol* requireth it. The third, the better to nourish jealousies and keenness amongst them, by favouring and caressing the one more than the other, which is done to that degree, that they proceed to fight with one another very frequently.

The fourth, to employ them against the *Patans*, or against his own *Omrabs* and governors, in case any of them should rise.

The fifth, to employ them against the king of *Golkonda*, when he refuseth to pay his tribute, or when he will defend the king of *Visapour*, or some *Rajas* his neighbours, which the *Mogol* hath a mind to rife, or to make his tributaries; the *Mogol* in those cases not daring to trust his *Omrabs* overmuch, who most are *Persians*, and not of the same religion with him, but *Chias*, like the kings of *Persia* and *Golkonda*.

The sixth, and the most considerable of all, is, to employ them against the *Persians* upon occasion; not daring then also to confide in his *Omrabs*, who for the greatest part, as was just now said, are *Persians*, and consequently have no stomach to fight against their natural king; and the less, because they believe him to be their *Imam*, their *Caliph* or high-priest, descended from *Aly*, and against whom therefore they believe they cannot make war without a crime or a great sin.

The *Mogol* is farther obliged to entertain some *Patans* for the same, or somewhat like reasons that he doth the *Rajas*.

At last he must entertain that stranger militia of the *Mogols*, that we have taken notice of: And as this is the main strength of his state, and which obliges him to incredible charges, methinks it will not be amiss to describe to you, of what nature it is, though I should be somewhat long in doing it.

Let us therefore consider, if you please, this stranger militia, both cavalry and infantry,

fantry, as divided into two ; the one being always near the *Mogol's* person ; the other dispersed up and down in the several provinces. And in the cavalry that is about his person, let us first take notice of the *Omrabs* ; then, of the *Mansebdars* ; next, of the *Roufindars* ; last of all, of the simple horsemen. From thence let us proceed to the infantry, in which we shall consider the musquetiers, and all those men on foot that attend the ordnance ; where something will occur to be said of their artillery.

It is not to be thought, that the *Omrabs* or lords of the *Mogol's* court are sons of great families, as in *France* : All the lands of that empire being the *Mogol's* propriety, it follows, that there are neither duchies, nor marquissats, nor any family rich in land, and subsisting of its own income and patrimony. And often enough they are not so much as *Omrabs* sons, because the king being heir of all their estates, it is consequent that the houses cannot subsist long in their greatness ; on the contrary, they often fall, and that on a sudden, insomuch that the sons, or at least the grandsons of a potent *Omrab* are frequently, after the death of their father, reduced in a manner to beggary, and obliged to list themselves under some *Omrab* for simple horsemen. 'Tis true, that ordinarily the *Mogol* leaves some small pension to the widow, and often also to the children ; or, if the father liveth too long, he may, by particular favour, advance them sooner, especially if they be proper men, white of face, having as yet not too much of the *Indian* complexion and temper, and so passing yet for true *Mogols* : Though this advancement by favour do always proceed in a slow pace ; it being almost a general custom, that a man must pass from small pays and small places to great ones. These *Omrabs* then are commonly but adventurers and strangers of all sorts of nations, such as I have said, which draw one another to this court ; men of a mean descent, some of them slaves ; most of them without instruction, which the *Mogol* thus raiseth to dignities as he thinks good, and degrades them again as he pleaseth.

Amongst these *Omrabs*, some are *Hazary*, others *Don Hazary*, others *Penge*, *Hecht*, and *Deb Hazary*, and even (such as was the king's eldest son) *Dovazdeb Hazary*, that is to say, lord of a thousand horse, of two thousand, five thousand, seven, ten, and twelve thousand ; their pay being less or more in proportion to the number of horses ; I say, of horses, because they are not paid in respect of the horsemen, but of the horse ; the *Omrabs* having power to entertain horsemen of two horses a man, to

be the better able to serve in the hot countries, where 'tis a common saying, that the horseman that hath but one horse, is more than half a footman. Yet we must not think that they are obliged to entertain, or that the king effectively pays so many horse, as these great names of *Dovazdeb*, or *Hecht Hazary* do import, that is, 12000 or 8000 horse. These are specious names, to amuse and attract strangers ; the king determines the number of horses in actual service, which they are bound to entertain, pays them according to this number, and besides that, he pays them a certain number which they are not bound to entertain ; and this is that which makes the principal part of their pensions ; not to speak of what they finger out of the pay of every horseman, and the number of the horses, which certainly amounts to very considerable pensions ; especially if they can obtain good *Jab-ghirs*, that is, good lands for their pension. For I saw, that the lord, under whom I was, that was a *Penge-hazary*, or one of five thousand horse, and who was only obliged to entertain five hundred in effect, had, after all his cavalry was paid, remaining for his pension near five thousand crowns a month ; though he was *Nagdy*, that is, paid in money drawn out of the treasury, as all those are that have not lands. Yet notwithstanding all these great pensions, I see none, but very few, that are rich, but many that are uneasy and indebted : Not that they are ruined by keeping too plentiful tables, as elsewhere great lords frequently are ; but that which exhausteth them, are the great presents which they are obliged to make to the king at certain festivals of the year, every one after the rate of his pay : Next, the vast expences they must be at for entertaining their wives, servants, camels, and many horses of great value, which they keep in their particular stables.

The number of the *Omrabs*, as well of those that are in the field in the provinces and armies, as of those that are at the court, is very great. I never could precisely learn it ; nor is it determined : But I have never seen less of them at court than twenty five or thirty, that are thus pensionaries according to a greater or lesser number of horses to be entertained by them, from 12000 downwards to 1000. These are the *Omrabs* that arrive to the governments and principal offices of the court and armies ; that are, as they speak, the pillars of the empire, and that keep up the splendor of the court ; never going abroad, but richly deck'd, sometimes riding on elephants, sometimes on horseback, sometimes carried in a *Paleky* or chair, commonly attended by a good number of horsemen, to wit, of those

those that have the guard at that time, as also by many foot-men, marching before and on his sides, to make way, to drive away the flies, to take off the dust with peacocks tails, to carry water for drink, and sometimes books of accounts, or other papers.

All those that are at court, are obliged, under a considerable penalty, to come twice every day to salute the king in the assembly, once about ten or eleven a clock in the morning, when he renders justice; and the second time, about six hours at night. They are also obliged by turns to keep the guard in the castle once a week, during twenty four hours. Thither they carry at that time their beds, tapisseries and other moveables, the king furnishing them with nothing but provisions of meat and drink, which they receive with great reverence, making a treble obeysance, with their faces turned to his apartment, their hands down to the ground, and then lifted up upon their heads. Besides, they are obliged, on horseback, to follow the king whithersoever he marcheth, in any weather, rainy or dusty, whether he be carried in his chair, or on an elephant, or a field-throne, which last is done by eight men carrying him on their shoulders, eight others marching on his side, to relieve the others; himself being in all marches well covered from the inconveniencies of the weather, whether he go to war, or to hunt, or to exercise his soldiery. And this attendance those *Omrabs* are to give, except some of them be exempted by the *Mogol* because of their peculiar offices, or upon the account of sickness or old age, or to avoid embarrassment, as commonly 'tis practiced, when he goeth only to some neighbouring town to hunt, or to some house of pleasure, or to the mosque, there being then seldom any about him but those that keep guard that day.

Mansebdars are cavaliers of *Manseb*, which is particular and honourable pay; not so great indeed as that of the *Omrabs*, but much greater than that of the others; they being esteemed as little *Omrabs*, and of the rank of those that are raised to that dignity.

These acknowledge also none for their head but the king, and they are generally obliged to whatever we have said the *Omrabs* are. In a word, they would be true *Omrabs*, if they had, as divers heretofore have had, some horsemen under them; whereas they have ordinarily but two, four, or six horses having the king's mark, and their pay goes no higher than from 200, to 600 or 700 rupies a month. Their number also is not fixed, but much exceeds that of the *Omrabs*, there being of

them at the court always two or three hundred, besides those that are in the provinces and armies.

Rouzindars are also a sort of cavaliers, but such as have their pay by the day, (as the word itself imports) which yet sometimes is greater than that of many *Mansebdars*, but not so honourable; but then they are not bound, as the *Mansebdars*, to take at a set price (which sometimes is not too reasonable) of those tapisseries and other household-stuff, that hath served for the king's palace. Their number is very great, they enter into the meaner offices, many of them being clerks, under-clerks, signet-men, and the like.

Simple Cavaliers, are those that are under the *Omrabs*; amongst whom the most considerable, and having most pay, are those that have two horses marked on the leg with the mark of their *Omrab*. Their pay is not absolutely fixed, but depends chiefly from the generosity of the *Omrab*, who may favour whom he pleaseth. Yet the *Mogol's* intention is, that the pay of a simple cavalier, or horseman, be no less than twenty five rupies or thereabout a month, stating his account with the *Omrabs* upon that foot.

The pay of the foot is the least; and their musquetiers are pitiful men, unless they discharge when their musquet leans on that small wooden fork hanging to it; yet even then they are afraid of singeing their great beards, and of burning their eyes, but most of all, lest some *Dgen* or evil spirit burst their musquet. Some of these have 20 rupies a month, some 15, some 10. But yet there are some gunners that have great pay, especially those of the *Franguis*, or christians, as *Portugueze*, *English*, *Dutch*, *Germans*, *French*, that retire thither from *Goa*, flying from *English* and *Dutch* companies. Heretofore when the *Mogols* did not yet know how to manage artillery, their pay was very great. And there are yet some of that time, who have 200 rupies a month; but now they will receive none for more than thirty two.

Their artillery is of two sorts; the one is the great and heavy artillery; the other the light. As for the former, I remember, that when the king after his sickness went with his whole army abroad into the country, diverting himself every day in hunting, sometimes of cranes, sometimes of the grey oxen (a kind of elks) sometimes of gazels, leopards and lions, and making his progress towards *Labor* and *Kachemire* (that little paradise of *India*) there to pass the summer, the army had seventy pieces of cannon, most of them cast, not counting the two or three hundred camels, carrying each a small field-piece

piece of the bigness of a good double musquet, fastened to those animals. The other light artillery is very brave and well ordered, consisting of fifty or sixty small field-pieces all of brass, each mounted on a little chariot, very fine and well painted, with a small coffer before and behind for the powder, drawn by two very fair horses, driven by a coachman like a *Galeche*, adorn'd with a number of small red streamers, each having a third horse led by the chariot for relief.

The great artillery could not always follow the king, who often left the high-way, and turned sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left-hand, crossing the fields, to find the true places for game, and to follow the course of the rivers. That therefore was to keep the high-way to go the more easily, and to avoid the embarrassments, which it would have met with in the ill passages, especially in those boat-bridges made to pass rivers. The light artillery is inseparable from the person of the king, it marcheth away in the morning, when the king comes out of his tent; and whereas he commonly goes a little aside into the places for game, this artillery passeth on strait with all possible speed, to be in time at the rendezvous, and there to appear before the king's tent, which is there made ready the day before; as are also the tents of the great *Omrahs*; And this whole artillery giveth a volley just when the king enters into his tent, thereby to give notice to the army of his arrival.

The militia of the field is not different from that which is about the king: There are every where *Omrahs*, *Mansebdars*, *Roufindars*, simple horsemen, and foot artillery wherever any war is made. The difference is only in the number, which is much greater in the field-army, than in the other. For that army alone, which the *Mogol* is constrained perpetually to maintain in *Decan*, to bridle the potent king of *Golkonda*, and to make war upon the king of *Visapour*, and upon all the *Rajas* that join with him, must consist at least of twenty or twenty five thousand horse, sometimes of thirty.

The kingdom of *Kaboul*, for its ordinary guard against the *Persians*, *Augans*, *Balouches*, and I know not how many mountaineers, requireth at least fifteen thousand; the kingdom of *Kachemire*, more than four thousand; and the kingdom of *Bengal*, much more; not counting those that are employed in the war, which must almost always be maintained on that side; nor those which the governors of the several provinces do need for their defence, according to the particular extent and

situation of their governments; which maketh an incredible number.

Not to mention the infantry (which is inconsiderable) I am apt to believe with many others, well informed of these matters, that the number of the horse in actual service about the king's person, comprehending the cavalry of the *Rajas* and *Patans*, mounteth to thirty five or forty thousand; and that this number, joined to those that is abroad in the field, may make two hundred thousand, and better.

I say, that the infantry is inconsiderable; for I can hardly believe, that in the army which is about the king, comprising the musquetiers, and all the gunners and their mates, and whatever serves in this artillery, can amount to much more than fifteen thousand; whence you may make a near guess, what the number of the foot must be in the field. So that I know not whence to take that prodigious number of foot, which some do reckon in the armies of the great *Mogol*, unless it be, that with this true soldiery they confound all the serving-men and victuallers that follow the army; for in that sense I should easily believe, that they had reason to reckon two or three hundred thousand men in that army alone which is with the king, and sometimes more; especially when 'tis certain that he is to be long absent from the capital city; which will not seem so strange to him, that considers the multitude and confusion of tents, kitchens, baggage, women, elephants, camels, oxen, horses, waiting-men, Porters, forragers, victuallers, merchants of all sorts, that must follow the army; nor to him, that knows the state and particular government of that country, wherein the king is the sole proprietor of all the lands of the kingdom; whence it necessarily follows, that whole metropolitan city, such as *Debli* and *Agra*, liveth of almost nothing but of the soldiery, and is consequently obliged to follow the king when he taketh the field; those towns being nothing less than *Paris*, but indeed no otherwise governed than a camp of armies, a little better and more conveniently lodged than in the open field.

Besides all these things, you may also consider, if you please, that generally all this militia, which I have been representing to you, from the greatest *Omrah* to the meanest soldier, is indispensably paid every two months; the king's pay being its sole refuge and relief; nor can its pay be deferred there, as 'tis sometimes with us; where, when there are pressing occasions of the state, a gentleman, an officer, and even a simple cavalier, can stay a while, and maintain himself of his own stock, rents

rents, and the incomes of his land. But in the *Mogol's* country, all must be paid at the time prefixed, or all disbands and starves, after they have sold that little they have; as I saw in this last war, that many were going to do, if it had not soon ceased. And this the more, because that in all this militia there is almost no soldier that hath not wife and children, servants and slaves, that look for this pay, and have no other hope of relief. And hence it is, that many wonder, considering the huge number of persons living of pay, (which amounts to millions) whence such vast revenues can be had for such excessive charges: Altho' this need not be so much wondered at, considering the riches of the empire, the peculiar government of the state, and the said universal propriety of the sovereign.

You may add to all this, that the grand *Mogol* keeps nigh him at *Debli* and *Agra*, and thereabout, two or three thousand brave horses, to be always ready upon occasion; as also eight or nine hundred elephants, and a vast number of mules, horses, and porters, to carry all the great tents and their cabinets, to carry his wives, kitchens, household-stuff, *Ganges*-water, and all the other necessaries for the field, which he hath always about him as if he were at home; things not absolutely necessary in our kingdoms.

To this may be added those incredible expences upon the *Seraglio*, more indispensable than will be easily believed; that vast store of fine linnen, cloth of gold, embroideries, silks, musk, amber, pearls, sweet essences, &c. consumed there.

All these charges being put together, and compared with the revenues the *Mogol* may be thought to have, it will be easy to judge, whether he be indeed so very rich, as he is made to be. As for me, I very well know, that it cannot be denied, that he hath very great revenues; I believe he hath more alone than the *Grand Seigneur* and the king of *Persia* both together: But then, to believe all those extravagant stories made of the vastness of his revenues, is a thing I could never do: And if I should believe the best part of them, yet should I not believe him in effect and truly so rich as the world rings of him; unless a man would say, that a treasurer, who receiveth great sums of money from one hand at the same time when he is obliged to disburse them to another, were therefore truly rich. For my part, I should count that king rich indeed, who, without oppressing and impoverishing his people too much, should have a revenue sufficient to keep a great and gallant court (after the manner of that of ours, or otherwise) and a militia sufficient both to guard his kingdom, and to make an

important war for divers years against his neighbours; as also to shew liberality, to build some royal edifices, and to make those other expences which kings are wont to make according to their particular inclinations; and who, besides all this, should be able to put up in his treasury, for a reserve, sums big enough to undertake and maintain a good war for some years. Now I am apt enough to believe, that the great *Mogol* enjoyeth very near these advantages, but I cannot persuade myself, that he hath them in that excess, as is thought and pretended. Those vast and unevitable expences that I have taken notice of, will certainly incline you to my opinion, without any other consideration; but you will doubtless be altogether of my mind, when I shall have represented to you these two things, which I am very well informed of.

The one is, that the great *Mogol*, now reigning, about the end of this last revolution, though the kingdom was every where in peace (except in *Bengal*, where *Sultan Sujab* yet held out) was much perplexed where to find means for the subsistence of his armies, though they were not so well paid as at other times, and the war lasted no longer than five years or thereabout, and though also he had laid hold of a good part of the treasury of his father *Chab-Jehan*.

The other is, that all this treasure of *Chab-Jehan*, who was very frugal, and had reigned above forty years without considerable wars, never mounted to six *Kourours* of rupies. A rupy is about twenty nine pence. An hundred thousand of them make a *Lecque*, and an hundred *Lecques* make one *Kourour* *. 'Tis true, I do not comprehend in this great treasure that great abundance of goldsmiths work, so variously wrought in gold and silver; nor that vast store of precious stones and pearls of a very high value. I doubt, whether there be any king in the world that hath more. The throne alone, covered with them, is valued at least three *Kourours*, if I remember aright; but then it is to be consider'd also, that they are the spoils of those ancient princes, the *Patans* and *Rajas*, gathered and piled up from immemorial times, and still increasing from one king to another, by the presents which the *Om-rabs* are obliged yearly at certain festival-days to make him; and which are esteem'd to be the jewels of the crown, which it would be criminal to touch, and upon which a king of *Mogol*, in case of necessity, would find it very hard to procure the least sum.

* So that the six *Kourours* would make about seven millions and an half English money.

But before I conclude, I shall take notice, whence it may proceed, that though this empire of *Mogol* be thus an abyss of gold and silver, as hath been said, yet notwithstanding there appears no more of it among the people, than elsewhere; yea, rather that the people is there less monied than in other places.

The first reason is, that much of it is consumed in melting over and over all those nose and ear-rings, chains, finger-rings, bracelets of hands and feet, which the women wear, but chiefly in that incredible quantity of manufactures, wherein so much is spent, which is lost, as in all those embroideries, silk stuffs, interwoven with gold and silver, cloth, scarfs, turbans, &c. of the same: For generally all that militia loveth to be gilded from the *Omrah's* to the meanest soldiers with their wives and children, though they should starve at home.

The second, that all the lands of the kingdom being the king's propriety, they are given either as benefices, which they call *Jab-ghirs*, or, as in *Turky*, *Timars*, to men of the militia for their pay or pension (as the word *Jab-ghir* imports:). Or else they are given to the governors for their pension, and the entertainment of their troops, on condition, that of the surplus of those land-revenues they give yearly a certain sum to the king, as farmers; or, lastly, the king reserveth them for himself as a particular domain of his house, which never, or very seldom, are given as *Jab-ghirs*, and upon which he keeps farmers, who also must give him a yearly sum; which is to say, that the *Timariots*, *Governors* and *Farmers*, have an absolute authority over the country-men, and even a very great one over the tradesmen and merchants of the towns, boroughs, and villages depending from them; so that in those parts there are neither great lords nor parliaments, nor presidial courts, as amongst us, to keep these people in awe; nor *Kadis* or judges powerful enough to hinder and repress their violence: Nor, in a word, any person, to whom a countryman, tradesman, or merchant, can make his complaints to, in cases of extortion and tyranny, often practiced upon them by the soldiery and governors; who every where do impunely abuse the authority royal, which they have in hand, unless it be perhaps a little in those places that are near to capital cities, as *Dehli* and *Agra*, and in great towns, and considerable sea-ports of the provinces, whence they know that the complaints can be more easily conveyed to the court. Whence it is, that all and every one stand in continual fear of these people, especially of the governors, more than any slave doth of his master; that or-

dinarily they affect to appear poor and moneyless, very mean in their apparel, lodging, household-stuff, and yet more in meat and drink; that often they apprehend even to meddle with trade, lest they should be thought rich, and so fall into the danger of being ruined: So that at last they find no other remedy to secure their wealth, than to dig and hide their money deep under ground, thus getting out of the ordinary commerce of men, and so dying, neither the king nor the state having any benefit by it: Which is a thing not only happens among the peasants and artizans, but (which is far more considerable) amongst all sorts of merchants, whether *Mahometans* or *Heathens*, except some that are in the king's, or some *Omrah's* pay, or that have some particular patron and support in power: But principally among the *Heathens*, which are almost the only masters of the trade and money, infatuated with the belief, that the gold and silver which they hide in their life-time, shall serve them after death. And this, in my opinion, is the true reason, why there appears so little money in trade among the people.

But thence ariseth a question very considerable, viz. Whether it were not more expedient, not only for the subjects, but for the state itself, and for the sovereign, not to have the prince such a proprietor of the lands of the kingdom, as to take away the *Meum* and *Tuum* amongst private persons; as 'tis with us? For my part, after a strict comparing the state of our kingdoms, where that *Meum* and *Tuum* holds, with that of those other kingdoms where it is not, I am thoroughly persuaded, that it is much better and more beneficial for the sovereign himself, to have it so as 'tis in our parts. Because that in those parts where 'tis otherwise, the gold and silver is lost, as I was just now observing: There is almost no person secure from the violences of those *Timariots*, governors and farmers: The kings, how well soever they be disposed toward their people, are never almost in a condition (as I lately noted) to get justice administered to them, and to hinder tyrannies; especially in those great dominions, and in the provinces remote from the capital towns; which yet ought to be, as doubtless it is, one of the chief employments and considerations of a king. Besides, this tyranny often grows to that excess, that it takes away what is necessary to the life of a peasant or tradesman, who is starved for hunger and misery; who gets no children, or if he does, sees them die young for want of food; or that abandons his land, and turns some cavalier's man, or flies whither he may to his neighbours, in hopes of finding a better condition. In a word,

word, the land is not tilled but almost by force, and consequently very ill, and much of it is quite spoiled and ruined, there being none to be found, that can or will be at the charge of entertaining the ditches and channels for the course of waters to be convey'd to necessary places; nor any body that care to build houses, or to repair those that are ruinous; the peasant reasoning thus with himself: Why should I toil so much for a tyrant that may come to-morrow to take all away from me, or at least all the best of what I have, and not leave, if the fancy taketh him, so much as to sustain my life even very poorly? And the Timariot, the governor and the farmer, will reason thus with himself: Why should I bestow money and take pains of bettering or maintaining this land, since I must every hour expect to have it taken from me, or exchanged for another? I labour neither for myself nor for my children; and that place which I have this year, I may perhaps have no more the next. Let us draw from it what we can, whilst we possess it, though the peasant should break or starve, though the land should become a desert, when I am gone!

And for this very reason it is, that we see those vast estates in *Asia* go so wretchedly and palpably to ruin. Thence it is, that throughout those parts we see almost no other towns but made up of earth and dirt; nothing but ruined and deserted towns and villages, or such as are going to ruin. Even thence it is that we see (for example) those *Mesopotamia's*, *Anatolia's*, *Palestina's*, those admirable plains of *Antioch*, and so many other lands, anciently so well tilled, so fertile, and so well peopled, at the present half deserted, untill'd, and abandon'd, or become pestilent and uninhabitable bogs. Thence it is also, that of those incomparable lands of *Egypt* it is observed, that within less than four-score years, more than the tenth part of it is lost, no people being to be found, that will expend what is necessary to maintain all the channels, and to restrain the river *Nile* from violently overflowing on one hand, and so drowning too much the lowlands, or from covering them with sand, which cannot be removed from thence but with great pains and charges. From the same root it comes, that arts are languishing in those countries, or at least flourish much less than else they would do, or do with us. For what heart and spirit can an artizan have to study well, and to apply his mind to his work, when he sees, that among the people, which is for the most part beggarly, or will appear so, there is none that considers the goodness and neatness of his work, every body looking for

what is cheap? And that the grandees pay them but very ill, and when they please? The poor tradesman often thinking himself happy that he can get clear of them without the *Korrah*, which is that terrible whip, that hangs nigh the gate of the *Omrabs*: Further, when he seeth that there is no help at all ever to come to any thing, as to buy an office, or some land for himself and children, and that even he dares not appear to have a penny in cash, or to wear good clothes, or to eat a good meal, for fear he should be thought rich. And indeed the beauty and exactness of arts had been quite lost in those parts long ago, if it were not that the kings and grandees there did give wages to certain workmen, that work in their houses, and there teach their children, and endeavour to make themselves able in order to be a little more considered, and to escape the *Korrah*; and if also it were not, that those great and rich merchants of towns, who are protected by good and powerful patrons, payed those workmen a little better: I say, a little better; for, what fine stuffs soever we see come from those countries, we must not imagine, that the workman is there in any honour, or comes to any thing; 'tis nothing but meer necessity or the cudgel, that makes him work, he never grows rich; it is no small matter, when he hath wherewith to live and to cloath himself narrowly. If there be any money to gain of the work, that is not for him, but for those great merchants of towns, I was just now speaking of; and even these themselves find it often difficult enough to maintain themselves, and to prevent extortion.

'Tis from the same cause also, that a gross and profound ignorance reigns in those states. For how is it possible there should be academies and colleges well founded, where are such founders to be met with? And if there were any, whence were the scholars to be had? Where are those that have means sufficient to maintain their children in colleges? And if there were, who would appear to be so rich? And if they would, where are those benefices, preferments and dignities that require knowledge and abilities, and that may animate young men to study?

Thence it is likewise, that traffic languishes in all that country, in comparison of ours. For how many are there that care to take pains, to run up and down, to write much, and to run danger for another, for a governor, that shall extort, if he be not in league with some considerable sword-man, whose slave he in a manner is, and that makes his own conditions with him?

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Is it not there, that the kings find for their service, princes, lords, gentlemen, sons of rich and good families, officers, citizens, merchants, and even tradesmen well born, well educated, and well instructed; men of courage that have a true affection and respect for their king, that often live a great while at the court and in the army at their own expences, entertaining themselves with good hopes, and content with the favourable aspect of the prince; and who upon occasion fight manfully, covetous to uphold the honour of their ancestors and families. Those kings, I say, never see about them but men of nothing, slaves, ignorants, brutes, and such courtizans as are raised from the dust to dignities, and that for want of good education and instruction almost always retain somewhat of their offspring, of the temper of beggars, enriched, proud, unsufferable, heartless, insensible of honour, dissingenuous, and void of affection and regard for the honour of their king and country. Here it is, where those kings must ruin all, to find means to defray all those prodigious charges, which they cannot avoid for entertaining their great court, which hath no other source to subsist but their coffers and treasure, and for maintaining constantly the vast number of soldiers, necessary for them to keep the people in subjection, to prevent their running away, to make them work, and to get what is exacted from them, they being so many desperado's, for being perpetually under hatches, and for labouring only for others.

Thence it is also, that in an important war that may happen (which may be almost at all times) they must almost of necessity sell the government for ready money and immense sums; whence chiefly that ruin and desolation comes to pass which we see. For the governor, which is the buyer, must not he be reimbursed of all those great sums of money, which he hath taken up, perhaps the third or fourth part, at high interest? Must not a governor also, whether he have bought the government or not, find means, as well as a timariot and a farmer, to make every year great presents to a vizir, an eunuch, a lady of the seraglio, and to those other persons, that support him at court? Must he not pay to the king his usual tributes, and withal enrich himself, that wretched slave, half famished, and deeply indebted when he first appeared, without goods, lands, and revenues of his house; such as they all are? Do not they ruin all, and lay all waste; I mean, those that in the provinces are like so many tyrants with a boundless and unmeasured authority, there being no-body there, as hath been already said, that can restrain them,

or to whom a subject can have refuge, to save himself from their tyranny, and to obtain justice?

'Tis true, that in the empire of the *Mogol* the *Vakea-nevis*, that is, those persons, whom he sends into the provinces to write to him whatsoever passeth there, do a little keep the officers in awe, provided they do not collude together (as it almost always happens) to devour all; as also that the governments are not there so often sold, nor so openly as in *Turkey*; I say, not so openly (for those great presents, they are from time to time obliged to make, are almost equivalent to sales) and that the governors ordinarily remain longer in their governments; which maketh them not so hungry, so beggarly, and so deep in debt, as those new comers, and that consequently they do not always tyrannize over the people with so much cruelty; even apprehending, lest they should run away to the *Rajas*; which yet falls out very often.

'Tis also true, that in *Persia* the governments are not so frequently nor so publicly sold as in *Turkey*; the sons of the governors also succeeding often enough to their fathers; which is also the cause, that the people there is often not so ill treated as in *Turkey*, and occasions withal, that there is more politeness, and that even some there are that addict themselves to study. But all that is really but a slight matter; those three states of *Turkey*, *Persia* and *Indostan*, forasmuch as they have all three taken away the *Meum* and *Tuum* as to land and propriety of possessions (which is the foundation of whatever is good and regular in the world) cannot but very near resemble one another: They have the same defect, they must at last, sooner or later, needs fall into the same inconveniencies, which are the necessary consequences of it, viz. tyranny, ruin and desolation.

Far be it therefore, that our monarchs of *Europe* should thus be proprietors of all the lands which their subjects possess. Their kingdoms would be very far from being so well cultivated and peopled, so well built, so rich, so polite, and flourishing as we see them. Our kings are otherwise rich and powerful; and we must avow that we are much better and more royally served. There would be kings of deserts and solitudes, of beggars and barbarians, such as those are whom I have been representing; who, because they will have all, at last lose all; and who, because they will make themselves too rich, at length find themselves without riches, or, at least, very far from that which they covet after, out of their blind ambition and passion of being more absolute than the laws of God and nature do permit. For, where would
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be those princes, those prelates, those nobles, those rich citizens and great merchants, and those famous artizans, those towns of *Paris*, *Lyons*, *Toulouse*, *Rouën*, *London*, and so many others? Where would be that infinite number of boroughs and villages, all those fair country-houses, and fields, and hillocks tilled and maintained with so much industry, care and labour? And where would consequently be all those vast revenues drawn thence, which at last enrich the subjects and the sovereign both? We should find the great cities, and the great boroughs rendered inhabitable because of the ill air, and to fall to ruin without any body's taking care of repairing them; the hillocks abandoned, and the fields overspread with the bushes, or filled with pestilential marishes, as hath been already intimated.

A word to our dear and experienced travellers: They would not find those fair conveniencies of travelling; they would be obliged to carry all things with them, like the *Bobemians*; and all those good inns, for example, that are found between *Paris* and *Lyons*, would be like ten or twelve wretched *Caravans-ferrahs*, that is, great barns, raised and paved, such as our *Pont-neuf* is, where hundreds of men are found pel-mel together with their horses, mules and camels, where one is stifled with heat in summer, and starved with cold in winter, if it were not for the breathing of those animals, that warm the place a little.

But it will be said, we see some states, where the *Meum* and *Tuum* is not (as for example, that of the grand *Seignor*, which we know better than any, without going so far as the *Indies*) that do not only subsist, but are also very powerful, and increase daily.

'Tis true, that that state of the grand *Seignor*, of such a prodigious extent as it is, having so vast a quantity of lands, the soil of which is so excellent, that it cannot be destroyed but very difficultly, and in a long time, is yet rich and populous; but it is certain also, that if it were cultivated and peopled proportionably to ours (which it would be, if there were propriety among the subjects throughout) it would be a quite different thing; it would have people enough to raise such prodigious armies as in old times, and rich enough to maintain them. We have travelled through almost all the parts of it; we have seen how strangely it is ruined and unpeopled; and how in the capital city there now needs three whole months to raise five or six thousand men. We know also, what it would have come to ere this, if it had not been for the great number of christian slaves that are brought into it from all

parts. And no doubt but that, if the same government were continued there for a number of years, that state would destroy itself, and at last fall by its own weakness, as it seems that already it is hardly maintained but only by that means, I mean, by the frequent change of governors; there being not one governor, nor any one man in the whole empire, that hath a penny to enable him to maintain the least thing, or that can almost find any men, if he had money. A strange manner to make states to subsist! There would need no more for making an end of the seditions, than a *Brama* of *Pegu*, who killed the half of the kingdom with hunger, and turned it into forests, hindering for some years the lands from being tilled, though yet he hath not succeeded in his design, and the state have afterwards been divided, and that even lately *Ava*, the capital town, was upon the point of being taken by an handful of *China* fugitives. Mean time we must confess, that we are not like to see in our days that total ruin and destruction of this empire we are speaking of (if so be we see not something worse) because it has neighbours, that are so far from being able to undertake any thing against him, that they are not so much as in a condition to resist him, unless it be by those succours of strangers, which the remoteness and jealousy would make slow, small, and suspect.

But it might yet be further objected, that it appears not, why such states as these might not have good laws, and why the people in the provinces might not be enabled to come and make their complaints to the grand *Visir*, or to the king himself. 'Tis true, that they are not altogether destitute of good laws, and that, if those which are amongst them were observed, there would be as good living there, as in any part of the world. But what are those laws good for, if they be not observed, and if there be no means to make them to be executed? Is it not the grand *Visir*, or the king that appoints for the people such beggarly tyrants, and that hath no others to set over them? Is it not he that sells those governments? Hath a poor peasant or tradesman means to make great journeys, and to come and seek for justice in the capital city, remote perhaps 150 or 200 leagues from the place of his abode? Will not the governor cause him to be made away in his journey (as it hath often happened) or catch him sooner or later? And will he not provide his friends at court, to support him there, and to represent things quite otherwise than they are? In a word, this governor, hungry as well as the *Timariots* and farmers (that

are all men for drawing oil out of sand, as the *Persian* speaks, and for ruining a world, with their heap of women-harpies, children and slaves) this governor, I say, is he not the absolute master, the superintendant of justice, the parliament, the receiver, and all?

It may perhaps be added, that the lands, which our kings hold in *Domaine*, are no less well tilled and peopled, than other land. But there is a great difference between the having in propriety some lands here and there in a great kingdom, (which changes not the constitution of the state and government,) and the having them all in propriety, which would alter it altogether. And when we in these parts have laws so rational, which our kings are willing to be the first to observe, and according to which they will that their particular lands shall be governed as those of their subjects are, so as to give way, that actions of law may be laid against their own farmers and officers, so that a peasant or tradesman may have means to obtain justice, and to find remedy against the unjust violence of those that would oppress him: Whereas in those parts of *Asia* I see almost not any refuge for those poor people; the cudgel and the hammer of the governor being in a manner the only law that rules, and decides all controversies there.

Lastly, it may be said, that 'tis at least certain, that in such states there is not such a multitude of long-lasting suits of law, as in these parts, nor so many lawyers of all sorts, as amongst us. It is, in my opinion, very true, that one cannot too much applaud that old *Persian*, saying, *Na-bac Kouta Beter-Ez bac Deraz*, that is, *Short injustice is better than long justice*; and that the length of the law-suits is insufferable in a state, and that it is the indispensable duty of the sovereign by all good means to endeavour a remedy against them. And 'tis certain, that by taking away this *Meum* and *Tuum*, the root, would be cut off an infinite number of law-processes, and especially of almost all those, that are of importance, and long, and perplexed; and consequently there would not need so great a number of magistrates, which our sovereigns do employ to administer justice to their subjects, nor that swarm of men, which subsist only by that way. But 'tis also manifest, that the remedy would be an hundred times worse than the disease, considering those great inconveniencies that would follow thereupon, and that in all probability the magistrates would become

such as those of the *Asiatic* states, who deserve not that name; for in a word, our kings have yet cause to glory upon the account of good magistracy under them. In those parts, some merchants excepted, justice is only amongst the meanest sort of people, that are mean and of an unequal condition, who have not the means of corrupting the judges, and to buy false witnesses, that are there in great numbers, and very cheap, and never punished. And this I have learned every where by the experience of many years, and by my solicitous enquiries made among the people of the country, and our old merchants that are in those parts, as also of ambassadors, consuls and interpreters; whatever our common travellers may say, who, upon their having seen by chance, when they passed by, two or three porters or others of the like gang, about a *Kady*, quickly dispatched one or other of the parties, and sometimes both, with some lashes under the sole of their feet, or with a *Maybalé Baba*, some mild words, when there is no wool to sheer; who, I say, upon sight of this, come hither, and cry out, O the good and short justice! O what honest judges are those in respect of ours! Not considering in the mean time, that if any one of those wretches, that is in the wrong, had a couple of crowns to corrupt the *Kady*, or his clerks, and as much to buy two false witnesses, he might either win his process, or prolong it as long as he pleased.

In conclusion, to be short, I say, that the taking away this propriety of lands among private men, would be infallibly to introduce at the same time tyranny, slavery, injustice, beggary, barbarism, desolation, and to open a highway for the ruin and destruction of mankind, and even of kings and states: And that on the contrary, this *Meum* and *Tuum*, accompanied with the hopes that every one shall keep, what he works and labours for, for himself and his children, as his own, is the main foundation of whatever is regular and good in the world: Insomuch that whosoever shall cast his eyes upon the different countries and kingdoms, and taketh good notice what follows upon this propriety of sovereigns, or that of the people, will soon find the true source and chief cause of that great difference we see in the several states and empires of the world, and avow, that this is in a manner that which changes and diversifieth the face of the whole earth.

A
CONTINUATION
OF THE
MEMMOIRS
OF
Monsieur BERNIER,
CONCERNING THE
EMPIRE
OF THE
GREAT MOGOL.

Wherein is contained

- I. An exact Description of DEHLI and AGRA, the capital Cities of the Empire of the Great MOGOL; together with some particulars, making known the COURT and GENIUS of the *Mogols* and *Indians*; as also the Doctrine, and extravagant Superstitions and Customs of the Heathen of *INDOSTAN*.
- II. The Emperor of *Mogol's* Voyage to the Kingdom of *Kachemire*, in the Year 1664.

Englised out of *French* by H. O.

CONTINUATION

MEMOIRS

MONSIEUR BERNIER

PAR

LE MR PIRRE

DE

GRAND MOGOL

PAR M. DE LA MOTTE

PAR M. DE LA MOTTE

PAR M. DE LA MOTTE

PAR M. DE LA MOTTE

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PAR M. DE LA MOTTE

PAR M. DE LA MOTTE

A
L E T T E R

T O

Mr. de la Mothe le Vayer,

Written at DEHLI, *July 1. 1663.*

Containing the description of Dehli and Agra, and divers particulars, discovering the Court and Genius of the Mogols and Indians.

SIR,

 Know that one of the first questions you are like to ask me, at my return in *France*, will be, whether *Debli* and *Agra* are cities as fair and large, and as well peopled as *Paris*. Concerning its beauty, I shall tell you by way of preface, that I have sometimes wonder'd to hear our *Europeans*, that are here, despising the towns of the *Indies*, as not coming near ours, in respect of the edifices. Certainly they ought not to resemble them; and if *Paris*, *London*, and *Amsterdam* stood in the place where *Debli* is, the greatest part of them must be thrown down, to build them after another manner. Our cities indeed have great beauties and embellishments, but they are such that are proper to them, and accommodated to a cold climate. *Debli* also may have its beauties peculiar to it, and suitable to a very hot climate: For you are to know, that the heat here obligeth all people, even the great lords and the king himself, to go without stockings, in a kind of slippers only, a fine and slight turban on their heads, and the other garments accordingly; that there are months in the summer so excessively hot, that in the chambers one can hardly hold ones hands against a wall, nor ones head on a cushion; and that the people are obliged for the space of more than six months to lie without covering, at the door of their cham-

ber, as the rabble doth in the open streets, or as the merchants and other people of some quality do, in some airy hall or garden, or upon some terras well watered at night: thence you may judge, whither if there were such streets as that of *St. Jacques*, or *St. Denis*, with their houses shut, and of so many stories high, they would be habitable? And whether in the night, especially when the heats are without wind and stuffing, it would be possible to sleep there? And who is there (I pray) that would have a mind in summer, when he returns on horseback from the city half dead, and in a manner stifled of the heat and dust, and all in a sweat, (for so it is) to go climbing up an high pair of stairs, which often is narrow and dark, to a fourth or fifth story, and to abide in this hot and suffocating air? On such occasions they desire nothing, but to throw down into the stomach a pint of fresh water, or lemonade, to undress, to wash the face, hands and feet, to lie down in some cool and shady place all along, having a servant or two to fan one by turns with their great *Panbas*, or fans. But, to leave this, we shall now endeavour to entertain you with the representation of *Debli* as it is, that so you may judge whether it be truly said, that it is a fair city.

It is now about forty years that *Chah-Jehan*, father of the Grand-Mogol *Aureng-Zebe* now reigning, to eternize his memory,

caused

caused to be built a town contiguous to old *Dehli*, which he called after his name *Chah-Jehan-Abad*, and by way of abbreviation, *Jehan-Abad*; that is to say, a colony of *Chah-Jehan*, designing to make it the capital of the empire, instead of *Agra*, where he said that the summer heats were too violent. This nearness hath occasioned, that the ruins of old *Dehli* have served to build a new city; and in the *Indies* they scarce speak any more of *Dehli*, but only of *Jehan-Abad*. Yet notwithstanding, since the city of *Jehan-Abad* is not yet known amongst us, I intend to speak of it under the old name of *Dehli*, which is familiar to us.

Dehli then is a town altogether new, seated in a plain campaign, upon a river like our *Loire*, called *Gemna*, and built along one side of the river only; there being but one boat-bridge to pass over into the plain. This town is surrounded with walls, except the river side; these walls are of bricks, and without a considerable defence, they being without a ditch, and having nothing to flank them but round towers after the old way, distant from each other an hundred common paces, and a rampart behind them four or five foot thick. The compass of these walls, comprizing the fortress, is not so big as is commonly believed: I have gone it round with ease in three hours; and I believe not, though I was on horseback, that I dispatch'd more than one league in an hour; 'tis true, that if you will take into the town a very long suburb, which goeth towards *Labor*, as also what remains inhabited of old *Dehli*, which is likewise a great and very long suburb, and besides, three or four small suburbs more, all that would make in a direct line, above a league and a half, and such a compass which I cannot well determine, because that between the suburbs are great gardens, and large spaces not built; but I may say, that thus taken it would be of a prodigious bigness.

The fortress, in which is the *Meballe*, or *Seraglio*, and the other royal apartments, which I shall hereafter speak of, is built round upon the river; yet there is between the water and the walls a pretty large and long sandy space, where commonly elephants are exercised, and where frequently the militia of the *Omrabs* and *Rajabs* is mustered in the king's presence, who looks out of the windows of one of his apartments. The walls of the fortress, as to their round antique towers, are very near like those of the town, but they are partly of bricks, and partly of a certain red stone resembling marble, which maketh them look fairer than those of the town; besides that, they are much higher, stronger and thicker, being able to bear some field-

pieces that are there planted towards the town; and encompassed also, excepting that side which respects the river, with a fair ditch, walled up with free-stone, full of water and fish. But yet they, are so inconsiderable for strength, that a battery of some middle sized cannon would, in my opinion, soon cast them down.

Round about the ditch there is a pretty large garden, at all times full of flowers and green apricocks, which, together with those great walls all red, maketh a very fine sight.

About this garden is the great street, or rather the great place royal, to which the two great and principal gates of the fortress do answer, and to these gates the two chief streets of the town.

In this great place it is, where the tents of the *Rajas* are that are in the king's pay, to keep there, every one in his turn, their weekly guard; whereas the *Omrabs* and the *Mansebdars*, or small *Omrabs*, keep it within the fortress. These little sovereigns are not pleased to see themselves thus and so long shut up in a fort.

In this very place it is where, at the break of day, are exercised the horses of a long royal stabel, near it. And here 'tis also, that the *Kobat-kan*, or great commissioner of the cavalry, carefully vieweth the horses of those cavaliers, that have been received into service, to the end that if these horses are of *Turkistan* or *Tartary*, and large and strong enough for service, the king's mark, and that of the *Omrabs*, under whom such cavaliers are to be listed, may be branded upon them: A thing not ill devised, to prevent the mutual loan of horses in the musters.

This same place is also a kind of *Bazar*, or market, of an hundred things sold there, and a rendezvous of players and jugglers of all sorts, as the *Pont-neuf* at *Paris*. It is no less the meeting-place of the poor *Astrologers*, as well *Mahometan* as *Heathen*. These doctors (forsooth) sit there in the sun upon a piece of tapistry, all covered with dust, having about them some old mathematical instruments, which they make shew of to draw passengers, and a great open book representing the animals of the *Zodiack*. These men are the oracles, but rather the affronters of the vulgar, to whom they pretend to give for one *Payssa*, that is, a penny, good luck; and they are they, that looking upon the hands and the face, turning over their books, and making a shew of calculation, determine the fortunate moment when a business is to be begun to make it successful. The mean women, wrapt up in a white sheet from head to foot, come to find them out, telling them in their ear their most secret concerns, as if

if they were their confessors, and (which smells very strongly of stupidity and folly) intreat them to render the stars propitious to them suitable to their designs; as if they could absolutely dispose of their influences.

The most ridiculous of all these astrologers, in my opinion, was that mongrel *Portuguese*, fugitive from *Goa*, who sat in that place with much gravity upon his piece of tapistry, like the rest, and had a great deal of custom, though he could neither write nor read; and as for instruments and books, was furnished with nothing else but an old sea-compass, and an old romish prayer-book in the *Portuguese* language, of which he shewed the pictures for figures of the Zodiac: *A tal Bestias, tal Astrologo*: For such beasts, such astrologer; said he to the reverend father *Buze*, a Jesuit, who met him in that place.

I here speak only of the pitiful astrologers of the *Bazar*; for there are others in these parts, that are in the courts of the *grandees*, and are considered as great clerks, and are very rich; whole *Asia* being over-spread with this superstition. The kings and the great lords, who would not undertake the least things without consulting them, allow them great salaries, that they may read to them what is written in the heavens, (for so they speak here) and take out for them that fortunate moment, I was lately speaking of; or find out, at the opening of the *Alcoran*, the decision of all their doubts.

To return; these two principal streets, which I said do answer to the two gates of the fortress, and to the place, may have twenty five or thirty common paces in breadth, and they run in a strait line as far you are able to see: Yet that which leads to the gate of *Labor*, is much longer than the other; but they are both alike as to the houses. There is on both sides nothing but arches, as in our *Place Royal*; yet with this difference, that they are but of bricks, and that there is not any building upon them, but only the terraces. There is also this difference, that they are not continued galleries. These arches are generally covered by rails that make shops which are not to be shut, where tradesmen work in the day, where bankers sit for their business, and where merchants set out their wares, which at night they lock up in a magazine, the little door of which, to be shut, is in the bottom of every arch.

It is upon this magazine, which is in the back-part of the arches, that the houses of merchants are built and raised, which make a shew good enough towards the street, and are also pretty convenient, being well aired, out of the way of the dust, and

having for their floor the terraces of the arches, upon which they can walk to look out upon the street, and to sleep at night in *fresco*. But excepting these houses of the chief streets, and a few others, there are not many of these fair houses, that are thus raised upon terraces; nor are even these two streets universally furnish'd with them, there being mostly upon the magazine, or on the side, nothing but a small building, not seen from the street, the great merchants having their houses somewhere else, whither they retire at night.

Besides these two principal streets, there are yet five others, which indeed are not so long nor so strait, but for the rest are altogether like them. There are also a great many other streets crossing those on all sides, whereof there are also some furnished with arches; but because they have been built piece-meal by such particular persons, as have not observed the symmetry that was requisite; they are, for the most part, neither so large, nor so strait, nor so well built as the others.

Amongst all these streets are spread every where the houses of the *Mansebdars*, or little *Omrah*s, and those of the men of the law, as also of many great merchants, and and other private men; of which there is a good number that are passable. It is true, there are but few that are all of brick or stone, and there is even a good number of these, that are made all of earth only, and thatched; but for all that, they are convenient, because they are generally airy, being furnished with courts and gardens. Nor are they disagreeable within, for as much as besides the fine moveables, these thatched coverings are supported by a layer of certain long canes, that are hard and strong, and very pretty, and because also these earthen walls are plaistered over with very fine and very white chalk.

Amongst these houses I have been speaking of that are tolerable, there is also a prodigious number of other small ones, that are only made up of earth and straw, where all the simple cavaliers, and their servants, and all those little people of the market, that follow the court and the army, are lodged.

It is from these thatch'd houses that *Dekli* is so subject to fires. This last year there were burnt above sixty thousand such, at two or three times that they took fire, when there blew certain impetuous winds, that rise chiefly in summer. The fire was so quick and so violent, that it surprized the houses, and many houses also that could not be time enough loosened; and there were even some of these poor women burnt, that never had been out of the *Seraglio*, and that are so weak and shame-faced when

when they see people, that they know nothing else but to hide their faces.

And it is upon the account of these pitiful houses of earth and straw, that I look upon *Debli* almost no otherwise than as many villages joined together, and (which I have already said in another place) as a camp of an army, a little better and more commodiously placed, than in the field.

As to the houses of the *Omrabs*, that are also up and down in this city, and principally upon the river, and even in the suburbs: You are to know that in these hot countries, to entitle an house to the name of good and fair, it is required it should be commodious, seated in a place well aired, and capable to receive the wind from all sides, and principally from the north; having courts, gardens, trees, conservatories, and little jets of waters in the halls, or at least at the entry; furnished also with good cellars, with great flaps to stir the air, for reposing in the fresh air from twelve till four or five of the clock, when the air of these cellars begins to be hot and stuffing: or having in lieu of cellarage certain *Kas-kanays*, that is, little houses of straw, or rather of odoriferous roots, that are very neatly made, and commonly placed in the midst of a *Parterre* near some conservatory, that so the servants may easily, with their pompion-bottles, water them from without. Moreover it is required for the beauty of an house, that it be seated in the midst of some great *Parterre*, that it have four great divans or ways raised from the ground to the height of a man, or thereabout, and exposed to the four parts of the world, to receive the wind and the cold from all the parts it may come from. Lastly, it is requisite for a good house to have raised *Terrasses*, to sleep upon in the night, such as are of the same floor with some great chamber, to draw in one's bedstead upon occasion; that is to say, when there comes some tempest of rain or dust, or when that rousing freshness of the break of day awakens you, and obliges you to look for a covering; or else when you apprehend that small and light dew of the morning, which pierceth, and causeth sometimes benumbing and paralytical symptoms in the limbs.

As to the interior part of an house, it is requisite that the whole floor be covered with a mattress of cotton four inches thick, covered with a white fine linnen sheet during summer, and with a piece of silk tapestry in winter: That in the most conspicuous part of the chamber, near the wall, there be one or two cotton quilts, with fine flowered coverings, and set about with small and fine embroidery of silk, wrought with gold and silver, for the

master of the house, or persons of quality coming in, to sit upon; and that every quilt have its cross-board, purfled with gold, to lean upon: That round about the chamber, along the walls, there be several of these cross-boards, as I just now mentioned, handsomely covered with velvet or flowered sattin, for by-standers also to lean upon. The walls five or six foot from the floor, must be almost all with niches, or little windows, cut in an hundred different manners, or shapes, very fine, well measured and proportioned to one another, with some porcelain vessels and flower-pots in them; and the ground must be painted and gilded, yet without any figure of man or beast, their religion not allowing thereof.

This is as near as I know, the idea of a handsome and convenient house in these parts: And as there is a good number of them in *Debli*, that have all these qualities mentioned, or at least in part, according to which they are more or less fair and gallant: I believe one may say, without any injury to our towns, that *Debli* is not without houses that are truly handsome, although they be not like ours in *Europe*.

Concerning the appearance and riches of the shops, (which is the thing that contributeth most to the beauty of our towns in *Europe*) although *Debli* be the seat of a very potent and magnificent court, and consequently the resort of infinite quantities and varieties of rich wares; yet we are not to imagine, that you shall find there our streets of *St. Denis*; I know not whether there be any such in all *Asia*. And even as to the most fine and the most rich stuffs, they are commonly but in the magazines; their shops are not furnished with them: So that for one shop that maketh any show, that is, where there are sold those fine sorts of linnen, those stuffs of silk streaked with gold and silver, cloth of gold, turbans embroidered with gold, and other commodities of great price; you shall always find five and twenty and more, that are filled with nothing but pots of oil and butter, and panniers one upon another full of rice, barley, pease, corn, and many other sorts of grain and legume; which are the ordinary food, not only of all the *Gentiles*, that never eat any meat, but also of the meaner sort of the *Mahometans*, and of a good part of those of the soldiery.

It is true that there is a fruit-market that maketh some shew. One may there see in summer abundance of shops full of dry fruit, that come out of *Persia*, *Balk*, *Bokara*, and *Samarkand*, as almonds, pistaches, small nuts, raisins, prunes, apricocks, and the like. And in winter there

are

are found excellent raisins fresh, black and white, brought from the same countries, well wrapt up in cotton; also apples and pears of three or four sorts, and of these admirable melons that last all winter. But all this fruit is very dear; I have seen melons sold even for a crown and an half a piece. And they are indeed the great delicacy and expence of the *Omrabs*. I have often seen in the house of my *Aga*, that there was eaten in melons in one morning for more than twenty crowns. There are none but the melons of the country that are cheap in summer, but those are not so good. The *grandees* only, that send for seed out of *Persia*, and to get the ground well fitted for them, may eat good ones; yet that but rarely neither, the ground being not so proper but that the seed degenerateth the very first year.

It is true, there is yet another fruit called *Amba*, or *Mangue*, which in its season, during two summer months, is found in great plenty and very cheap; but those of *Debli* are none of the best, being very loose and flashy: Those of *Bengala*, *Golkonda* and *Goa* are admirable. It hath a certain sweetness so peculiar, that I doubt whether there be any comfit in the world so pleasant. There are also *Pateques*, or water-melons in abundance, and almost all the year long; but they also do not thrive well at *Debli*; they never have their meat so ruddy, firm and suggerly; and if there be any good, they are not to be found but amongst the great ones, who take the pains of making them grow as melons, with extraordinary care and cost.

There be also up and down in *Debli* shops of comfit-makers; but all their comfits are very ill done, being full of dust and flies.

There are besides many shops of bread every where, but because they have no ovens like ours, it is never well baked: Yet in the fortress there is sold some that is reasonably good; and the *Omrabs* cause such to be made in their houses that is very delicate, sparing no new butter, milk, nor eggs: Yet though they leaven it, it is always much inferior in goodness to our bread of *Gonesse*, and to those other sorts of excellent bread of *Paris*, it savouring always of the cake or *simnel*.

In these *Bazars* there are also some tents, where they trade in roast-meat, and in dressing. I know not how many sorts of dishes; but all that is but beggarly, nasty, and ill meat. I fear you sometimes meet with the flesh of camels, horses, or oxen dead of sickness: I do not much trust them; so that if you will eat any thing worth eating, you must have it dressed at home.

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There are also many shops every where, where they sell flesh; but you may take heed lest they give you mutton for kid; the mutton and beef, but especially mutton, though well enough tasted, being here very hot, windy, and of ill digestion. The best meat here is young kid, but it is very rarely sold in the market by quarters; so that if you have a mind to eat any, you must buy a whole and a live one; which is inconvenient enough, because the meat is spoiled between one morning and evening, and is commonly so lean, that it is tasteless. Ordinarily you find in the shambles nothing but the quarters of great kids, which often also are very lean and hard. It is true, that since I have learned something of the manner of the country, I find both meat and bread good enough, because I send my servant to the fortress to the king's caterers, who are very ready to let him have what is good for good payment, though it cost them nothing. And it was in reference to this, that one day I made my *Agah* smile, when I told him that I had I know not how many years lived by artifice and stealing, and that for all the 150 crowns pay he monthly allowed me, I was ready to be starved; whereas in *France* for half a rupie, I could every day eat as good a bit of meat as the king.

They have no capons, all that people being too tender-hearted towards all animals but men, whom they need for their seraglios. But the markets are full of hens, that are very good and cheap: Among the rest there is one sort of little ones, that I called *Ethiopian* hens, because they have their skin black like the *Ethiopians*, which are very tender and very delicate.

Pidgeons there are, but no young ones, because they will not kill them young; they would be (say they) too small, and it were ill done to kill such poor little animals.

There are also partridges, but smaller than ours, and generally (seeing they bring them afar off alive, knowing how to take them with nets) they are worse than our pullets. The like may be said of their ducks and hares, of which they also bring whole cages full alive.

Concerning fish, the people here are no great fishmongers; yet at times one meets with very good fish, especially of two sorts, the one resembleth our pike, and the other our carp; but that is only when it is not cold, for the *Indians* fear that much more than we *Europeans* apprehend heat. And if at any time you meet accidentally with any, the eunuchs who love them excessively (I know not why) carry them presently away. None but the *Omrabs* have power to make men fish when they

they please, which they do with the *Korrah*, that great common whip always hanging at their gates.

From all that I have said, you may by the bye see, whether a man ought to leave *Paris* to come to *Debli* to make good cheer. Certainly the *grandees* have all things, but that is upon the account of their many servants, of the *Korrah*, and of the plenty of money. And thence it was I once said, 'That at *Debli* there is no mean; there you must either be a great lord, or live miserably.' For I have experienced it myself, in a manner dying of hunger this good while, though I have had considerable pay, and was resolved to spare nothing that way, because commonly there is found nothing in the markets but the refuse of the *grandees*. Besides that, the soul of a feast, which is good wine, is not there; not that no grapes do grow there to make wine, (for I have drunk some at *Amadevad* and *Golkonda*, in the houses of *Englishmen* and *Hollanders*, that was not ill) but because it is prohibited to make wine, in regard that not only by the law of *Mahomet*, but also by that of the heathen, it is not permitted to drink any: So that it is very rare to find wine, and that which we find comes out of *Persia* from *Chiras* by land to *Banderabasy*, from thence by sea to *Surat*, and from *Surat* hither by land in forty-six days: Or it comes from the *Canaries*, brought also over sea to *Surat* by the *Dutch*. And both are so dear, that the cost (as the saying is) maketh it lose the taste; for a bottle holding about three *Parisian* pints cometh often to six or seven crowns, and more. That which is of this country's growth is called *Arrac*, a strong water made of sugar not refined, and even this is expressly prohibited to be sold, and there are none but christians that dare drink of it, except others do it by stealth. This is a drink very hot and penetrant, like the brandy made of corn in *Poland*. It so falls upon the nerves, that it often causeth shaking hands in those that drink a little too much of it, and casts them into incurable maladies. Here we must accustom ourselves to fair and good water, and to lemonade, which is excellent, and may be made with small charges, and doth not spoil the stomach. But to say all, a man hath no great inclination, in such hot countries as these to drink wine; and I am willing notice should be here taken together with me, that the abstinence from wine in these parts, joined to the general sobriety of the natives, and to the sweats and perpetual transpiration made by the pores, are the cause (in my opinion) that we almost know not what is the gout,

the stone, aches of the kidneys, rheumatisms, quartans; and that those that bring any of these sicknesses hither, as I did, are at length totally freed from them: And further, that the pox itself, though very frequent, is not so cruel nor so pernicious here as in *Europe*: So that people generally live here more healthily than with us. But then, on the other hand, there is not so much vigour here in people, as in our cold climate; and this feebleness and languor of body is a kind of perpetual malady, very troublesome to all, especially in the great heats of summer, and more so to the *Europeans*, whose bodies are not yet inured to heat.

As for shops of excellent handicraftsmen, that is also a thing we must not look for here: All we find is but very little; not that the *Indians* have not wit enough to make them successful in arts, they doing very well (as to some of them) in many parts of *India*, and it being found that they have inclination enough for them, and that some of them make (even without a master) very pretty workmanship, and imitate so well our work of *Europe*, that the difference thereof will hardly be discerned. I have seen amongst them even of our kind of guns, very fine and very good; and pieces of goldsmith's work so well done, that I doubt whether in *Europe* they could be made better. I have also seen in picture and miniature such curious and delicate pieces, that I admired them. Amongst others, I have seen the combats of *Eckbar*, represented upon a buckler by a famous painter, who was said to have been seven years working at it, which seemed to me an admirable piece of work. It is manifest, that they want nothing but good masters, and the precepts of art to give them just proportions; and above all, that life of the face, to which they have not yet been able to attain. The reason therefore why in the shops of *Debli* there are rarely found good handicraftsmen, is not want of wit, but contempt of the workmen, who are ill-treated, and whose work is debased to too low a price. If some *Omrah*, or *Mansebdar*, will have any thing made by a workman of the *Bazar*, he will send for him, and make him work in a manner by force, and afterwards pay him as he pleaseth; and the man will think himself happy too, if in part of payment he receive not the *Korrah*. What heart then can a poor workman have to take pains to succeed in his workmanship? He considers nothing but to dispatch his work, thereby to earn something to put bread into his mouth. So that if there be any of them that succeed, they are of those whom the great lords

lords entertain in their service, and that work only for them.

Touching the things within the fortress, where are the *Seraglio*, and some other royal edifices, you must not look for a *Louvre* or an *Escorial*; those buildings do not resemble ours, nor by what I have said, ought they to resemble them; it is enough that they have that stateliness, which is proper to the climate.

I find nothing remarkable at the entry, but two great elephants of stone, which are on the two sides of one of the gates. Upon one of them is the statue of *Jamel*, that famous *Raja* of *Chitar*; and upon the other, that of *Polta* his brother. These are those two gallant men, that together with their mother, who was yet braver than they, cut so much work for *Eckbar*; and who in the sieges of towns, which they maintained against him, gave such extraordinary proofs of their generosity; that at length they would rather be killed in the out-falls with their mother, then submit: And for this gallantry it is, that even their enemies thought them worthy to have these statues erected for them. These two great elephants, together with the two resolute men sitting on them, do at the first entry into this fortress make an impression of I know not what greatness and awful terror.

After you have passed this gate, you find a long and large street, divided into two by a channel of running water, and having on both sides, as our *Pont-neuf*, a long raised wall five or six foot high, and four broad; and further off some arches shut, that follow one another all along in the form of gates. It is upon this long raised place, that those clerks, comptrolers, and other small officers sit to do their office, without being incommoded by the horses and people that pass along beneath. And it is there also where the *Mansebdars*, or little *Omrabs*, are at night to keep the guard. The water of the channel runneth dividing itself through the whole *Seraglio*, and at length falleth into the ditches to fill them. It is drawn out of the river by a channel opened five or six leagues above *Debli*, and conveyed cross the field, and that through some rocks that have cost great pains to be cut in divers places. And this is very near what may be seen at the entry into one of the two principal gates, that answer to the great piazza.

If you enter at the other gate, you also find presently a pretty long and large street, having its risings on the sides as the other, together with shops upon them in lieu of the arches. This street is properly a *Bazar*, which is very commodious during the sea-

son of the rains and summer, because it is covered by a long and large vault, which hath on the top great openings to let in light.

Besides these two streets, there are many other small ones on the right and left hand, that lead to the apartments, where the *Omrabs* keep their guard, each in his turn, once a week, for twenty four hours. These places are stately ones for *Corps de gardes*, the *Omrabs* striving to beautify them at their own charges. These are ordinarily great raised places respecting a *parterre*, that hath its little channels of running water, small conservatories and jets of water. The *Omrabs* during the twenty four hours of guard, take no care for their table, the king sending them all their meat ready dressed, and they being but to receive it, as they do, with very much ceremony and respect, making three obeysances of thanks, by elevating their hand upon their head, and bowing down to the ground, their face turned toward the king.

There are also found many raised walks and tents in sundry places, that are the offices of several officers. Besides, there are many great halls that are the *Kar-kanays*, or places where handy-craftsmen do work. In one of these halls you shall find embroiderers at work, together with their chief that inspects them; in another you shall see goldsmiths; in a third, picture-drawers; in a fourth, workmen in *Lacca*; in others, joiners, turners, taylors, shoemakers; in others, workmen in silk and purfled gold, and in all those sorts of fine cloth, of which they make turbans, girdles with golden flowers, and those drawers of ladies, that are so fine and delicate, as that sometimes they last them but one night, though they often cost them ten or twelve crowns, when they are of that fashion, as I have mentioned; I mean enriched with those fine embroideries of needle-work.

All these handy-craftsmen come in the morning to those *Kar-kanays*, and work there all day long, and at night return to their several homes, every one passing his life quietly, without aspiring above his condition: for the embroiderer maketh his son an embroiderer, the goldsmith maketh his son a goldsmith, and a physician in a town maketh his son a physician; and no body marrieth but with those that are of his trade; which is religiously observed, not only among the *Heathen* that are obliged to it by their law, but almost always among the *Mahometans* themselves: Whence it is that you may often see very handsome young women, that remain unmarried, passing their time as well as they can, tho' they might meet with good matches, if their

their parents would or could marry them into another family, esteemed less noble than their own.

After all these apartments, we come at length to the *Am-kas*, which is something very royal. This is a great square court with arches, as may be our *Place-Royal*; with this difference, that there are no buildings a-top, and that the arches are severed from one another by a wall, yet so that there is a small gate to pass from one to the other. Over the great gate, which is in the middle of one of the sides of this square, there is a large raised place, all open on the side of the court, which is called *Nagar-kanay*, because that is the place where the trumpets are, or rather the hautboys and timbals, that play together in consort at certain hours of the day and night; but this is a very odd consort in the ears of an *European* that is a new comer, not yet accustomed to it; for sometimes there are ten or twelve of those hautboys, and as many timbals, that sound altogether at once; and there is an hautboy which is called *Karna*, a fathom and an half long, and of half a foot aperture below; as there are timbals of brass or iron, that have no less than a fathom in diameter; whence it is easy to judge what a noise they must needs make. Indeed this musick, in the beginning, did so pierce and stun me, that it was unsufferable for me; yet I know not what strange power custom hath, for I now find it very pleasing, especially in the night, when I hear it afar off in my bed upon my terrafs; then it seemeth to me to carry with it something that is grave, majestic and very melodious. And there is some reason for this melody; for seeing it hath its rules and measures, and that there are excellent masters taught from their youth to manage it, and perfectly know how to qualify and temper those strong sounds of the hautboys and timbals, it cannot be otherwise, but they must thence obtain some sympathy that cannot be displeasing to the ear, provided (as I said) that it be heard at a distance. And even for this reason it is, that they have placed the *Nagar-kanay* very high, and remote from the ears of the king, as you will hear by and by.

Over against the great gate of the court, upon which is the *Nagar-kanay*, beyond the whole court, there is a great and stately hall, with many ranks of pillars high raised, very airy, open on three sides, looking to the court, and having its pillars and ground painted and gilded. In the midst of the wall, which separateth this hall from the *Seraglio*, there is an opening, or a kind of great window, high and large, and so high that a man cannot reach to it from below with his hand: There it is where the king

appears seated upon his throne, having his sons on his sides, and some eunuchs standing, some of which drive away the flies with peacock's tails, others fan him with great fans, others standing there ready with great respect and humility for several services. Thence he seeth beneath him all the *Omrabs*, *Rajas*, and embassadors, who are also all of them standing upon a raised ground encompassed with silver rails, with their eyes downwards, and their hands crossing their stomachs: Somewhat farther off he seeth the *Mansebdars*, or lesser *Omrabs*, which are also all standing in the same posture and respect as the *Omrabs* do: And somewhat farther off, in the remaining part of the hall, and in the court, he seeth a great crowd of all sorts of people. For there it is where the king every day about noon giveth a general audience to all; which is the reason that this great hall is called *Am-kas*, that is, place of audience, or a place of meeting common to great and small.

During an hour and an half, or thereabouts, whilst this assembly lasteth, the king is diverted by seeing pass before him a certain number of the handsomest horses of his stables, to see whether they be well dressed, and in good plight. So he doth see a good number of elephants passing also before him, whose dirty bodies are then well washed and cleansed, and painted black like ink, except that they have two great streaks painted red, which from the top of their head come down to their trunk, where they meet. These elephants have then also certain deckings embroidered with a couple of silver bells hanging down on the sides, fastened to the two ends of a great silver chain, passing over their shoulders; as also certain cow-tails of the great *Tibet*, white and very dear, hanging at their ears like great mustachoes, and two little elephants well accoutered going by their sides, as if they were their slaves and appointed to serve them. These great colosses, as if they were proud to see themselves so bravely adorned and attended, march with much gravity; and when they are come before the king, the conductor that sits upon their shoulders, with a pointed iron in his hand, pricketh them, and speaketh to them, and maketh them bow with one knee, and lift up their trunk into the air and make a noise, which the people take for a *Tassim*, or deep salute.

After these elephants, there are brought divers tam'd *Gazelles*, which are made to fight with one another; as also some *Nilgaws*, or gray oxen, which in my opinion are a kind of *Elands* and *Rhinoceros*, and those great *Buffaloes* of *Bengala* with their prodigious horns, to combat with a lion or tiger; likewise leopards, or panthers tamed, which

he useth in the hunting of *Gazelles*: Further, some of those handsome hunting dogs of *Uzbek* of all sorts, every one with his little red cover; store of birds of prey of all kinds, some of which are for partridges, others for cranes, others to fall upon hares, and, as they say, upon the very *Gazelles*, beating their heads, and blinding them with their wings and claws.

Often also one or two of the *Omrabs* cause, at that time, to pass their cavalry for a review before the king; the *Omrabs* coveting that their horsemen should appear gallant, advantagiously decked with extraordinary garments, and their horses trapped with iron, and harnessed with I know not how many different and odd fashions.

The king taketh sometimes pleasure himself to cause cutlasses, or short swords, to be tried upon dead sheep, brought to him without the bowels, and very neatly packed up, where the young *Omrabs*, *Mansebdars*, and *Gourze-berdars*, or mace-bearers, strive to shew their force and dexterity by cutting asunder the four legs joined together, and the body of the sheep all in one stroke.

Mean time all these divertisements are nothing but an interlude of serious affairs: for, as I have said, the king omits not to make a muster of his cavalry, and well to view them himself. We have seen, that the war being ended, there is not one cavalier, nor any other soldier, but he hath seen him and examined him, either to increase his pay, or to lessen it, or quite to cashier him. Besides it is seen every day, that he commands the petitions, which are shewed him afar off in the crowd of the people, to be brought to him and to be read; ordering the parties concerned to approach, and examining them, and often causing justice to be done them immediately, although he hath the *Adalet-kanay*, the chamber of justice, where he ordinarily is present once a week, attended by his two first *Kadys*, or chief justices; and tho' also at one other time in the week he hath the patience to hear in private, for the space of two hours, ten persons of the common people, whom a good and rich old man presents to him. Whence it appears (to note that by the bye) that those kings, how barbarous soever esteemed by us, do yet constantly remember, that they owe justice to their subjects. All that I have been relating to you of what is transacted in this assembly of the *Am-kas*, seems to me great and royal; but that which hath extremely offended me there, is a kind of adulation too mean and flat, commonly heard in that place. For the king cannot say a word to any purpose, but he is pre-

sently exalted, and some of the first *Omrabs* lifting up their hands, as if they were to receive some benediction from heaven, cry out, *Karamat! Karamat!* Wonder! Wonder! Neither is there any *Mogolian* but he knoweth and glorieth in reciting this proverb in *Persian* verse:

*Aguer chach ronzra Gouyed cheb est in
Bubayed Gouft inek mah ou peruin.*

*If the king saith at noon-day, it is night;
you are to say, behold the moon and the stars.*

This vice passeth even unto the people. I have seen an hundred times people of *Mogol*, who having need of me in some business, made no scruple to come and tell me to my face, for a preamble, that I was *Aristotalis*, *Bocrate*, and *Abouysina Ulzaman*; the *Aristotle*, the *Hippocrates*, and the *Avicenna* of the time. At first I endeavoured to fence myself against it by this ordinary compliment, that I was none such, and was far inferior to the merit of those men: But that made them worse; so that I thought it better to accustom my ears to their flattery, as I have done to their musick. I cannot forbear imparting to you this little piece of flattery, because that will let you see the more how far they carry it. A *Pendet Brachman*, or heathen doctor, whom I had put to serve my *Agab*, at the entering into his service would needs make his panegyrick, and after he had compared him to the greatest conquerors that ever were, and told him an hundred gross and impertinent flatteries, at last concluded seriously with this: *When you put your foot into the stirrup, my lord, and when you march on horseback in the front of the cavalry, the earth trembleth under your feet, the eight elephants, that hold it up upon their heads, not being able to support it.* I could not hold laughing, and I strove seriously to tell my *Agab*, who could not hold neither, that then he would do well not to go on horseback but very seldom, to prevent earth-quakes, which often cause so great mischiefs. Who quickly made this repartee, with a constrained countenance between serious and smiling: *And it is therefore, that I cause myself ordinarily to be carried in a Palekey.*

But no more of this: From the great hall of the *Am-kas* one enters into a more retired place, called the *Gosel-kané*, that is, the place to wash in: But few are suffered to enter there; neither is the court of it so great as that of the *Am-kas*; but the hall is very handsome, spacious, painted and gilded, and its floor raised four or five foot high. There it is where the king is seated in a chair, his *Omrabs* standing round about him, and giveth a more particular au-

dience

dience to his officers, receiveth their accounts, and treateth of the most important affairs of state. All the *Omrabs* are obliged to be, without fail, every evening at this assembly, as in the morning at the *Am-kas*, else something is retrenched of their pay. There is only my Agah *Danechmend-kan*, that because he is a person of learning, and perpetually busy in studying, or in foreign affairs, is dispensed with, except *Wednesday*, which is his day of being upon the guard. These are indispensable customs, and it is very just they should be so in respect to the *Omrabs*, because they are in a manner so in respect of the king; for he almost never faileth to be at these two assemblies, unless some urgent affair do supervene, or he be exceeding sick. And we did see, that *Aureng-Zebe*, even in his last sickness, which was very dangerous, failed not to make himself to be carried thither once a day at least. It is true, he being sick to extremity, that if he had not been seen there, the whole kingdom would presently have been in disorder, and the shops shut up in the city.

Whilst the king in this hall of *Goslekanay* is busy, as I was saying, they omit not to let pass before him most of the things that are made to pass at the *Am-kas*. There is only this difference, that this assembly being held in the evening, and the court being then less, the review of the cavalry of the *Omrabs* is not made, as in the morning at the *Am-kas*: but then there is this of particular, that all the *Mansebdars* that are upon the guard do salute the king, and pass before him with ceremony enough: Before them marcheth with sufficient pomp that which is called the *Kours*, which are many figures of silver carried at the end of some great silver sticks, that are very fine and very artificially made; of which there are two that represent two great fishes, two others that exhibit a fantastick animal of an horrid figure, by them called *Eiedebe*; others that represent two lions, others two hands, others scales, and many more whereof they make mysteries. Amongst these *Kours* and *Mansebdars*, are mixt many *Gourzeberdars*, or mace-bearers, who are chosen men, tall of stature, and of a good mein (spoken of else-where) and appointed to prevent disorders in assemblies, and to run about with speed to carry the orders, and to execute the commands of the king.

I now wish I could lead you about in the *Seraglio*, as I have done in the rest of the fortress: But who is the traveller that can speak of that as an eye-witness? I have sometimes entered into it when the king was not at *Debli*, and I think pretty far, upon the occasion of a great lady, that was

so sick that she could not be carried to the gate, according to custom; but I had always a covering of *Kachemire* over my head, which like a great scarf hung down to my feet, and an eunuch conducted me by the hand, like a blind-man, so that I cannot particularly describe to you what it is. Only in general I can tell you, according to what I have learnt from some eunuchs, that in it there are very handsome apartments severd one from another, more or less great and stately, according to the quality and the pensions of the women; that there is almost no chamber but it hath at its door a store-house of running water; that 'tis full of parterres, pleasant walks, shady places, rivolets, fountains, jets of water, grotto's, great caves against the heat of the day, and great terraces raised high, and very airy, to sleep upon in the cool: In a word, you there know not what 'tis to be hot. They principally boast of a little tower respecting the river, being, say they, covered with plates of gold, as those two that are at *Agra*, and within all gold and azure, very handsome and rich pictures and looking-glasses.

This is very near what I can tell you of the fortress; yet before we leave it, let us return once more to the *Am-kas*. I am now going to represent it to you after the manner I saw it at certain festivals of the year, especially at that which was kept after the war for an extraordinary rejoicing; for this is one of the most remarkable things I have seen.

The king appeared sitting upon his throne, in the bottom of the great hall of the *Am-kas*, splendidly apparelled. His vest was of white sattin flowered, and raised with a very fine embroidery of gold and silk. His turban was of cloth of gold, having a fowl wrought upon it like an heron, whose foot was covered with diamonds of an extraordinary bigness and price, with a great oriental Topaz, which may be said to be matchless, shining like a little sun. A collar of big pearls hung about his neck down to his stomach, after the manner that some heathens wear here their great beads. His throne was supported by six high pillars, or feet, said to be of massy gold, and set with rubies, emeralds and diamonds. I am not able to tell you aright, neither the number nor the price of this heap of precious stones, because it is not permitted to come near enough to count them, and to judge of their water and purity: Only this I can say, that the big diamonds are there in confusion, and that the throne is estimated to be worth four *Kourours* of rupies, if I remember well. I have said else-where, that a rupie is almost equivalent to half a crown, a *Lecque* to an hundred thousand

land rupies, and a *Kourour*, to an hundred *Lecques*: So that the throne is valued at forty millions of rupies, which are worth about sixty millions of *French* livres. *Chah-Jehan* the father of *Aureng-Zebe*, is he that caused it to be made, to shew so many precious stones as successively had been amassed in the treasury, of the spoils of those antient *Patans* and *Rajas*, and of the presents which the *Omrabs* are obliged to make yearly upon certain festival days. The art and workmanship of this throne is not answerable to the matter: That which I find upon it best devised, are two peacocks covered with precious stones and pearls, which are the work of a *Frenchman*, called ——— that was an admirable workman, and after that having circumvented many princes with his doublets, which he knew how to make admirably well, fled unto this court, where he made his fortune. Beneath this throne there appeared all the *Omrabs* in splendid apparel, upon a raised ground covered with a great canopy of purfled gold with great golden fringes, and inclosed by a silver balistre. The pillars of the hall were hung with tapestries of purfled gold, having the ground of gold; and for the roof of the hall, there was nothing but great canopies of flowered sattin, fastened with red silken cords, that had big tufts of silk mix'd with threads of gold hanging on them. Below there was nothing to be seen but great silken tapestries very rich, of an extraordinary length and breadth. In the court there was set abroad a certain tent they call the *Aspex*, as long and large as the hall and more. It was joined to the hall by the upper part, and reached almost as far as to the middle of the court; mean time it was all inclosed by a great balistre covered with plates of silver. It was supported by three pillars, being of the thickness and height of a barge-mast, and by some lesser ones, and they all were covered with plates of silver. It was red from without, and lined within with those fine *Cbites*, or cloth painted by a pencil of *Maslipatan*, purposely wrought and contrived with such vivid colours, and flowers so natural drawn of an hundred several fashions and shapes, that one would have said, it were an hanging *Parterre*. Thus was the great hall of the *Am-kas* adorned and set out.

As to those arched galleries which I have spoken of, that are round about the court; each *Omrab* had received orders to dress one of them at his own charges. And they now striving who should make his own most stately, there was seen nothing but purfled gold above and beneath, and rich tapestries under foot.

The third day of the feast, the king caused himself to be weighed with great ceremony, and after him divers *Omrabs*, in great scales, and with weights said to be of massy gold. I remember that all the *Omrabs* expressed a great joy, that the king weighed two pounds more now than the year preceeding.

Every year there are held such kind of festivals, but never any was seen done with so much splendor and charge. It is said, that that which induced *Aureng-Zebe* to celebrate this splendid feast was nothing else but to make the merchants of purfled gold recover themselves, who had whole magazines full of it, much spoiled in those four or five years of war, wherein they could not sell them. These expences of the *Omrabs* were great; but the simple cavaliers paid their share of it, because that the *Omrabs* after the feast made them take off that commodity to make vests thereof.

There is an antient custom accompanying these feasts, which little pleaseth the *Omrabs*: And it is this, that then they are by respect obliged to make some fair presents to the king in proportion of their pay. There are some, that to appear brave, or for fear of being searched for the rapines by them committed in their offices and governments; or to purchase the favour of the king, in the hopes of having their pensions augmented, make them presents that are extraordinary. Some (which is ordinary enough) do present fine vessels of gold set with precious stones; others present fair pearls, diamonds, emeralds, or rubies; (which also is very common) give him, without other ceremony, a quantity of those pieces of gold, that are worth about a pistole and an half. I remember, that *Aureng-Zebe*, being gone to visit (during this great festival) his visir *Jaser-kan*, not as visir, but as a kinsman, and under the pretence of desiring to see a piece of building, which he had caused to be raised a-new, *Jaser-kan* presented him in these pieces of gold, with the value of an hundred thousand crowns, some good pearls, and one ruby valued forty thousand crowns; but which *Chah-Jehan*, who was admirably well skilled in jewels, discovered not to be worth five hundred crowns; the which perplexed the first jewellers exceedingly, that had been deceived therein.

There is another thing sometimes attending these feasts, which is odd enough: And that is a kind of fair, then held in the *Mehale*, or the king's seraglio. The women of the *Omrabs* and of the great *Mansebdars*, or little *Omrabs* (I mean those that

that are the handsomest and most gallant) are the she-merchants that keep the fair, and sell commodities; the king is the merchant that buyeth, as also all those *Begums* or princesses, and other great ladies of the seraglio. The wares are fine purfled gold, or rich embroideries of the new fashion, some rich ribbons well wrought upon cloth of gold, or some pieces of that fine cloth which is worn by the great ladies, and other such merchandize of great price. If they have ever a handsome daughter, they forget not to bring her along with them to let the king see her, and so make her known to those *Begums*. The jest of this fair is, that the king comes to bargain with those she-merchants, like a petty merchant, penny by penny, contesting that they are not in earnest, that it is too dear, that he will give no more than so much; that the merchandize of such an one is far better, and the like. The women, on the other hand, do their best to make good their part, and without considering that 'tis the king, (which is the best of the sport) they contend and stand upon their price, till sometimes they come to high words, as that that is to be a merchant of snow, (one of their phrases) that he understands nothing in the matter of wares, that he may go to another place, that that commodity is not for him, &c. The *Begums* do the like, or worse, for they sometimes fall to downright railing, so that there is such a cry and noise, and bouffonery, that it cannot be paralleled. But when any price is agreed on, whoever buyeth on this or that side, the king payeth, and the *Begums* pay, all with ready money: And it also falls out often enough, that the king and the *Begums*, instead of silver rupies, let slide (in favour of the handsome she-merchant or her daughter (some rupies of gold, as if 'twere by mistake, and without taking notice of any thing. The she-merchants also take it in like manner, all passeth with expressions of rallery and gallantry. *Chah-Jehan*, who did not hate the sex, would still multiply this fair, and have it all festival days, though he knew it did not very well please some *Omrabs*. But there is one thing, which to me seems to be a little too extravagant; which is, that the public women, I mean not those of the *Bazar*, but those more retired and considerable ones, that go to the great marriages in the houses of the *Omrabs* and *Mansebdars* to sing and dance, those that are called *Kenchen*, as if you would say, *The gilded, the blossoming ones*; that those, I say, did also enter in the time of *Chah-Jehan* into the seraglio at such fairs, and there passed even the whole night in singing and dancing. These are not of that

fort which prostitute themselves promiscuously to all; and they are most of them handsome and well appavelled, and excellent singers and dancers, after the mode of the country, surprizing in the suppleness of their body, and the nimbleness of their motions, yet in the upshot of the rank of publick women. *Chah-Jehan* was not content only to have them come to the seraglio at those feasts, but when they came to salute him, according to that ancient custom that obligeth him to come every *Wednesday* to do obeysance to the king in the *Am-kas*, he often made them enter there, and to pass all night with him in such sports and bouffonneries. *Aureng-Zebe* is more serious, he suffers them not to come into the seraglio; he permits only (not to abrogate the custom) that they may ordinarily come every *Wednesday* to give him the *Salam*, or salute, in the *Am-kas*, at a distance, but they must presently return home again.

But since we are upon these feasts and fairs, and speak of these *Kenchen*, what hurt were it if I should tell you a story to make you merry, of one of our *Frenchmen*; since *Plutarch* is of opinion, that little things are not always to be passed by, and that they often mind us more of the genius and temper of men than the greatest. This *Frenchman* called *Bernard*, was at this court about the latter years of king *Jehan-Guire*. He must needs have been some good physician, and withal excellent in chirurgery, according to the relations that are made of him. He was welcome to *Jehan-Guire*, and became very familiar with him, to that degree that they drank and debauched together. Nor did this *Jehan-Guire* ever think on any thing, but a good cup and merriment, leaving the management of the state to his wife, the renowned *Nour-Mehale*, or *Nour-Jehan-Begum*, which, he used to say, had wit enough to govern the empire without his giving himself any trouble about it. Besides that this our countryman had of the king ten crowns daily pay, he gained yet more by treating those great ladies of the seraglio, and the grand *Omrabs*, that all made use of him, and presented him who could best, because he was both successful in his cures, and extraordinarily favoured by the king: But he was a man that could keep nothing; what he received with one hand, he at the same time gave away with the other; so that he was known and loved by all, especially by those *Kenchen*, upon whom he made great expences, having always a set of them that passed the night at his house in singing and dancing. Mean time he chanced to fall in love with one of these women that was young

young and beautiful, and danced exceedingly well; but the mother apprehending least the daughter, by prostituting herself, should lose her strength and vigour (as it will fall out) would not let her go out of her sight: So that *Bernard* could never find any other way to compass his ends but this. One day when the king made him a present in the *Am-kas*, before all the *Omrabs*, for a considerable cure he had done in the seraglio, he very submissively gave his majesty thanks, waving the present, but instead of it, begged this favour of him, that he would vouchsafe to give him this young *Kencheny*, which he was amorous of, and which stood behind him, ready to make the usual obeysance to the king. The whole assembly brake out into laughter to see him wave the present, and to hear him make so ridiculous a demand, he being a christian, and the woman a *Mahometan*, and a *Kencheny*. But *Jehan-Guire*, who never troubled his head much with *Mahometanism*, and could not hold laughing aloud, presently commanded that this young woman should be given him, saying, 'Lay her on his shoulders, and let him carry her away.' So said, so done; and in the presence of the whole assembly this *Kenchen* was put on *Bernard's* back, who went away thus charged, and carried her to his house.

I cannot forbear giving you here an account of a divertisement, which usually these feasts end with, and which is unknown to us in *Europe*: And that is the combat of the elephants, which the king, the ladies of the court, and the *Omrabs* do behold from several apartments of the fortrefs, and which is shewn before all the people in this great sandy place which looks to the river.

They raise a wall of earth three or four foot broad, and five or six foot high. The two elephants that are to fight, meet one another face to face, one on the one side of the wall, the other on the other, each having two riders upon him, that so if the first, who sits on his shoulders (having a great pointed iron in his hand, to turn the beast on the right or left hand) should fall, the other, who sits backward, may cast himself into his place. These four riders or guides, do animate their elephants to the combat, and vigorously to fall upon their enemy, now flattering them, and by and by chiding them as cowards, and very rudely kicking them with their heels. After they have been a good while thus chafed and pushed on, then you shall see these two bulky masses come to the wall, and bluntly assault one another, and give such cruel blows with their teeth, head and trunk, that you would think they would

soon strike one another dead. This fight continues a while, then ceaseth, and begins afresh several times, until the mud-wall being overthrown, the stoutest of the two passeth upon the other, maketh him turn his back, pursueth him with blows of his teeth and trunk, and gets such an hold-fast upon him, that there is no means of separating them, except it be with the *Cherkys*, that is, certain artificial fires cast betwixt them, this animal being very fearful of fire: Whence it comes, that since fire-arms have been used in armies, elephants do almost no good at all. It is true indeed, that some of those brave ones that come out of *Ceileau*, are not so timorous; but that is not till they have been whole years accustomed to it, by discharging every day muskets before them, and by casting squibs between their legs. Mean time, this conflict of the elephants would be no such displeasing sight, if it were not so cruel, it often happening, that some of those poor guides are trod under foot and perish: For the elephants in the combat have this malice, that they strive above all things to strike with their trunk, and to pull down the conductor of their adversary; and thence it is, that on the day when these poor riders know they are to make the elephants fight, they bid farewell to their wives and children, as if they were condemned to death. That which encourages and comforts them, is, that if they escape and quit themselves well of their duty, the king encreases their pay, and commands a sack of *Peyffas*, which amounts to about fifty *French* livres, to be forthwith given them; or if they be killed upon the spot, he orders that pay be made to the widow, and the office to be given to his son, if he have any. There is another mischief, which often accompanieth this combat; which is, that in this great throng there are always some persons overthrown by the elephant, or trod under foot by the horses and people, that on a sudden run away all at once, and fall one upon another, when the elephants are enraged, and the one pursueth the other, so that then one cannot at any nearness look on but with danger. For my part, the second time I saw it, I did sufficiently repent for having approached so nigh, and if I had not had a good horse, and two good servants, I believe I should have paid for my curiosity as dear as others.

But 'tis time we should leave the fortrefs, and return into the city, there to observe to you two things I had forgot. The first is the great *Mosquee*, seen afar off in the midst of the town, standing upon a rock, flatted to build upon, and to

make round about a large place for four long and fair streets to end upon, and answering to the four sides of the *Mosquee*, viz. one to the principal gate, or frontispiece, another behind that, and the two others to the two gates that are in the middle of the two remaining sides. To come to the gates, there are twenty-five or thirty steps of fair and large stones going round about, except the back-part, which is covered with other great quarry-stones to cover the unevenness of the cut rock: Which contributes much to make this fabrick make a shew. The three entries are stately, there is nothing but marble, and their large gates are covered with copper-plates exceedingly well wrought. Above the principal gate, which is much statelier than the two others, there are many small turrets of white marble as well without as within; that in the middle is much bigger and higher than the two others. All the rest of the *Mosquee*, I mean from these three domes unto the great gate, is without covering, because of the heat of the country; and the whole pavement is of large squares of marble. I grant willingly, that this structure is not according to the rules and orders of architecture, which we esteem is indispensably to be followed; yet I observe nothing in it that offends the eye; but rather find all to be well contrived, and well proportioned: And I do even believe, that if in *Paris* we had a church of this way of architecture, it would not be disliked, if there were nothing else in it but that 'tis of an extraordinary and surprizing aspect, and because that, excepting the three great domes and all the turrets, which are of white marble, it appears all red, as if all were nothing else but great tables of red marble, though it be nothing else but a stone very easy to cut, and which even flaketh off in time. I shall add by the bye, that if it be true what is said of the quarries of this stone, 'tis remarkable, that it grows again every year; whether it be by a petrescent water yearly filling it, or otherwise, I decide not,

This *Mosquee* it is to which the king repaireth every *Friday* (which is the *Sunday* of the *Mahometans*) to pay his devotion. Before he goes out of the fortrefs, the streets he is to pass, are constantly watered because of the heat and dust. Two or three hundred musquetiers are to stand and make a lane about the gate of the fortrefs, and as many more on the sides of a great street that ends at the *Mosquee*. Their musquets are small, but well wrought, and they have a kind of scarlet-case with a little streamer upon them. Besides there must be five or six cavaliers well mounted

ready at the gate; and ride at a good distance before the king, for fear of raising dust; and their office is to keep off the people. Things being thus prepared, the king is seen to come out of the fortrefs seated upon an elephant richly harnessed, under a canopy with pillars painted and gilded; or else on a throne shining of gold and azure, upon two beams, covered with scarlet or purpled gold, carried by eight chosen and well accoutered men. The king is followed by a body of *Omrabs*, some of which are on horseback, some in a *Palekey*. Among these *Omrabs* there are many *Mansebdars*, and mace-bearers, such as I have before spoken of. And though this be not that splendid and magnificent procession, or rather masquerade of the *Grand Seignior*, (I have no properer name for it) nor the warlike order of our kings, it being altogether of another fashion, yet for all that there is something great and royal in it.

The other thing I had forgot to acquaint you with, is an edifice in the city, called the *Karvan-sarah* of the princefs; the renowned *Begum-Sabeh*, eldest daughter of *Chah-Jehan*, having caused it to be built at her charges, and willing to contribute something to the decoration of the town, as all the *Omrabs* strove to do to please *Chah-Jehan*. This is another great square, arched like our *Place-royal*, but still with this difference, that one arch is separate from the other by a wall, and that in the bottom of every arch there is a little chamber; and besides that, above the arches there is a gallery which rangeth round about the building, to enter into as many high chambers, as there are below. This place is the rendezvous of all the great merchants, *Persians*, *Uzbeks*, and other strangers that ordinarily do there find empty chambers convenient enough, to stay in for some time in great safety, the gate being shut every night. If there were a score of such structures in divers parts of *Paris*, strangers newly arriving would not be in that trouble, as often they are to find safe lodgings; for there they might be until they had seen their acquaintance, and looked for good accommodation: Besides that they would serve for magazines of all sorts of commodities, and for the rendezvous of all merchants strangers.

Before we leave *Debli*, I shall add a few lines in reference to this question, which doubtless you will make, viz. Whether in *Debli* there be as much people and gallantry as at *Paris*? Certainly when I consider those three or four cities of *Paris* that are one above another, all those chambers and other rooms full from top to bottom; when I farther consider that incredible throng

and

and confusion of men and women, of horsemen, and passengers on foot, of chariots, sedans and coaches, and that there are but few great piazzas and gardens in *Paris*; this city seems to me a nursery of the world, and I can hardly believe, that there are as many people in *Debli*. Yet notwithstanding when I reflect upon that multitude of shops on one side of *Debli*, and on the other, upon the vast extent of that city, and that there are never less in it than 35000 cavaliers, not to speak of the houses of the *Omrabs*; that of all these cavaliers, there are very few but have wives and children, and a great number of servants having their houses apart as their masters; and that all these houses swarm with women and children; that in many places of *Debli*, though the streets be broad, and there be but few chariots and no coaches, yet at the hours when the heat suffers people to come abroad for their business, there is great confusion: When (I say) I consider all this on the other hand, I do not well know what to determine about the question; and I imagine, that if there be not altogether so much people in *Debli* as in *Paris*, yet at least there wants not much of it.

Concerning the number of gallant people, it must be acknowledged, that there is this difference between those of *Paris* and *Debli*, that of ten persons met with upon the streets of *Paris*, you shall see seven or eight well clothed and of some fashion, which no man will count rascally or beggarly people; whereas in *Debli*, for two or three persons that are pretty well covered, you shall always find seven or eight poor and ragged people; the army which is there drawing after it all that crew of beggars and rascals. Yet this is to be acknowledged for a truth, that in *Debli*, as well as in *Paris*, one meets with a very great quantity of persons well made, gallant, well mounted, well dressed, and well attended: And indeed, to be upon the great place before the fortress, at the hours when all those *Omrabs*, *Rajas*, and *Mansebdars* go to the assembly and to the guard, that hath something great and splendid in it; when you shall see there every where arrive those *Mansebdars* well accoutered, shining with gold, and well mounted, a couple of men going before them to make place, and as many behind; when you shall also see many of those great *Omrabs* and *Rajas* riding upon proud elephants, and some of them on horseback like the *Mansebdars*, and most of them sitting in their rich *Palekys*, carried upon the shoulders of six men, their back leaning against some thick cushion of purpled gold, chew-

ing their *Betele*, to have a good breath and vermilion lips, with a servant on the side carrying a tooth-pick, and a porcelain or silver spitting-vessel; and two more, fanning him and keeping off the flies and dust from him with peacock's tails, and three or four others marching before to put by the people; to which is to be added part of their cavalry (I mean the bravest and best mounted of them) following after: When, I say, all this is seen together marching, as hath been said, with the croud made there as well as at *Paris*, it will not be denied to be something great and very gallant.

As to the country about *Debli*, it is considerable for its fertility; for it beareth rice, millet, and three or four other sorts of legumes, (which is the ordinary food of the common people) corn, sugar, indigo, and all that in abundance. At two leagues off the city on *Agra's* side, in a place by the *Mahometans* called *Koja Kotubeddine*, there is a very ancient edifice which hath been a temple of idols, where are inscriptions that must also be very ancient, the characters of them being such, that no body knows what they are, and different from those of all the languages of the *Indies*.

On another side, at two or three leagues distance from the town, you see an house of pleasure of the king's, which indeed is a stately and royal house, but yet you must not think it approacheth to *Fontain bleau*, or to *St. Germain*, or to *Versailles*. Neither must you imagine that in this champaign of *Debli* there are any *St. Clou's*, *Chantilly's*, *Meudon's*, *Liancour's Vau's*, *Ruelle's*, and many such others; or that you see there, any of those other inferior houses of pleasure belonging to simple gentlemen, citizens and merchants. The maxim, that the subjects of a kingdom have no propriety in any thing, hinders all that.

Lastly, to make you pass quickly those fifty or sixty leagues, which are betwixt *Debli* and *Agra*, you are not to think, that upon this road you shall see any such large and rich boroughs as there are upon our roads. Set aside *Maturas*, where you see still an ancient and stately temple of idols, and excepting some *Karavan-saras*, that are well enough, found on the high-way to serve for night-lodgings, I find nothing considerable there, but that royal alley of trees planted by the command of *Jehan-Guyre*, and continued by the same order for an hundred and fifty leagues, with little pyramids or turrets erected every half league, to mark the ways, and with frequent wells to afford drink to passengers, and to water the young trees.

OF AGRA.

To pass to the description of *Agra*, you have the idea of it, if you have well taken that of *Debli*; at least in respect of its situation, which is also upon the *Gemma*, and in regard of the fortress, or royal house, and of most of the buildings. It is true, that *Agra* hath this advantage over *Debli*, that being a city where the kings have already resided a long while, *viz.* since *Akber*, who caused it to be built, and called it after his name *Akber-abad*; it is of greater extent than *Debli*, and hath more of those fine houses of the *Omrahs* and *Rajas*, and more of the fair *Karavan-sarabs*, as also more of those pretty houses of stone and brick belonging to particular persons; besides that, it hath two famous tombs, of which I shall speak hereafter: But then it hath these disadvantages, that it wants walls; that having been built altogether by one design, it hath not those fair and large streets of uniform buildings as *Debli*; and that, excepting four or five of those principal streets of merchants, which are very long and well enough built, all the rest, for the most part, is nothing but a number of little streets, strait without proportion, and nothing but windings and turnings; which causes strange confusions, when the court is there. I see no other difference between *Agra* and *Debli*, than that I have been just now speaking of; except it be that *Agra* hath more of a country town than *Debli*, especially when we look upon it from an higher place: But 'tis not such a country aspect as disgraceth it, but a very agreeable and diverting one; for there being betwixt the houses of *Omrahs*, *Rajas* and others, store of big green trees mixt, every one having been curious to plant of them in his garden and in his court for shade; and besides, those high houses of the *Banians*, or heathen merchants, appearing here and there between those trees, as relicks of old castles of forests; all that causeth, within the town, very pleasing sights and perspectives, especially in a dry and hot country, where people's eyes seem to desire nothing but verdure and shade.

Mean time you need not go out of *Paris*, to find the most pleasing and the most gallant sight in the world. Take only a walk upon the *Pont-neuf*, attentively beholding in the day-time all things surrounding you, together with that incredible and strange confusion of people; and at night, the infinite number of lights in the windows of those high buildings that are round about you; and the same confusion which continues till after mid-night;

the good citizen, and (which you shall not see in any part of *Asia*) the fair she-citizen walking without fear of robbers, and without the inconvenience of dirt: And then the long files of stars that brave the wind, the rain and darkness: Take only, I say, such a walk upon that bridge, observing all those things together, and then (upon my word) you may boldly maintain it, that you are upon the spot of the fairest, bravest and most magnificent artificial view of the earth; unless it be some part of *China* or *Japan*, where I have not been. What will it be then when the *Louvre*, that work which was once thought would never be seen but in design and upon paper, shall be finished? I have purposely added the word *artificial*, because speaking of the best perspectives that are, we must always except *Constantinople*, when one is in a boat in the midst of that great channel, over against the point of the *Seraglio*: For there you shall find yourself altogether surprized, as it were, in the midst of some great and vast enchanted amphi-theatre; but in this perspective, the workmanship of nature is most considerable, whereas in that of *Paris*, art and dexterity is most conspicuous, which doubtless renders it more eminent, forasmuch as thereby it looks more like the seat of a great king, the capital of a great empire; and is really, without flattering ourselves, and all those beauties of *Debli*, *Agra* and *Constantinople*, well considered and compared, the fairest, the richest, and the chiefest city of the world.

In *Agra*, the reverend fathers the Jesuits have a church and a college, where, in private, they teach the children of some twenty five or thirty christian families, that have (I know not how) gathered and settled themselves there, by the charity of those fathers, the christian doctrine. It was *Ekbar* who (in the time of the great power of the *Portuguese* in the *Indies*) call'd them, and gave them a pension for their subsistence, permitting them to build churches in the capital cities of *Agra* and *Labor*. And his son *Jehan-Guyre* favoured them yet more. But *Chah-Jehan*, son of *Jehan-Guyre*, and father of *Aureng-Zebe* now reigning, took from them their pension, caused their church at *Labor* to be pulled down, and the greatest part of that in *Agra*, overthrowing also the steeple of the church, wherein that bell was that could be heard over all the town.

These fathers the Jesuits entertained great hopes of the progress of christianity in the time of king *Jehan-Guyre*, because of his contempt of the *Mahometan* law, and the esteem he professed to the christian, even giving way to two of his nephews to embrace the christian religion, and to a certain

certain *Mirza-Zul-Karmin* (that had been bred in the seraglio, and was circumcised) to turn christian too, under the pretence that he was born of christian parents, and son of the wife of a rich *Armenian*, which *Jehan-Guyre* had caused to be brought to him into the seraglio.

The same fathers say, that this king, to begin in good earnest to countenance the christian religion, designed to put the whole court into the habit of the *Franqui*, and that after he had prepared all things for it, and even dressed himself in that fashion, he called to him one of the chief *Omrabs*, asking his opinion of this dress; but that this *Omrab* altogether surprized at it, having answered him very seriously, that it was a very dangerous thing, he thought himself obliged to change his mind, and turned all into raillery.

These fathers affirm further, that he being upon the point of death, commanded that they should be called to make him a christian, but that then they were not made acquainted with it. Many say, that this is not so, and that he died as he had lived, without any religion, and in the design he had, as well as his father *Ekbar*, to set himself up for a prophet, and to become the head of a particular religion of his own composition. However it be, there is another thing I have learned of a *Mahometan*, that was son to an officer of *Jehan-Guyre*, namely, that this king being one day in a debauch, called to him a certain religious man of *Florence*, whom he called father *Ateck*, as being a little fiery man; and after he had commanded him to say all he could against the law of *Mahomet*, and for the law of *Christ*, in the presence of many knowing *Mullahs*, he would have made this terrible trial of both those laws, viz. That a great pit should be made, and a good fire in it, and that father *Ateck* with the *Gospel* under his arm, and one of those *Mullahs* with the *Alcoran* under his, should cast themselves both together into that fire, and that he would embrace the law of him that should not burn. But that the sad countenance of the *Mullahs*, altogether astonished, and the compassion he had of the *Florentine* father, who accepted the condition, diverted him from it. Whatever the truth be of this story, 'tis certain, that whilst *Jehan-Guyre* lived, these fathers were respected and honoured in this court, and that they conceived great hopes of the advancement of christianity in those parts; but that since that time they have had no great cause to hope much of it, except perhaps what they received by the familiarity which our father *Buzé* had with *Dara*. But I shall say no more of this mat-

ter of our missions, intending to give you a particular long letter of it another time.

Certainly I cannot but exceedingly approve of missions, and the good missionaries, especially our *Capuchins* and *Jesuits*, and some others of our neighbourhood, because they give meek instructions, without that indiscreet zeal and transport which is expressed by some others, and they charitably entertain the christians of the country in their religion, whether they be *Catholicks*, or *Greeks*, or *Armenians*, *Nestorians*, *Jacobites*, or others; and forasmuch also as they are the refuge and comfort of poor strangers and travellers, and by their knowledge, sober and exemplary life, they confound the ignorance and licentious life of the infidels: which some others do not always practice; who therefore would do better to keep themselves close in their convents, and not come hither and give us a masquerade of our religion, and by doing so, and by their ignorance, jealousy, looseness, and the abuse of their authority and character, become a stumbling-block to the law of *Jesus Christ*. But a particular thing infers no general; and notwithstanding those miscarriages, I very much applaud the missions, and pious and learned missionaries, they are absolutely necessary; it is the honour and prerogative of christianity, to have every where thorough the world substitutes of the apostles. But after all that I have seen, and after all the converse and discourse I have so often had with those obstinate infidels, I may take leave to say, that I almost despair to see struck such great strokes as the apostles did, who converted two or three thousand people in one sermon; finding by experience, and knowing very well upon other accounts, after I have travelled through all the places of the missions in the *East*, that all the missionaries together, not only in the *Indies*, but in all the *Mahometan* dominions, do indeed by their instructions, accompanied with charity and alms, make some progress among the *Gentils*, but do in ten years not make one christian of a *Mahometan*. Truly these infidels have high thoughts of our religion, they never speak of *Jesus Christ* but with great veneration; and they never pronounce the word *Ayfa*, that is to say, *Jesus*, without adding that of *Azeret*, which is *Majesty*. They even agree with us, that he was miraculously born of a virgin-mother, and that he is the *Kelum-Allah*, and the *Roub-Allah*, the word of God, and the spirit of God: But 'tis not to be hoped, that they will approve the rest of our religion, so as to abandon theirs in which they were born, and their false prophet, to embrace ours, what reasons soever

be given them. Our christians of *Europe* ought to wish, and even to employ their power, care and charity, that missionaries may be sent over all, such as may be no charge to the people of the country, and whom want may not induce to do mean things, as well for the reasons already alledged, as for this cause, that they may be ever ready to lay hold on all occasions, always to bear witness to the truth, and to labour in the vineyard when it shall please God to give them an overture. But for the rest we ought to be disabused, and not to suffer ourselves to be so easily persuaded of so many stories, and not to believe the thing to be so facile as some make it. The sect is too much libertine, and too attractive to quit it; it is a pernicious law, which hath been introduced by arms and force, and still gets ground by those means; and I hardly know any other way capable to shake and root it out. If therefore there intervene not some of those grand and extraordinary strokes of heaven, and God by his powerful and particular providence interpose not, (as we ought always to hope, according to the great appearances there have been in *China*, in *Japan*, and in the person of king *Jehan-Guyre*) considering the irreverence of the christians in their churches, so dissonant from our belief of the particular presence of God upon our altars, and so different from that deep and astonishing respect which those infidels bear to their mosques, where they would not so much as turn their heads, or speak the least word to one another; there will always be great obstacles to their conversion.

In *Agra* the *Hollanders* have also an house, where ordinarily they keep four or five persons. Formerly they had a good trade there in selling scarlet, great and small looking-glasses, plain lace, and gold and silver lace, and some small wares; and in buying *Indigo*, which is gathered round about *Agra*, but especially at *Bianes*, but two leagues distant from it, and whither they go once a year, having an house there for that purpose; as also in buying those cloths of *Jelapour* and *Laknau*, at seven or eight days journey from *Agra*, where they also keep an house, and whither they send some factors once a year. But now they say, that there is little profit for them in that trade, whether it be that the *Armenians* drive the same traffick, or that 'tis so far from *Agra* to *Surat*, or that commonly some mischief or other befalls their *Caravans*, which must pass by *Amad-avad* over all the countries of the *Rajas* to avoid the ill ways, and the mountains that are on the side of *Goualeor* and *Brampour*, which is the nearer way. Yet notwithstanding

these discouragements, they will never (I believe) abandon this factory, as the *English* have done theirs in that place, if it were for nothing else but their spices, which there they sell very well, and for having some of their people near the court taking care of their concerns; since it cannot be otherwise, but that frequently some trouble will befall their factories, by the tyranny of the governors and other officers, now from the side of *Bengala* and *Patna*, another time from *Surat* and *Amad-avad*.

We will conclude this part with those two wonderful *Mausolees*, or tombs, that give to *Agra* so much advantage over *Debli*. It was *Jehan-Guyre* that caused the first to be erected to honour the memory of his father *Eckbar*; and *Chah-Jehan* raised the other in honour of *Taje-Meballe* his wife, that extraordinary and celebrated beauty of the *Indies*, whom he loved so passionately, that 'tis said, he never enjoyed any other woman but her whilst she lived, and that when she died, he was in danger to die himself.

I shall not stay to discourse of the monument of *Eckbar*, because whatever beauty is there, is found in a far higher degree in that of *Taje-Meballe*, which I am now going to describe unto you. You may therefore represent to yourself, that at the going out of the city of *Agra* eastward, you enter into a long and broad paved street, which riseth gently, and hath on one side an high and long wall, making the side of a square garden that is much bigger than our *Place-Royal*; and on the other side a row of new houses arched, such as are those of the principal streets of *Debli* above spoken of. Having gone the length of half the wall, you shall find on the right-hand of the side of the houses a great gate well made, by which one enters into a *Karavan-serah*, and over against it, on the wall's side, a stately gate of a great square pavilion, by which you enter into the garden between two conservatories built up with free-stone. This pavilion is longer than 'tis large, built of a stone like red marble, but not so hard. The frontispiece seems to me very magnificent, after their way, and as high as that of *St. Louis* in the street of *St. Anthony*. It is true, you do not there see columns, architraves and cornishes, cut out after the proportion of those five orders of architecture so religiously observed in our palaces; it is a different and particular kind of structure, but such an one as wants no agreeableness even in the unusualness of its contrivance, and which, in my opinion, would very well deserve a place in our books of architecture. 'Tis almost nothing but arches upon arches, and galleries over galleries, disposed and ordered an hundred different

different ways; and yet all appears stately, well enough contrived and managed. There is nothing that offends the eye; on the contrary all is pleasing, and a man cannot be weary in beholding it. The last time I saw it, I was there with one of our *French* merchants, who also could not behold it enough. I durst not tell him my thoughts of it, apprehending I might have spoiled my gift, and framed it according to that of *Indostan*: But he being lately come from *France*, I was very glad to hear him say, 'He had never seen any thing so august and bold in *Europe*.'

After you are somewhat entered into the pavilion to pass into the garden, you find yourself under an high vault made like a cap, which hath galleries round about and below, on the right and left side, two divans or causeys, made up of earth of eight or ten foot high. Opposite to the gate there is a great arch quite open, by which you enter into an alley, which cuts almost the whole garden into two equal parts. This alley is by way of terrass so large, as that six coaches can pass on it a-breast, paved with great squares of hard stone, raised some eight foot high above the garden-plots, and divided in the middle by a channel walled up with free-stone, having jets of water at certain distances. After you have gone twenty-five or thirty paces upon this alley, turning your eye to behold the entry, you see the other face of the pavilion, which though it be not comparable to that which looks to the street, yet wants not its stateliness, being high and of a structure approaching the other. And on both sides of the pavilion, along the wall of the garden, you see a long and profound gallery by way of terrass, supported by many low columns near one another. And in this gallery 'tis, that during the season of the rains, the poor are permitted to enter, who come there thrice a week, receiving alms from a foundation made there by *Chah-Jehan* for ever.

Advancing further in this alley, you discover at a distance before you a great dome, where is the sepulchre, and below on the right and left hand you see divers alleys of a garden set with trees, and several parterres covered with flowers. At the end of this alley, besides the dome before you, you discover on the right and left two great pavilions, built of the same stone, and consequently, looking all red as the first. These are great and spacious square edifices, made by way of terrass, opening by three arches, and having at the bottom the wall of the gar-

den, so that you march under them as if they were high and large galleries.

I shall not stay to describe unto you the ornaments within these pavilions, because in respect of their walls, ground-plot, and pavement, they are not much unlike the dome, which I am going to delineate unto you, after I shall have observed, that between the end of the alley (which we have spoken of) and the dome, there is a pretty large space of a floor, which I call a water-parterre, because that the diversly cut and figured stones you march upon, are there instead of the box-wood of our parterres. And 'tis from the midst of this parterre, that you may conveniently see a part of this edifice, where the sepulchre is, which remains new to be considered.

It is a great and vast dome of white marble, which is near the height of that of our *Val de Grace* in *Paris*, surrounded with many turrets of the same matter, with stairs in them. Four great arches support the whole fabric, three of which are visible, the fourth is closed in by the wall of an hall, accompanied with a gallery, where certain *Mullahs* (entertained for that end) do continually read the *Alcoran*, with a profound respect to the honour of *Taje-Mekalle*. The mould of the arches is enriched with tables of white marble, wherein are seen engraven large *Arabian* characters of black marble, which is very agreeable to behold. The interior or concave part of this dome, and the whole wall from top to bottom is covered with white marble; and there is no place which is not wrought with art, and hath not its peculiar beauty. You see store of agat, and such sort of stones as are employed to enrich the chapel of the great duke of *Florence*; much jasper, and many other kinds of rare and precious stones, set a hundred several ways, mix'd and enchased in the marble that covers the body of the wall. The quarries of white and black marble, that make the floor, are likewise set out with all imaginable beauty and stateliness.

Under this dome is a little chamber inclosing the sepulchre, which I have not seen within, it not being opened but once a year, and that with great ceremony, not suffering any christian to enter, for for fear (as they say) of prophaning the sanctity of the place: But really by what I could learn, because it hath nothing rich or magnificent in it.

There remains nothing else, than to give you occasion to take notice of an alley in the fashion of a terrass, twenty or twenty five paces large, and as many or more high, which is betwixt the dome and

and the extremity of the garden, whence you see below you, at the foot of it, the river *Gemma* running along a great campaign of gardens, a part of the town of *Agra*, the fortress, and all those fair houses of the *Omrabs* that are built along the water. There remains no more, I say, than to cause you to observe this terrass, which taketh up almost the whole length of one side of the garden, and then to desire you to judge, whether I had reason to say, that the *Mausoleum*, or tomb of *Taje-Meballe*, is something worthy to be

admired. For my part I do not yet well know, whether I am not somewhat infected still with *Indianism*; but I must needs say, that I believe it ought to be reckoned amongst the wonders of the world, rather than those unshapen masses of the *Ægyptian* pyramids, which I was weary to see after I had seen them twice, and in which I find nothing without, but pieces of great stones ranged in the form of steps one upon another, and within nothing but very little art and invention.

A LET.

A

L E T T E R

WRITTEN TO

Mr. *CHAPELAIN*,

Sent from CHIRAS, in PERSIA, October 4. 1667.

Concerning the superstitions, strange fashions, and the doctrine
of the native *Indians*, or *Gentiles* of INDOSTAN.Whence may be seen, that there are no opinions so ridiculous, and so extra-
vagant, which the spirit of man is not capable of.

S I R,



IF I should live whole ages, I know not whether I could ever forget those two eclipses of the sun, of which I saw one in *France*, in the year 1654. and the other in the *Indies* at *Debli* in the year 1666. if I remember aright. The former seemed very remarkable to me upon the account of the childish credulity of our common people, and of that pannic terror which had so seized the heart, that some bought drugs against the eclipse; others kept themselves close in the dark in their caves, and their well-closed chambers; others cast themselves in great multitudes into the churches: Those apprehending some malign and dangerous influence, and these believing that they were come to their last day, and that the eclipse would shake the foundations of nature, and overturn it, notwithstanding any thing that the *Gassendi's*, *Robervals*, and many other famous philosophers could say or write against this persuasion, when they demonstrate, that this eclipse was of the same nature with so many others that had preceded without any mischief, and that it was a known accident, foreseen and ordinary, which had nothing peculiar, but

what some cheating astrological mountebanks might have devised.

That which I saw at *Debli* seemed also very considerable to me, by reason of the ridiculous errors and superstitions of the *Indians*. At the time when the said eclipse was to appear, I went up to the terrass of my house, which was situate on the side of the river *Gemna*, thence I saw both sides of the river, for near a league in length, covered with the heathen idolaters, that stood in the water up to their girdle, demurely looking up into the sky, to the end that they might plunge and wash themselves at the moment when the eclipse should begin. The little boys and girls were stark naked; the men were almost so too, but that they had a kind of scarf round about their thighs to cover their nakedness: And the married women, together with the young maids that were not above six or seven years old, were covered with a single cloth. Persons of condition, as the *Rajas*, or sovereign princes of those *Gentiles*, (who commonly are about the person and in the pay of the king) and the *Serrabs* or exchangers, the bankers, jewellers, and other great merchants, were most of them gone to the other side

of the water with all their family, and had there put up their tents, and fastened in the river certain *Kanates*, which are a kind of skreens, to perform their ceremonies, and conveniently to wash themselves with their wives, so as not to be seen by others. These idolaters no sooner saw the eclipse begin, but they raised a great cry, and all at once plunged themselves wholly into the water, I know not how many times one after another; standing up afterwards in the water, and lifting up their eyes and hands to heaven, muttering and praying with great devotion, and from time to time taking water with their hands, which they threw up towards the sun, bowing down their heads very low, moving and turning their arms and hands sometimes one way, sometimes another, and thus continuing their plunging, praying and apishness unto the end of this eclipse; at which time every one retired, casting some pieces of silver a good way off into the water, and giving alms to the *Brachmans* or men of the law, who failed not to be at that ceremony. I took notice, that at their going out of the water, they all took new clothes that were laid ready for them folded up on the sand, and that many of the devouter sort left there their old garments for the *Brachmans*. And in this manner did I see from my terrass this great solemnity of the eclipse; which was celebrated after the same manner in the river *Indus* and *Ganges*, and in all the other rivers, as also in the receivers of water in the *Indies*, but especially in that of the *Tanaïser*, where were met together above an hundred and fifty thousand persons, come together from all parts of the *Indies*, because the water of it is on that day reputed more holy and efficacious than on any other.

The *Great Mogol*, tho' he be a *Mahometan*, suffers these heathens to go on in these old superstitions, because he will not, or dareth not cross them in the exercise of their religion, and besides it is not performed without presenting him, by the hands of the *Brachmans* as commissioners, a *Lecque* or an hundred thousand rupies, which are worth above fifty thousand crowns, for which he returns nothing but a few vests and an old elephant. Now you shall see those solid reasons (forsooth) which they alledge for this feast, and for the ceremonies by them observed in it.

We have (say they) our four *Beths*, that is, books of the law, sacred and divine writings, given us by God through the hands of *Brabma*. These books do teach us, that a certain *Deuta*, which is a kind of corporeal divinity, very malign and mischievous, very black and very filthy

(these are their own expressions in their language) seizeth on the sun, blackens it as it were with ink, and so darkens it: That this sun, which is also a *Deuta*, but of the best and the most beneficent and perfect divinities, is at that time in very great pains and terrible anguish, to see himself thus seized on and misused by that black villain: That 'tis a general duty to endeavour to deliver him from this miserable condition; which cannot be effected but by the force of prayers, washings and alms, and that these actions are of a very extraordinary merit, to such a degree, that an alms given at that time is worth an hundred given at another. Who is there, say they, that would not give *cent. pour cent*?

Sir, these are the two eclipses I spoke of, which I shall hardly ever forget, and which minister occasion to me to proceed to some other extravagancies of these *Gentiles*, whence you may draw what consequences you shall please.

In the town of *Jagannat*, which is seated upon the gulf of *Bengala*, and where is that famous temple of the idol of the same name, there is yearly celebrated a certain feast which lasts eight or nine days, if I remember well. There is found an incredible number of people, as there was antiently in the temple of *Hammon*, and as 'tis at this day at *Mecca*. This number, 'tis said, amounts sometimes to above an hundred and fifty thousand persons. They make a stately engine of wood, as I have seen of them in many other places of the *Indies*, with I know not how many extravagant figures, almost such as we are wont to paint monsters with two heads or bodies, half man and half beast, or gigantic and terrible heads, satyrs, apes or devils; which engine is put upon fourteen or sixteen wheels, such as the carriages of cannons may be, which fifty or sixty persons more or less do draw, or thrust forwards: Upon the middle of it appears most conspicuously the idol *Jagannat*, richly dressed and adorned, which is thus transported from one place to another.

The first day that they shew this idol with ceremony in the temple the crowd is usually so great to see it, that there is not a year, but some of those poor pilgrims, that come a-far off, tired and harassed, are suffocated there; all the people blessing them for having been so happy, as to die on so holy an occasion. And when this hellish triumphant chariot marcheth, there are found (which is no fable) persons so foolishly credulous and superstitious as to throw themselves with their bellies under those large and heavy wheels, which bruise them to death, having suffered themselves

to be persuaded, that there is no action so heroic nor so meritorious as that, and that *Jagannat* will at the same time receive them as his children, and cause them to be born again in a state of felicity and glory.

The *Brachmans* for their particular advantage and interest, I mean that of alms and respect given to them as persons devoted to these mysteries, do entertain the people in these errors and superstitions, and they proceed even to such infamous cheats and villanies, that I could never have believed them, if I had not fully informed myself of it. These impostors take a young maid, of the fairest they can meet with, to be the bride (as they speak, and bear the besotted people in hand) of *Jagannat*, and they leave her all night in the temple (whither they have carried her) with the idol, making her believe that *Jagannat* himself will come and embrace her, and appointing her to ask him, Whether it will be a fruitful year, what kind of processions, feasts, prayers and alms he demands to be made for it. In the mean time one of these lustful priests enters at night by a little back-door in to the temple, deflowereth this young maid, and maketh her believe any thing he pleaseth; and the next day, being transported from this temple into another with the same magnificence, she was carried before upon the chariot of triumph on the side of *Jagannat* her bridegroom; these *Brachmans* make her say aloud before all the people, whatsoever she had been taught of these cheats, as if she had learnt it from the very mouth of *Jagannat*. But let us go on (if you please) to follies of another kind.

Before this chariot and often in the very temples of the idols, on festival days, you shall see public women dance, making an hundred indecent and extravagant postures; and yet the *Brachmans* find a way to accord all that with their religion. I have seen some women, that are not only famous for their beauty, but also for great reservedness, which refused very considerable presents of certain *Mahometans* and christians, and even of heathen strangers, as if they were only dedicated to the ministry and the ministers of *Deuta*, or the idol temple, to the *Brachmans* and these *Fakires*, which are there seated most of them upon ashes round about, altogether naked with their fearful hair of *Megera*, and in the posture I shall speak of hereafter. But let us stay no longer upon these follies.

There are so many writers of voyages relating the custom of the *Indian* women, burning themselves with their husbands, that I think something at last will be believed of it. For my part I am going to

take my turn also, and to write to you of it like others; yet in the mean time observing withal, that 'tis not all true what is said of it, and that now they do not burn themselves in so great a number as formerly, because the *Mahometans*, that bear sway at present in *Indostan*, are enemies to that barbarous custom, and hinder it as much as they can; not opposing it absolutely, because they are willing to leave their idolatrous people, who are far more numerous than themselves, in the free exercise of their religion, for fear of some revolt: But by indirectly preventing it, in that they oblige the women, ready to burn themselves, to go and ask permission of the respective governors, who send for them, make converse with their own women, remonstrate things to them with annexed promises, and never give them this permission, but after they have tried all these gentle ways, and till they find them fix'd in their sottish resolution. Which yet hinders not but that many burn themselves, especially of those that live upon the lands of the *Rajas*, where no *Mahometan* governors are. I shall not stay to give you the history of all those, which I have seen burn themselves; that would be too long, and too tedious: I shall only relate unto you two or three examples of them, whence you may judge of the rest; but first you shall have the relation of a woman, which I was sent unto to divert her from such a mischievous design.

A friend of mine called *Bendidas*, the first clerk of my *Agab Danech-mend-kan*, died of an hecick, having been treated by me above two years. His wife immediately resolved to burn herself, together with the body of her husband; but her parents, by the order of my *Agab*, whose servants they were, endeavoured to dissuade her from it, representing to her, that tho' it were indeed a generous and laudable resolution, and would be a great honour and happiness in the family, yet she ought to consider, that her children were yet little, that she could not abandon them; and that she was to prefer their good, and the affection she had for them, to the love she had for her husband, and to her own satisfaction. These parents not having been able to prevail with her by all these representations, bethought themselves to desire me to go to her, as sent from my *Agab*, and as an antient friend to the family. I went, and when I came, I did, as soon as I came in, see a cluster of seven or eight fearful old women, together with four or five infatuated and brain-sick *Brachmans*, who all cried by turns, beating their hands about the dead corps, and the widow in her loose hair, looking pale, yet with

with dry and sparkling eyes, sitting and crying also aloud, and beating her hands, as the rest, with a kind of cadency, upon the feet of her husband. The out-cry and noise being ended, I approached to this company of people, and addressing myself to the widow, I gave her softly to understand, that I came from *Danechmend-kan*; that he had appointed a monthly pension of two crowns to each of her two sons, but on condition that she should not burn herself, to the end that she might take care of them, and breed them up as was fit; that else we knew ways enough to hinder her from burning herself, if she were obstinate for it, and to make those repent that should allure and incite her to such an unreasonable resolution, especially since none of her kindred was satisfied with it, and that she would not be counted infamous, as those are that want the resolution to burn themselves after the death of their husbands, when they have no children. I often inculcated to her all these considerations, without hearing a word of answer from her; though at last she said, looking fiercely upon me: Well, if I am hindered to burn myself, I am resolved to break my head against the wall. Then said I to myself, what diabolical fury doth possess thee? And to her I answered, full of indignation: Then take thy children, thou unhappy creature, and cut their throats, and burn them with thee; for they will be starved, I being now ready to return to *Danechmend-kan*, and to annul their pension. These words being spoken by me, with the loudest and most menacing tone I could, made impression upon the spirit of this woman, and upon that of all the assistants: She presently, without any repartee, let her head sink down upon her knees, and most of the old women and *Brabmans* went away. Whereupon her relations, that were come with me, entered and parley'd with her. And I, thinking I had done enough, took horse and came away to my lodgings, supposing they would do the rest well enough. In short, about evening, when I was going to give an account to my *Agab* of what I had done, I met with her parents, who thanked me, and said, that the dead corps had been burnt, and the widow persuaded to remain alive.

Concerning the women that have actually burned themselves, I have so often been present at such dreadful spectacles, that at length I could endure no more to see it, and I retain still some horror when I think on't. Yet I shall represent to you some of them, but pretend not to express to the life, with what courage and resolution these poor women achieved such a direful tra-

gedy; for there is nothing but the eye itself that can exhibit a right idea thereof.

When I was passing from *Amad-avad* to *Agra*, over the lands of the *Rajas*, that are in those parts, there came news to us in a borough, where the caravan rested under the shade (staying for the cool of the evening, to march on their journey) that a certain woman was then upon the point of burning herself with the body of her husband. I presently rose, and ran to the place where it was to be done, which was a great pit, with a pile of wood raised in it, whereon I saw laid a dead corps, and a woman, which at a distance seemed to me pretty fair, sitting near it on the same pile, besides four or five *Brabmans*, putting the fire to it from all sides; five women of a middle age, and well enough dressed, holding one another by the hand, and dancing about the pit, and a great crowd of people, men and women, looking on. The pile of wood was presently all on fire, because store of oil and butter had been thrown upon it, and I saw at the same time through the flames, that the fire took hold of the cloaths of the woman, that were imbued with well scented oils, mingled with powder of santal and saffron. All this I saw, but observed not, that the woman was at all disturbed; yea, it was said, that she had been heard to pronounce with great force these two words, *Five, Two*, to signify, according to the opinion of those that hold the soul's transmigration, that this was the *fifth* time she had burnt herself with the same husband, and that there remained but two times for perfection; as if she had at that time this remembrance, or some prophetic spirit. But here ended not this infernal tragedy: I thought it was only by way of ceremony, that these five women sung and danced about the pit; but I was altogether surprized, when I saw, that the flame having taken hold of the cloaths of one of them, she cast herself with her head foremost into the pit, and that, after her, another, being overcome by the flame and smoke, did the like: And my astonishment redoubled afterwards, when I saw, that the remaining three took one another again by the hand, continued their dance without any apparent fear, and that at length they precipitated themselves, one after another, into the fire, as their companions had done. It troubled me sufficiently, that I knew not what that meant, but I learnt shortly after, that these had been five slaves, who, having seen their mistress extremely afflicted at the sickness of her husband, and heard her promise him that she would not survive him, but burn herself with him, were so touched with com-

compassion and tenderness towards this their mistress, that they engaged themselves in a promise to follow her in her resolution, and to burn themselves with her. Many persons, whom I then consulted about this custom of women burning themselves with the bodies of their husbands, would persuade me, that what they did was from an excess of affection they had for them: But I understood afterwards, that it was only an effect of opinion, prepossession and custom; and that the mothers, from their youth, besotted with this superstition, as of a most virtuous and most laudable action, such as was unavoidable to a woman of honour, did also infatuate the spirit of their daughters from their very infancy; altho' at the bottom, it was nothing else but an art of the men the more to enslave their wives, thereby to make them have the more care of their health, and to prevent poisoning of them.

But let us proceed to another tragedy, which I shall rather represent to you than many others, at which I have been present, because it hath something uncommon in it. 'Tis true, I was not there myself; but you may do as I, who do not stand out against crediting these things, because I have seen so many of them which seemed incredible to me. This action is grown so famous in the *Indies*, that no body doubts of it, and it may be, that even yourself have already heard of it in *Europe*.

'Tis of a woman, that was engaged in some love-intrigues with a young *Mahometan* her neighbour, that was a taylor, and could play finely upon the tabor. This woman, in the hopes she had of marrying this young man, poisoned her husband, and presently came away to tell her taylor, that it was time to be gone together as they had projected, or else that she should be obliged to burn herself. The young man fearing lest he might be entangled in a mischievous business, flatly refused her. The woman, not at all surprized at it, went to her relations, and advertised them of the sudden death of her husband, and openly protested that she would not survive him, but burn herself with him. Her kindred well satisfied with so generous a resolution, and the great honour she did to the whole family, presently had a pit made, and filled with wood, exposing the corps upon it, and kindling the fire. All being prepared, the woman goes to embrace and bid farewell to all her kindred that were there about the pit, among whom was also the taylor, who had been invited to play upon the tabor that day, with many others of that sort of men, according to the custom of the country. This fury of a woman being also come to this

young man, made as if she would bid him farewell with the rest; but instead of gently embracing him, she taketh him with all her force about his collar, pulls him to the pit, and tumbleth him together with herself into the ditch, where they both were soon dispatch'd.

She which I saw burn herself, when I parted from *Surat* to travel into *Persia*, in the presence of Monsieur *Chardin* of *Paris*, and of many *English* and *Dutch*, was of a middle age, and not unhandsome. To represent unto you the undaunted chearfulness that appeared in her countenance, the resolution with which she marched, wash'd herself, spoke to the people; the confidence with which she looked upon us, viewed her little cabin, made up of very dry millet-straw and small wood, went into this cabin, and sat down upon the pile, and took her husband's head into her lap, and a torch into her own hand, and kindled the cabin, whilst I know not how many *Brabmans* were busy in kindling the fire round about: To represent to you, I say, all this, as it ought, is not possible for me; I can at present scarce believe it myself, though it be but a few days since I saw it.

'Tis true, that I have seen some of them, which at the sight of the pile and fire, appeared to have some apprehension, and that perhaps would have gone back, but 'tis often too late: Those demons, the *Brabmans*, that are there with their great sticks, astonish them, and hearten them up, or even thrust them in; as I have seen it done to a young woman that retreated five or six paces from the pile, and to another that was much disturbed when she saw the fire take hold of her cloaths, these executioners thrusting her in with their long poles. Yet I have often seen one, that is still a handsome woman, and had saved herself out of their hands, falling into the hands of the *Gadous*, that sometimes meet there in great numbers, when they know that 'tis some fair and young woman that is to be burnt, and that hath no great kindred, nor much company with her: For the women that are afraid of the pile, and fly away from it, knowing that they cannot be received again amongst the *Gentiles*, nor live with them, because they repute them infamous, after they have committed such a fault, and brought such a disgrace upon their religion; such women, I say, are ordinarily the prey of this kind of men, who are also counted infamous in the *Indies*, and that have nothing to lose. A *Mogolian* durst not save nor receive any, for fear of bringing himself into great trouble. Some *Portuguese* living in sea-ports, where they were strongest, have sometimes carried away some of them. For my part,

I have often been so enraged against those *Brahmans*, that if I durst, I had strangled them. I remember, among others, that at *Labor*, I saw a very handsome and a very young woman burnt: I believe she was not above twelve years of age. This poor unhappy creature appeared rather dead than alive, when she came near the pile; she shook, and wept bitterly: Mean time three or four of these executioners, the *Brahmans*, together with an old hag that held her under the arm, thrust her on, and made her sit down upon the wood, and lest she should run away, they tied her legs and hands, and so burnt her alive. I had enough to do to contain myself for indignation; but I was forced to content myself with detesting this horrid religion, and to say by my self, what the poet once said of such another, upon the occasion of *Iphigenia*, whom her own father *Agamemnon* sacrificed to *Diana*, for the interest of the *Grecians*, amongst whom he was one of the principal leaders.

---*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum!*

These are certainly very barbarous and cruel customs, but that which the *Brahmans* do in some other places of the *Indies* is yet more so: For instead of burning those women that will die upon the death of their husbands, they bury them to the ground alive up to the very throat, and then two or three of them fall at once upon them, and wring their neck round, and so choak them, covering them quickly with some earth, and then marching over their heads. But let us pass to some other customs of those countries.

Most of the *Gentiles* burn their dead; but some there are, that do no more than with some straw broil them on a river's side, casting them thereupon from the height of a steep bank into the water; which I have often seen upon the river *Ganges*.

Some of these *Gentiles* there are, who, when they perceive a sick person near death, carry him to the side of a river, (at which barbarous action I have been once present) and then first put his feet into the water, and afterwards let him slide down as to his throat, and then, when they think he is now expiring, they sink him quite under water, and there leave him, after they have made a great clamour, and clapping with their hands: And this, say they, to the end that the soul leaving the body may be wash'd from all the impurities she may have contracted in the body. And this is not only a reason given by the vulgar; for I have spoken with the most learned of them, who delivered the same

with great seriousness. But let us go on to other extravagancies.

Amongst that vast number and great variety of *Fakires*, *Derviches*, or religious *Heathens* of the *Indies*, there is abundance of them that have convents, in which there are superiors, and wherein they make certain vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, leading so odd a life, that I doubt whether you can give credit to it. These are commonly called *Jaguis*, as if you should say, *united to God*. You shall see many of them sit stark naked, or lie days and nights upon ashes, and, commonly enough, under some of those large trees that are on the sides of the *Talabs* or ponds, or else in those galleries that are about their *Deuras* or idol-temples. Some of them have their hair hanging down to the middle of their legs, and that wreathed into several parcels, as the large main of our barbes, or rather, as the hair of those that have the sickness of *Poland*, called the *Plica*. Of these I have seen some in divers places, who held one arm, and sometimes both, lifted up perpetually above their heads, and that had at the end of their fingers wreathed nails, that were longer by measure, than half my little finger. Their arms were small and lean, as of hectic persons, because they took not sufficient nourishment in that forced posture, and they could not let them down to take any thing with them, either meat or drink, because the nerves were retired, and the joints were filled and dried up; wherefore also they have young novices, that serve them as holy men with very great respect. There is no *Megea* in hell so terrible to look on, as those men are, all naked, with their black skin, long hair, dried arms, and in the posture mentioned, and with crooked nails.

I have often met in the field, especially upon the lands of the *Rajas*, whole squadrons of these *Faquires*, altogether naked, dreadful to behold. Some held their arms lifted up in the posture mentioned; others had their terrible hair hanging about them, or else they had wreathed them about their head; some had a kind of *Hercules's* club in their hand; others had dry and stiff tyger-skins over their shoulders. I saw them pass thus quite naked, without any shame, through the midst of a great borough. I admired how men, women, and children could look upon them so indifferently, without being moved no more than if we should see pass some *Eremit* through our streets; and how the women brought them alms with much devotion, taking them for very holy men, much wiser and better than others.

I have seen, for a long while, a very famous one in *Debli*, called *Sarmet*, who went thus stark naked along the streets, and who at length would rather suffer his neck to be cut off, than to put on any cloaths, what promises or menaces soever *Aureng-Zebe* might send to him.

I have seen many of them, who out of devotion went long pilgrimages, not only altogether naked, but charged with iron-chains, like those that are put about the legs of elephants. Others, who, out of a particular vow, stood for seven or eight days upright upon their legs, which there-upon swelled as big as their thighs, without sitting or lying down, or without reposing themselves otherwise than by leaning some hours of the night upon a stretch'd cord; others, who stood for whole hours upon their hands without wavering, the head down, and the feet upward: And so of many other sorts of postures so constrained, and so difficult, that we have no tumbler able to imitate them; and all this, it seems, upon the account of religion, of which yet there appears not the least shadow in it.

All these so extraordinary things did (to tell you the truth) exceedingly surprize me at first; I knew not what to say or think of it. Sometimes I looked upon them as a remainder, or rather as the authors of that ancient and infamous sect of the *Cynicks*, but only that I found nothing in them, but brutality and ignorance, and that they seemed to me a kind of trees, somewhat moving from one place to another, rather than rational animals. Another time I considered them as men altogether enthusiastical; though as I lately said, I could not find any shadow of true piety in all they did. Sometimes I thought, that this lazy, idle, and independent life of beggars might have something attractive in it. Sometimes I imagined that the vanity, which creeps in every where, and which is as often found under the patched mantle of *Diogenes*, as under the comely garment of *Plato*, there might lurk that spring, which might set a going so many engines; and then reflecting withal upon the miserable and austere life they led, I knew not what judgment to make of them.

'Tis true, that many say, that they do not exercise these strange austerities but in the hopes they entertain of becoming *Rajas* in their renascence, or of returning again in a more happy life. But, as I have often told them to their faces, how is't possible for any man to resolve upon such a miserable life from the hope of another, that is to be no longer, and hath also, in the upshot, but very little happiness in it, though

one should return a *Raja*, and even a *Jes-seingue* or a *Jessomseingue*, which are the two most puissant *Rajas* of the *Indies*? There must needs, said I, lye something else under it, which you have no mind to discover to us, or you must be arrant Fools.

Amongst those, I have been speaking of, there are such that are believed to be true saints, illuminated and perfect *Janguis*, entirely united to God. These are people that have altogether abandoned the world, and sequestered themselves into some very remote corner or garden, like *Eremites*, without ever coming to town. If you carry them any meat, they receive it; if they do not, 'tis believed that they can live without it, and subsist by the sole favour of God in perpetual fasting, prayer, and profound meditations: For they sink themselves so deep into these raptures, that they spend many hours together in being insensible, and beholding in that time, as they give out, God himself, like a very bright and ineffable light, with an unexpressible joy and satisfaction, attended with an entire contempt and forsaking of the world: For thus much one of them that pretended he could enter into this rapture when he pleased, and had been often in it, told me; and others that are about them, affirm the thing with so much seriousness, that they seem to believe in earnest, as if there were no imposture in it. God alone knows whether there be any truth in it, and whether in this solitude and fasting the imagination debilitated, may not suffer itself to be carried away into these illusions: Or whether they be not of that kind of natural raptures, into which *Cardan* said he fell when he list'd; and this the rather, because I see, there is used some art in what they do, forasmuch as they prescribe to themselves certain rules, by little and little to bind up their senses: For they say, for example, that after they have fasted many days, using nothing but bread and water, 'tis requisite first to keep themselves alone retired from all company, directing the eyes steadily towards heaven for a while, when gently casting them down again, and then fixing them both so as to look at one and the same time upon the tip of their nose equally, and as much on one side as the other (which is troublesome enough) and remaining firm and intent in that posture, until such a light do come. Whatever the matter be, I know, that these raptures, and these ways of falling into them, make the great mystery of the *Cabala* of the *Janguis*, as the *Soufys* do also. I call it *Mystery*, because they keep it very secret amongst them; and if it had not been for this *Pendet* or Indian doctor, to whom *Danech-mend-kan*

mend-kan gave a pension, and who durst hide nothing from him; and if also *Danechmend-kan* had not known the mysteries of the *Cabala* of the *Soufys*, I should not have discovered so much of it. I know besides, that as for the extremity of poverty, of fastings, and austerities, that also can do much to it. We must not think (or I am much deceived) that any of our religious friars or *Eremstes* go in this point beyond those men, nor generally beyond all the *Asiatic* monks; witness the life and fastings of the *Armenians*, *Cophthes*, *Greeks*, *Nestorians*, *Jacobites* and *Maronites*. We must rather avow, that we are but novices, when compared with those religious men: But then we must also acknowledge, according to what I have experimented, in respect of those of the *Indies*, that they can much more easily bear hunger than we can in our colder climates.

There are others very differing from those, but very strange men likewise; they are almost perpetually travelling up and down, they deride all, take care of nothing, men that brag of secrets, and who, as the people say, know no less than to make gold, and so admirably to prepare *Mercury*, that a grain or two of it taken every morning restoreth the body to perfect health, and so strengthens the stomach, that it feeds greedily and digests with ease. This is not all: When two of these *Janguis*, that are eminent, do meet, and you stir them up in the point and power of their knowledge of *Janguisme*, you shall see them do such tricks out of spight to one another, that I know not whether *Simon Magus* could have out-done them. For they divine what one thinketh, make the branch of a tree blossom and bear fruit in less than an hour, hatch eggs in their bosom in less than half a quarter of an hour, and bring forth such birds as you demand, which they make fly about the chamber, and many other such prodigies. I mean, if what is said of them be true; for I remember, that one day my *Agab* sent for one of these famous diviners, and when he was come, agreed with him to give him the next day 300 rupies, which is about a 150 crowns, if he should tell him, as he said he would, his present thought, which he was to write before him upon a paper: As also, that I myself made a bargain with the same, to give him 25 rupies, if he should divine mine; but the prophet failed us; as also did at another time one of those pretended producers of birds, to whom I had also promised 20 rupies. I am still to be understood, if it be true what is said of them. For, as for me, I am with all my curiosity none of those happy men, that

are present at, and see those great feats; and if I should chance to see any of such things as are thought strange, I am always considering and seeking, whether the thing may not be done by some juggle, art, or trick of leger-demain: And I am sometimes even so unhappy, or, if you will, so fortunate, as to find out the cheat, as I did him, that made a cup run, to discover who it was, that had stolen money from my *Agab*.

Lastly, there are some in many places, that are quite of another way than all those I have discoursed of. Their life and their devotion is more meek and more polish'd; they go over the streets bare-foot and bare-headed, girt about with a scarf hanging down to their knees, and having a white sheet which passeth under their right arm, and comes out over their left shoulder like a cloak, without other cloaths under it. They are always very clean and neat in all things, and commonly go two and two together with great modesty, holding in their hand a small earthen trevet, with two handles, very neat. They do not go gossiping from shop to shop, as many of the other *Fakires* do. They go freely every where into the houses of the *Gentiles*, where they are welcome, and much made of, they being esteemed a blessing to the house. They are by no means to be accused of any thing; though it be well enough known, what in such visits among the women passeth: But 'tis the custom, they are in possession of being saints for all that, and any house thinks itself honoured with their visit. But it is not only there so; many other places there be in the world, where things are not so strictly looked to. But that which I find most ridiculous in those people is, that they are impertinent enough to compare themselves with our religious men they meet with in the *Indies*. I have often taken pleasure to catch them, using much ceremony with them, and giving them great respect; but I soon heard them say to one another: This *Franguis* knows who we are, he hath been a great while in the *Indies*, he knows that we are the *Padrys* of the *Indians*. A fine comparison, said I within myself, made by an impertinent and idolatrous rabble of men!

But we stay too long upon these heathen beggars: Let us go on to their books of law and sciences; you may afterwards judge, whether most of what I am going to say of it may be put, as I think it may, in the number of extravagancies.

Do not wonder, if, though I know not the *Hanscrit*, the language of the learned (of which somewhat may be said hereafter, and which is perhaps the same with that of the old *Brahmans*) do notwithstanding tell

tell you many things taken out of books written in that tongue. For you must know, that my Agah *Danechmend-kan*, partly upon my solicitation, partly out of his own curiosity, took into his service one of the famousst *Pendets* that was in all the *Indies*, and that formerly had had a pension of *Dara*, the eldest son of king *Chah-Jehan*; and that this *Pendet*, besides that he drew to our house all the most learned *Pendets*, was for three years constantly of my conversation. When I was weary of explaining to my Agah those late discoveries of *Harvey* and *Pecquet* in anatomy, and of discoursing with him of the philosophy of *Gassendi* and *Des-cartes*, which I translated to him into *Persian* (for that was my chief employment for five or six years) that *Pendet* was our refuge, and then he was oblig'd to discourse, and to relate unto us his stories, which he delivered seriously, and without ever smiling. 'Tis true, that at last we were so much disgusted with his tales and uncouth reasonings, that we scarce had patience left to hear them.

They say then, that God, whom they call *Achar*, that is to say, immoveable or immutable, hath sent them four Books, which they call *Beths*, a word signifying *Science*, because they pretend that in these books all Sciences are comprehended. The first of these books is called *Athen-babed*, the second *Zager-bed*, the third *Rek-bed*, the fourth *Sama-bed*. Conform to the doctrine of these books, this people ought to be distinguish'd, as really they are, into four tribes: The first is of *Brabmans*, men of the law; the second of *Quetterys*, men of arms; the third, men of *Bescue*, or *Traffick*, commonly called *Bamians*; and the fourth, men of *Scydra*, that is, handicrafts-men and labourers. And these are so discriminated, that those of one tribe cannot marry into another; that is, a *Brabman* cannot marry with a woman *Quettery*, and so of the rest.

They all agree in one doctrine, which is that of *Pythagoras* concerning the *Metempsychosis*, or transmigration of souls, and in this, that they must not kill or eat of any animal. However, there are some of the second tribe that may eat of them, provided it be neither *Cows* nor *Peacock's* flesh, they all having a great veneration for these two creatures, especially the *Cow*, because they fancy I know not what river lying between this life and that to come, which they are to pass by holding themselves fast on a cow's tail. Possibly their ancient legislators had seen those shepherds of *Egypt* crossing the *Nile*, by holding with their left-hand the tail of an ox, and in their righthand a stick to guide him with; or rather they have imprinted in them this

respect for cows, because they draw from them milk and butter, which is a great part of their subsistence; and because also they are so serviceable for the plough, and consequently for the life of man; and that the rather, because it is not so in the *Indies* as in our parts, for maintaining so great a number of cattle as we do: if but half as many of them should be killed in the *Indies*, as there are in *England* or *France*, the country would quickly be destitute of them, and the land remain untill'd. The heat is there so violent for eight months of the year, that all is dry, and oxen and cows are often starved, or die of eating trash in the fields like hogs. And 'tis upon the account of the scarcity of cattle, that in the time of *Jehan-Guyre* the *Brabmans* obtain'd an edict, that no cattle should be killed for a certain number of years, and that of late they presented a petition to *Aurenge-Zebe*, and offered him a considerable sum, if he would make the like prohibition. They remonstrated, that for fifty or sixty years past, much land had remained unploughed, because the oxen and cows were become too scarce and too dear. It may be also, that these law givers considered, that cows and ox-flesh in the *Indies* is not very savoury nor wholesome, unless it be for a little time in winter, during the cooler season: Or lastly, that they would take the people off from mutual cruelty, (to which they were too much inclined) by obliging them, as by a maxim of religion, to exercise humanity to the very beasts, and by making them believe, that killing or eating an animal, it might happen that they did kill or eat one of their grandfathers; which would be an horrid crime.

According to the doctrine of these *Beths*, they are obliged to say their prayers at least thrice every day, in the morning, at noon, and at night, with their face turned to the east. They are also bound to wash their whole body thrice, or at least before they eat; and they believe, that 'tis more meritorious to wash themselves in running water than in any other. And it may be, that the legislators in this point also have had a respect to what is proper and convenient for this country, where nothing is more desirable than washing and bathing. And they find it troublesome enough to observe this law, when they are in cold countries: I have seen some of them that were like to die, because they would there also observe their law of washing their body by plunging themselves into rivers or ponds, when they found any near; or by throwing whole buckets of water over their heads, when they were remote from them. When I told them, upon occasion,

that in cold countries it would not be possible to observe that law of theirs in winter (which was a sign of its being a meer human invention) they gave this pleasant answer: That they pretended not their law was universal; that God had only made it for them, and it was therefore that they could not receive a stranger into their religion; that they thought not our religion was therefore false, but that perhaps it was good for us, and that God might have appointed several differing ways to go to heaven; but they will not hear that our religion should be the general religion for the whole earth; and theirs a fable and pure device.

These same books do teach them, that God having determined to create the world, would not execute it immediately, but made first three perfect beings: the first was *Brabma*, which signifieth penetrating into all things; the second *Beschen*, that is, existing in all things; and the third *Mebabden*, that is, great lord. That by the means of *Brabma* he created the world, by the means of *Beschen* he preserveth it, and by the means of *Mebabden* he will destroy it. That it is *Brabma*, who by the command of God did publish the four *Betbs*, and that therefore he is in some of their churches represented with four heads.

As to those three *Beings*, I have seen some *European* missionaries that were of opinion, that these *Gentiles* had some idea of the mystery of the *Trinity*; and said, it was expressly contained in their books, that there are three persons, and one only God. For my part, I have made the *Pendets* sufficiently discourse upon this point; but they declare themselves so poorly, that I could not clearly understand their sense. I have even heard some of them, who said, that these are three creatures very perfect, which they called *Deütas*, yet without explaining well what they understood by this word *Deütas*; as our ancient idolaters never explained what they meant by these words *Genius* and *Numina*, which is (I think) the same with *Deüta* among the *Indians*. 'Tis true, that I have spoken with others of the most knowing amongst them, who said, that these three *Beings* were indeed nothing but one and the same God, considered three manner of ways, *viz.* as he is the producer, conservator, and destroyer of things; but they said nothing of three distinct persons in one only Deity.

Moreover, I have seen the reverend father *Roa*, a *German Jesuit* and missionary at *Agra*, who being well versed in their *Hanscrit*, maintained that their books did not only import, there was one God in three persons, but that even the second person of their trinity was incarnated nine

times. And that I may not be thought to ascribe to myself the writings of others, I shall relate unto you word for word, what a certain *Carmelite* of *Chiras* hath lighted upon, which he related when the above-mentioned father *Roa* passed that way to come back to *Rome*. The *Gentiles* (saith he) do hold, that the second person of the *Trinity* was incarnated nine times, and that because of divers necessities of the world, for whom he hath delivered it: But the eighth incarnation is the most notable; for they hold, that the world being enslaved under the power of giants, it was redeemed by the second person, incarnated and born of a virgin at midnight, the angels singing in the air, and the heavens powering down a shower of flowers all that night. This favours much of christianity: But then there follows a fable again, which is, that this God incarnate killed first of all a giant that flew in the air, and was so big as to obscure the sun, and by his fall to make the earth to shake, and that by his great weight he sunk as deep as hell; that this God incarnate being wounded in the side, in the first conflict with this giant, fell, but by his fall put his enemies to flight; that after he had raised himself again, and redeemed the world, he ascended into heaven; and that by reason of his wound, he is commonly called the *Wounded in his Side*. In the tenth incarnation, which shall then be, when according to our supputation antichrist shall come, the world shall be delivered from the slavery of the *Mahometans*: But this is only a vulgar tradition, which is not found in their books.

They say also, that the third person of the *Trinity* hath manifested himself to the world; concerning which they relate, that the daughter of a certain king, being fit to be married, and asked by her father, whom she would marry, answered, that she would not be united but to a divine person; and that at the same time, the third person of the *Trinity* appeared to the king in the form of fire; that that king forthwith gave notice of it to his daughter, who presently consented to the marriage: That this person of the *Trinity*, though altogether in a fiery appearance, was called before the king's council, and seeing that the counsellors opposed this marriage, took hold of their beards and burned them, together with the whole royal palace, and then married the daughter. Ridiculous!

They add, that the first incarnation of the second person, was in the nature of a lion; the second, in that of a swine; the third, in that of a tortoise; the fourth, in that of a serpent; the fifth, in that of *Brabma* the dwarf, only a foot and a half high;

the sixth, in that of a monster, a man-lion; the seventh, in that of a dragon; the eighth, as hath been said already; the ninth, in an ape; the tenth, in that of a great cavalier.

Concerning this I shall acquaint you, that I doubt not but that the reverend father *Roa*, hath taken all he saith of this matter out of the books of the *Gentiles*, and that is the main ground of their mythology. I had written many things of it at large in my papers, and had also taken the figures of their gods or idols, which I had seen in their temples, having also got of them the characters of their language *Hanscrit*; but finding at my return all those things, or at least the best part of it, printed in the *China Illustrata* of father *Kircher*, who had obtained it at *Rome* from the same father *Roa*; I shall content myself to have named the book to you. 'Tis true, that the word *Incarnation*, which the reverend father useth, was new to me, having never seen it so expressly used; I had only heard some *Pendets* thus explaining the thing, viz. that God had formerly appeared in those figures, when he did all those wonders they relate. Others explained it to me after this manner, to wit, that it was the souls of certain great men, such as we call heroes, that had passed into these bodies, and that these heroes were thus become *Deütas*, or, to speak in the phrase of our idolaters, some powerful and considerable divinities, *Numen's*, *Genio's*, *Demons*, *Spirits*; for I see not that this word *Deüta* can signify any other thing: But this second explication of the *Pendets*, cometh in effect to the first, for as much as most of them believe, that our souls are portions of God.

Others there were that gave me a much sublimer explication, saying, that all those incarnations or apparitions, which their books speak of, are not to be understood according to the letter, but mystically, forasmuch as thereby are explained the several attributes of God. Some there were, and those of the most learned, acknowledging to me candidly, that there was nothing more fabulous than those incarnations, and that they were only the inventions of legislators, to retain people in some religion: And though this were so, if there were nothing else but this, (which is common to them all) that our souls were portions of the Deity, it were to be exploded in sound philosophy, without making any mysteries in religion of it, seeing that in respect of our souls we should be God, and that in effect it should be ourselves that had imposed upon us a religious worship, metempsychoses, paradise and hell, which would be ridiculous.

I shall here add a few words, to declare that I am not less obliged to Monsieur *Henry Lor*, and to Monsieur *Abraham Roger*, then to the reverend fathers *Kircher* and *Roa*. I had compiled an hundred things relating to the *Gentiles*, which I found in the books of those gentlemen, and which would have been great trouble to me to range them as they have done. I shall therefore content myself to say something in general to you of their studies and sciences, not indeed in that good order which possibly you might expect, but just as I have learnt it, and as 'tis probably found in their books; I mean by fragments, and without coherence.

The town of *Benares*, which is seated upon the *Ganges* in a very fine and rich country and place, is the general school, and as 'twere the *Athens* of the gentry of the *Indies*, where the *Brachmans* and the *Religious* (those that addict themselves to study) come together. They have no colleges nor classes ordered as with us: Methinks, 'tis more after the way of the school of the ancients; the master being dispersed over the town in their houses, and especially in the gardens of the suburbs, where the great merchants do suffer them. Of these masters some have four disciples; others, six or seven; and the most famous, twelve or fifteen at most, who spend ten or a dozen years with them. All this study goeth on very coolly, because most *Indians* are of a slow and lazy humour, to which the heat and diet of the country contributes much; and because they are not animated to industry as we, by that great emulation, and by the great hopes we have of coming thereby to great preferment. They study leisurely, and without much tormenting themselves, eating their *Kichery* or mixture of legums, which the rich merchants cause to be dressed for them.

Their first study is of the *Hanscrit*, which is a language altogether different from the common *Indian*, and not known but by the *Pendets*. And this is that tongue, of which father *Kircher* hath publish'd the alphabet received from father *Roa*. It is called *Hanscrit*, that is, a pure language; and because they believe this to be the tongue, in which God, by the means of *Brabma*, gave them the four *Beths*, which they esteem sacred books; they call it an holy and divine language. They pretend also, that it is as ancient as *Brabma*, whose age they do not reckon but by *Lecques*, or hundred thousands of years. But I would gladly have a warrant for such an antiquity. However, it cannot be denied that 'tis very old, in regard that the books of their

their religion, which certainly is very ancient, are written in this tongue: And besides that, it hath its authors in philosophy and physick in verses, and some other poems, and many other books, of which I have seen a great hall quite full in *Benares*.

After they have learned the *Hanscrit*, (which is very difficult to them, because they have no grammar worth any thing) they commonly apply themselves to read the *Purane*, which is as 'twere the interpretation and sum of the *Beths*, which are very large, at least if those be they which were shewed me at *Benares*: And besides, they are so very rare, that my *Agab* could never find them to be sold, what industry soever he used in it. And they keep them very secret, for fear lest the *Mahometans* should lay their hands on them and burn them, as they have already done several times.

After the *Purane*, some fall upon philosophy, wherein certainly they go not far. I have already intimated, that they are of a slow and lazy temper, and are not excited by the hopes to obtain some good place by their study.

Among their philosophers there have principally been six very famous, who make so many different sects, which causeth also a difference and emulation among the *Pendets* or doctors: For they know, that such a one is of this sect, another of another; and every one of them pretends his doctrine to be better than that of others, and more conform to the *Beths*. There is indeed another, a seventh sect, which is called *Bauté*, whence do proceed twelve other different sects; but this is not so common as the others, the votaries of it being hated and despised, as a company of irreligious and atheistical people, nor do they live like the rest.

All these books speak of the first principles of things, but very differently. Some say, that all is composed of little bodies that are indivisible, not by reason of their solidity, hardness and resistance, but smallness; adding divers things which approach to the opinions of *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, but with so much confusion that one knows not where to fasten, all seeming like a rope of sand; which yet may be as much, or more the fault of the *Pendets*, which seem to me very ignorant, than of the authors.

Others say, that all is made up of matter and form; but not one of them explains himself clearly about the matter, and less about the form. Yet so much I have found, that they understand them not at all, as they are wont to be explained in our schools, by educing the form out of

the power of the matter; for they always alledge examples of things artificial, and among them that of a vessel of soft clay, which a potter turns and shapes divers ways.

Others hold, that all is composed of four elements and a nothing; but they do not all explain themselves concerning mixtion and transmutation. And as for their nothing, which comes near to our privation, they admit I know not how many sorts of them, which (I believe) they understand not at all, nor are able to make out to others.

There are also some, that maintain light and darkness to be the first principles, and say a thousand impertinent and confused things upon it, making long-winded discourses, which savour nothing at all of philosophy, but are like the talk of the vulgar.

Others there are that admit privation for the principle, or rather privations, which they distinguish from nothing, and of which they make long enumerations, so useless and little philosophical, that I can scarce imagine them to be in their books, or that their authors could have entertain'd themselves with such uncooth things.

Lastly, some of them do pretend that all is composed of accidents; of which also they make odd, long, and tedious enumerations, and such as savour only some pettifogger, that can amuse the common people.

Touching these principles in general, they all agree that they are eternal; our production out of nothing not having come (it seems) into their thoughts, as it hath neither to many others of the ancient philosophers: Yet they say, that there is one of them that hath touched something of it.

As to physick, they have many little books, that are rather collections of receipts than any thing else; the most ancient and chief whereof is in verse. I shall here tell you, that their practice is sufficiently different from ours, and that they ground themselves upon these principles: That one who is sick of a fever, needs no great nourishment; That the main remedy of sicknesses, is abstinence: That nothing is worse for a sick body than flesh-broth, nor which corrupts sooner in the stomach of a feverish patient: That no blood is to be let but in great and evident necessity, as when you apprehend some translocation into the brain, or find some considerable part, as the chest, liver, kidneys, enflamed.

Whether this practice be better than ours, I leave to physicians to decide; but I see 'tis successful among them. The same practice is not peculiar to the phy-

ficians of the *Gentiles*, but the *Mogolian* and *Mahometan* doctors, that follow *Avicen* and *Averroes*, do also very strictly observe it, especially as to meat-broths. 'Tis true that the *Mogols* are somewhat more prodigal of their blood than the *Gentiles*; for in those sicknesses wherein they fear those accidents lately specified, they commonly let blood once or twice; but these are none of those petty venesections of the new invention of *Goa* and *Paris*, but they are of those plentiful ones used by the ancients, of 18, or 20 ounces of blood, which often come to a swooning, and frequently choak the disease in the very beginning, as *Galen* saith, and as I have often experienced.

Concerning *Anatomy*, I may safely say, that the *Gentiles* understand nothing at all of it, and they can speak nothing as to that subject but what is impertinent. Nor is it a wonder they are so ignorant in it, since they never open any body of man or beast: they do so much abhor it, that when I open'd some living kids and sheep before my *Agah*, to make him understand the circulation of the blood, and to shew him the *Pecquetian* vessels, thro' which the chyle at last comes into one of the ventricles of the heart, they trembled for fear, and ran away. Yet notwithstanding they affirm, that there are five thousand veins in man, neither more nor less, as if they had well counted them all.

Touching *Astronomy*, they have their tables, according to which they foresee the *Eclipses*; and tho' they do it not with that exactness as our *European* astronomers, yet they come pretty near. Mean time they discourse of the eclipse of the moon, as they do upon that of the sun, believing that it is the *Rab*, that black villain, and mischievous *Deuta*, who at that time seizeth on the moon and blackens her. They hold also, that the moon is an hundred thousand *kosses*, that is, above fifty thousand leagues above the sun: that she is lucid of herself; and that it is she, from whom we receive a certain vital water, which gathereth and disposeth itself in the brain, descending thence as from a source into all the members for their functions. Besides this, they are of opinion, that the sun and moon, and generally all stars are *Deutas*; that 'tis night when the sun is behind the *Someire*, that imaginary mountain, which they place in the midst of the earth, and make I know not how many thousand leagues high, and to which they give the shape of an inverted sugar-loaf; so that it is not day with them, but when the sun gets out from behind this mountain.

In *Geography* they have sped no better. They believe the earth to be flat and triangular, and that it hath seven stories, all

differing in beauty, perfection, and inhabitants; each of which is encompassed, they say, by its sea; that of these seas one is milk, another of sugar, the third of butter, the fourth of wine, and so forth: so that after one earth there comes a sea, and after a sea an earth, and so on unto seven, beginning from *Someire*, which is in the midst of the stories: That the first story, which is at the foot of *Someire*, hath *Deutas* for its inhabitants, which are very perfect; that the second contains likewise *Deutas*, but less perfect; and so the rest, still lessening the perfection unto the seventh, which they say is ours, that is, of men far less perfect than all the *Deutas*; and lastly, that this whole mass is sustained upon the heads of divers elephants, which when they stir, cause an earthquake.

All these strange impertinences, which I have had the patience to relate, have often made me think, that if they be those famous sciences of the antient *Brabmans* of the *Indies*, very many have been deceived in the great opinion they entertained of them. For my part, I can hardly believe it, but that I find the Religion of the *Indians* to be from immemorial times; that it is written in the language of *Hanscrit*, which cannot be but very ancient, since its beginning is unknown, and 'tis a dead language, not understood but by the learned; that all their books are only written in that tongue: All which are as many marks of a very great antiquity. Let us now add a few words about the worship of their idols.

When I descended along the river *Ganges*, and passed through *Banares*, that famous school of all the *Indian* gentility, I went to see the chief of the *Pendets*, who hath there his ordinary residence. This is a *Fakire*, or religious monk, so renowned for his knowledge, that *Chab-Jeban*, partly for his science, partly to please the *Rajas*, gave him a pension of 2000 roupies, that is, about 1000 crowns. This was a big and proper man, goodly to look on; who for all his cloaths had nothing but a white filken scarf tied about his waist, and hanging down to the mid-leg with another red scarf about his shoulders, like a little cloak. I had often seen him, at *Debli*, in this posture before the king, in the assembly of all the *Omrabs*, and marching upon the streets, sometimes on foot, sometimes in a *Palekey*. I had also frequently seen, and many times conversed with him, when for a whole year together he constantly came to our conference before my *Agah*, whom he courted, that he might procure him again that pension which *Aurence-Zebe* (being come to the crown) had taken from him, that he might appear a great muselman. In the

visit I made him at *Banares*, he was exceedingly courteous to me, and even gave me a collation in the library of his university, attended with six of the most famous *Pendets* of the town. When I found myself in so good company, I prayed them all to tell me their sense about the adoration of their idols; intimating to them, that I was leaving the *Indies*, extremely scandalized upon that score; and reproaching them, that that worship was a thing against all reason, and altogether unworthy such scholars and philosophers as they were. Whereupon I received this answer:

We have indeed (said they) in our deuras or temples store of diverse statues, as those of Brahma, Mehaden, Genich and Gavani, who are some of the chief and the most perfect Deutas: and we have also many others of less perfection, to whom we pay great honour, prostrating ourselves before them, and presenting them flowers, rice, scented oyls, saffron, and such other things, with much ceremony: but we do not believe these statues to be Brahma or Bechen, &c. themselves, but only their images and representations, and we do not give them that honour, but upon the account of what they represent. They are in our temples, because 'tis necessary for praying well, to have something before our eyes, that may fix the mind; and when we pray, it is not the statue we pray to, but he that is represented by it. For the rest, we acknowledge that 'tis God that is absolute, and the only omnipotent Lord and Master.

This is, without adding or subtracting any thing, the resolution they gave me. But, to tell you true, this seem'd a little too much accommodated to our christianity, in respect of what I had learned of it from several other *Pendets*.

After this, I put them upon their *Chronology*, where they pretended to shew me far higher antiquities than all ours. They will not say, that the world is eternal; but they make it so old, that I almost know not which is best. Its determined duration, say they, is of four *Dgugue*. This *Dgugue* is a certain determined number of years, as amongst us we have a *seculum*, (an age) with this difference, that an age of ours contains only an hundred years, but their *Dgugue* is made up of an hundred *Lecques*, that is, an hundred times an hundred thousand years. I do not precisely remember the number total of the years of each *Dgugue*; but this I know very well, that the first, called *Sate-Dgugue*, is of twenty five *Lecques* of years: that the second, which they call *Trita*, is of above twelve *Lecques*: the third, called *Duaper*, of eight *Lecques*, and sixty four thousand years, if I remember

well: and the fourth, called *Kale-Dgugue*, is of I know not how many *Lecques*. The three first, say they, and much of the fourth, are elapsed; so that the world shall not last so long as it hath done, because it is to perish at the end of the fourth, all things being then to return to their first principles. I made them compute again and again, to have their age of the world aright; but finding that that perplexed them, and that they agreed not among themselves about the number of the *Lecques*, I contented myself to see that they make the world exceeding old. But being pressed a little to make out this antiquity, they pay you with nothing but little stories, and at length come to this, that they find it so in their *Beths*, or the books of their law, given them by the hands of *Brahma*.

After this I urged them concerning the nature of their *Deutas*, of which I desired to be particularly instructed; but I received nothing but what was very confused. They said, that there were three sorts of them, good, evil, and indifferent ones, that were neither good nor bad; that some thought, they were made of fire, others of light; others that they were *Biapeck*, of which word I could not get a clear explication; only they said, that God was *Biapeck*, and our soul was *Biapeck*, and what is *Biapeck* is incorruptible, and depends neither from time nor place: That others would have them to be nothing else but portions of the deity; and lastly, that some there were, that made them certain kinds of divinities severed and dispensed over the world.

I remember, that I also put them upon the nature of the *Lengue-cherire*, which some of their authors do admit: But I could obtain nothing else of it but what I had long since understood from our *Pendet*, which was, that the seeds of plants and animals are not formed anew, but were contrived in the first production of the world, and dispensed abroad every where, and mixed in all things; and that they are (not only potentially but actually) the very and entire plants and animals, tho' so small, that their parts cannot be distinguish'd; but when put into a convenient womb, and there nourished, they extend themselves, and increase: So that the seeds of an apple and pear-tree are a *Lengue-cherire*, that is, a little entire and perfect apple and pear-tree, having all its essential parts: And so the seeds of an horse, an elephant, and a man, &c. are a *Lengue-cherire*; a little horse, a little elephant, a little man, in which there wants nothing but the soul and nourishment to make them appear what they are.

For a conclusion, I shall discover to you the mystery of a great *Cabala*, which in these last years hath made great noise in *Indostan*, because certain *Pendets*, or heathenish doctors, had possessed with it the minds of *Dara* and *Sultan Sajah*, the two first sons of *Chah-Jehan*.

You cannot but know the doctrine of many of the antient philosophers, touching that great *soul of the world*, which they will have our souls, and those of animals to be portions of. If we did well penetrate into *Plato*, and *Aristotle*, we might perhaps find that they were of this sentiment. It is in a manner the general doctrine of the heathen *Pendets* of the *Indies*, and 'tis the same which still maketh the *Cabala* of the *Soufys*, and of the greatest part of the learned men in *Persia*, and which is found explained in *Persian* verses, so sublime and emphatical in their *Goultchen-raz* or parterre of mysteries: which is also the very same of Dr. *Flud's*, whom our great *Gassendus* hath so learnedly refuted; and that wherein most chymists lose themselves. But these *Indian* cabalists or *Pendets* I speak of, drive this impertinence farther than all those philosophers, and pretend, that God, or that sovereign being, which they call *Achar*, (immutable,) hath produced, or drawn out of his own substance, not only *souls*, but also whatever is *material* and corporeal in the universe; and that this production was not merely made by way of an efficient cause, but by a way resembling a spider that produceth a web, which it draws forth out of its own body, and takes in again when it will. *Creation* therefore, say these doctors, is nothing else but an extraction and extension, which God maketh of his own substance, of those webbs he draws from his own bowels; as *Destruction* is nothing else but a reprisal, or taking back again this divine substance, and these divine webbs into himself: So that the last day of the world, which they call *Maperlé* or *Pralea*, when they believe that all shall be destroyed, shall be nothing else but a general reprisal of all those webbs which God had drawn forth out of himself. There is therefore nothing (*so they go on*) that is real or effective in all we think we see, hear, smell, taste or touch: all this world is nothing but a kind of dream and a meer illusion, in regard that all this multiplicity and diversity of things that appear to us, is nothing but one and the same thing, which is *God himself*; as all those several numbers of 10, 20, 100, 1000, &c. are indeed nothing but one and the same unity many times repeated. But if you demand any reason for this phantasy, or any explication of the manner, how this

issuing from and reprisal into the substance of God; this extension, and this variety of things is made; or how it can be, that God, being not corporeal, but *Biapeck* and incorruptible, (as they acknowledge) should yet be divisible into so many portions of bodies and souls; they never make any other return, but of some pretty comparisons, as, that God is like an immense ocean, in which if many vials full of water should be floating, they would, wherever they should move, be found always in the same ocean, in the same water; and that coming to break, their water would at the same time be united with their whole, and with that great ocean of which they were portions. Or they will tell you, that it is with God as with *light*, which is the same through the whole universe, and which yet appears an hundred different ways, according to the diversity of the objects it falls upon, or according to the several colours and shapes of glasses through which it shineth. They will pay you, I say, only with such kind of similitudes, that bear no proportion at all with God, and are good for nothing, but to cast dust into the eyes of the ignorant people: And you must not expect any solid answer from them, if you should tell them, that those vials would indeed be in a *like* water, but not in *the same*; and that it is indeed a *like* light over all the world, but not *the same*: or if you should make any other objections against them, they return always to the same comparisons, pretty expressions, or as the *Soufys*, to the fine verses of their *Goultchen-raz*.

Now Sir, what think you? Had I not reason, from this great heap of extravagancies, I mean, from that panick and childish terror struck into those *Indians* by eclipses; from that superstitious compassion for the sun to deliver it from that black *Dæmon*, accompanied with those apish prayers, washings, plungings, and alms cast into the river; from that mad and infernal obstinacy of the women, burning themselves with the corps of their husbands; from those several madnesses of the *Fakires*; and lastly, from all that fabulous stuff of the *Beths* and other *Indian* books: Had I not reason, I say, to premise in the title of this Letter, (which is but a poor advantage to me from so long travelling) *That there are no opinions so ridiculous or extravagant, of which the mind of man is not capable.*

To conclude, I have no more to add than to desire you, to do me the favour and deliver with your own hands the letter to Monsieur *Chapelle*. It is he that first procured me that familiar acquaintance I had with Monsieur *Gassendi*, your intimate

intimate and illustrious friend, that hath been so advantageous to me; which maketh me acknowledge my great obligations to him, and exceedingly engageth me to love him, and to remember him in what part of the world soever I am: As I am no less bound to honour you as long as I live, as well for the peculiar affection you have always expressed to me, as for the good council you have assisted me with in your many letters during the whole course of

my voyages, and for that favour of sending to me with so much generosity (without interest or money) unto the end of the world, whither my curiosity had carried me, a chest of books, when those, of whom I demanded them for money, ordered by me to be paid at *Marseilles*, and who should have honestly sent them me, abandoned me there, and laugh'd at all my letters, looking upon me as a lost man, whom they should never see again.

A
RELATION
OF A
VOYAGE

Made in the Year 1664.

When the Great *Mogol*, *Aureng-Zebe*, went with his Army from *Dehli*, the Capital of *Indostan*, to *Labor*; from *Labor* to *Bember*, and from thence to the Kingdom of *Kachemire*, commonly called by the *Mogols*,

The Paradise of the *Indies*, &c.

By way of several Letters, written by the Author to his
Friends.

RELATION

OF A

VOYAGE

Made in the Year 1824.

When the French Fleet, under Admiral Boscawen, was with the Army
in the West Indies, the Count of Artois, son of the late King of
France, and from thence to the Kingdom of Sicily, was
nearly killed by the English.

The Paradise of the Indies, &c.

The way to the Paradise of the Indies, written by the Author to his
Friend.

THE FIRST
L E T T E R
T O

Monfieur de Merveilles.

Written at DEHLI, Decemb. 1664. *Aureng-Zebe*
being ready to march.

CONTAINING

The occasion and cause of this voyage of Aureng-Zebe; together with an account of the state and posture of his army, and the equipage and ordinary provisions of the chief of his cavalry; and some curious particulars observable in the voyages of the Indies.

S I R,



SINCE that *Aureng-Zebe* began to find himself in better health, it hath been constantly reported, that he would make a voyage to *Labor*, and go from thence to *Kachemire*, to change the air, and to be out of the way of the approaching summer heats, for fear of a relapse: That the more intelligent sort of men would hardly be persuaded, that as long as he kept his father *Chab-Jehan* prisoner in the fort of *Agra*, he would think it safe to be at such a distance. Yet notwithstanding we have found, that reason of state hath given place to that of health, or rather to the intrigues of *Rauchenara-Begum*, who was wild to breathe a more free air than that of the *Seraglio*, and to have her turn in shewing herself to a gallant and magnificent army, as her sister *Begum-Sabeb* had formerly done during the reign of *Chab-Jehan*.

He departed then the 6th of *December*, about three a clock in the afternoon; a day and hour that must needs be fortunate for a great voyage, if we may give credit to the gentlemen astrologers, who have so decreed it. And he arrived at *Chab-limar*, his house of pleasure, distant about two leagues from hence, where he spent six

whole days, thereby to give to all sufficient time to make necessary preparations for a voyage, that would take up a year and an half. We have this day news, that he is gone to encamp on the way of *Labor*; and that, when he hath stayed there two days, he intends to continue his march without any further expectation. He hath with him not only the thirty-five thousand horse, or thereabout, and ten thousand foot, but also both his artilleries, the great or heavy, and the small or lighter, which is called *the artillery of the stirrup*, because it is inseparable from the person of the king, whereas the heavy sometimes leaveth him to keep the high and well beaten roads.

The great artillery is made up of seventy pieces of cannon, most of them cast; of which some are so ponderous, that they need twenty yoke of oxen to draw them; and some of them require elephants to help all those oxen, by thrusting and drawing the wheels of the waggons with their trunks and heads, when they stick in any deep way, or are to pass some steep mountain. That of the stirrup is composed of fifty or sixty small field-pieces, all of brass, each carried upon a little, pretty and painted chariot (as hath been already said in another

ther place) beautified with many little red streamers, and drawn by two very handsome horses, driven by the gunner himself, together with a third horse, which the gunner's assistant leads for a relief. All these chariots go always a great pace, that they may be soon enough in order before the tent of the king, and discharge all at once at the time of his entry, to give the army notice.

All these great preparations give us cause to apprehend, that instead of going to *Kachemire*, we be not led to besiege that important city of *Kendabar*, which is the frontier to *Persia*, *Indostan* and *Ussack*, and the capital of an excellent country, yielding a very great revenue, and which for this very reason hath been ever the bone of contention between the *Persians* and *Indians*. Whatever it be, there is now a necessity to dispatch at *Dehli*, any business whatsoever notwithstanding; and I should find myself much cast behind the army, if I should tarry any longer: Besides, I know that my *Navab*, or *Agab*, *Danechmend-kan*, stays for me abroad with impatience: He can no more be without philosophizing in the afternoon upon the books of *Gassendi* and *Descartes*, upon the globe and the sphere, or upon anatomy, than he can be without bestowing the whole morning upon the weighty matters of the kingdom, in the quality of secretary of state for foreign affairs, and of great master of the cavalry. I shall depart this night, after I have given the last order for all my business, and provided all necessaries for my voyage, as all the principal persons of the cavalry do; that is, two good *Tartarian* horses, whereto I am obliged by reason of the one hundred and fifty crowns of pay, which I have by the month; a camel of *Persia*, and a groom; a cook, and another servant, which must be had ordinarily to march in these countries before the horse, and to carry a flaggon with water in his hand. I also have provided the ordinary utensils; such as are a tent of a middle size, and a proportionate piece of foot tapistry, and a little bed with girdles, made up with four strong and light canes, and a pillow for the head; two coverlets, whereof one folded up four-fold serveth for a matras; a round table-cloth of leather to eat upon; some napkins of dy'd cloth, and three small sacks for plate, which are put up in a greater sack, and this sack into a very great and strong sack made of girdles, in which are put all the provisions, together with the linnen of the master and servants. I have also made provision of excellent rice for five or six days, for fear I should not always find so good; of some sweet biscuit, with sugar and annis; of a linnen sleeve with its little iron hook,

to let, by the means thereof, run out, and to keep curdled milk; and of store of lemons with sugar to make lemonade; such milk and lemonade being the two great and sovereign refreshments of the *Indies*: All which, as I said, is put into the last named sack, which is so large and heavy, that three or four men have pains enough to lift it up; though two men do first fold and turn one side upon the other when it is full, and though the camel be made to stoop very nigh it, and there need no more than to turn one of the sides of that sack upon the camel. All this equipage and provision is absolutely necessary in such voyages as these. We must not look for such good lodging and accommodations as we have in our country. We must resolve to encamp and live after the *Arabian* and *Tartarian* mode, without expecting any other inns than tents. Nor must we think to plunder the country-man; all the lands of the kingdom being in propriety to the king: We are well to consider, that we must be sober and prudent, and that to ruin the country-man, were to ruin the demesne of the king. That which much comforts me in this march is, that we go northward, and depart in the beginning of the winter, after the rains; which is the right season for traveling in the *Indies*, because it raineth not, and we are not so much incommoded by heat and dust. Besides that, I find myself out of danger of eating the bread of *Bazar*, or of the market, which ordinarily is ill baked, full of sand and dust; nor obliged to drink of those naughty waters, which being all turbid, and full of nastiness of so many people and beasts that fetch thence, and enter into them, do cause such fevers, which are very hard to cure, and which breed also certain very dangerous worms in the legs. They at first cause a great inflammation, accompanied with a fever, and ordinarily come forth a little after the voyage, although there have been some, that have stay'd a whole year and more before they appear'd. They are commonly of the bigness and length of a small vial-string, so that one would sooner take them for some nerve than for a worm; and they must be drawn out little by little, from day to day, gently winding them about a little twig of the bigness of a needle, for fear of breaking them. This, I say, comforteth me not a little, that I find myself exempt from these inconveniencies; my *Navab* having vouchsafed me a very particular favour; which is, that he hath appointed to give me every day a new loaf of his house, and a *Souray* of the water of *Ganges*, with which he hath laden several camels of his train, as the whole court doth.

Souray

Souray is that tin flaggon full of water, which the servant, that marcheth on foot before the gentleman on horseback, carrieth in his hand, wrapt up in a sleeve of red cloth. Ordinarily it holded but one pint; but I had some of them expressly made, that hold two. We shall see, whether this cunning will succeed. The water cooleth very well in this flaggon, provided that care be had always to keep the sleeve moist, and that the servant that holds it in his hand, do march and stir in the air, or else that it be held towards the wind; as is commonly done upon three pretty little sticks, crossing one another, that they may not touch the earth: For the moistness of the linnen, the agitation of the air, or wind, are absolutely necessary to keep the water fresh; as if this moistness, or rather the water imbib'd by the sleeve did keep out the little igneous bodies or spirits that are in the air, at the same time when it giveth entrance to the nitrous or other parts, which hinder the motion in the water, and cause coolness; in the same manner as glass keeps out water, and giveth passage to the light, by reason of the particular texture and disposition of the parts of the glass, and the diversity there must be between the particles of light and those of water. We do not use this tin-flagon for keeping our water cool but in the field: When we are at home, we have jars of a certain porous earth, in which it is much better cooled, provided it be expos'd to the wind, and moisten'd with a linnen cloth, as the flag-

gon; or else use is made of salt-petre, as all persons of quality do, whether in towns, or in the army. They put water, or any other liquor, to be cooled, in a round and long-neck'd tin flaggon, such as are the *English* bottles, and for the space of half a quarter of an hour this flaggon is stirr'd in water, into which hath been cast three or four handfuls of salt-petre; this maketh the water very cold, neither is it unwholesome, as I did apprehend; but only that sometimes it causeth gripings at first when one is not accustomed to it.

But to what purpose, to play so much the philosopher, when we should think to depart, and to endure the sun, which at all seasons is incommodious in the *Indies*, and to swallow the dust, which is never wanting in the army; to put up, to load, to unload every day our baggage, to help the servants to fasten sticks, to draw cords, to put up tents, and to take them down again, to march in the day, and in the night, to devour cold and heat, and in a word, to turn *Arabians* for a year and an half, during which time we are to be in the field. *Adieu*; I shall not fail to acquit myself of my promise, and from time to time to inform you of our adventures: and besides, since the army for this time will make but small journeys in its march, and pass on with all that pomp and magnificence, which the kings of *Indostan* do affect, I shall endeavour to observe the most considerable things, that I may impart them to you, as soon as we shall arrive at *Labor*.

L E T T E R II.

Containing the number and magnificence, the order and the disposition of the tents of the great Mogol in the field : The number of elephants, camels, mules, and porters, necessary to carry them : The disposition of the Bazars or royal markets : That of the particular quarters of the Omrahs, or Lords, and of the rest of the army : The extent of the whole army, when encamp'd : The confusion there met with ; and how it may be avoided : The order of preventing robberies : The different manners of the march of the king, the princesses, and the rest of the Seraglio : The danger there is in being too near the women : The several ways of the royal hunting, and how the king hunts with his whole army : The abundance of people there is in the army, and the method of making them all subsist.

S I R,

THIS indeed is called marching with gravity, and as we speak here, *à la Mogole* ; it is no more but fifteen or sixteen days journey from *Debli* to *Labor*, which make little more than six score leagues ; and yet we have spent almost two months on this way. 'Tis true, the king with the best part of the army went somewhat aside from the high-way, the better to enjoy the divertisements of hunting, and for the conveniency of the water of *Gemna*, which we went to look for on the right hand, and which we leisurely followed long enough in our hunting, crossing fields of tall grass, full of all sorts of game, where the horsemen could scarce be seen. At present, whilst we are at rest, I am going to make good what I have promised you in the title of this letter ; hoping shortly to make you come to *Kachemire*, and to shew you one of the best countries in the world.

When the king is in the field, he hath usually two camps, I mean two bodies of tents separated, to the end that when he breaketh up and leaveth one, the other may have passed before by a day, and be found ready when he arriveth at the place design'd to encamp in : And 'tis therefore, that they are called *Pieche-kanes*, as if you should say, houses going before. These two *Pieche-kanes* are almost alike, and there

are requisite above threescore elephants, more then two hundred camels, above an hundred mules, and as many more porters to carry one of them. The *Elephants* carry the most bulky things, such as are the great tents, and their great pillars, which being too long and too heavy, are taken down in three pieces. The *Camels* carry the lesser tents : The *Mules*, the baggage and kitchens. And to the *Porters* are given all the little moveables, and such as are delicate and fine, that might easily be broken ; as *Porcelain*, which the king usually employeth at table ; those painted and gilded beds, and those rich *Karguais*, which I shall speak of hereafter.

One of these two *Peiche-kanes*, or bodies of tents, is no sooner arrived at the place designed for encamping, but the great marshal, that orders the lodgings, chuseth some fair place for the kings quarters ; yet with regard, as much as is possible, to the symmetry and order that is to be observed for the whole army ; and he marketh out a square, of which each side is above three hundred ordinary paces long. An hundred pikemen presently clear and level this place, making square planes to raise the tents upon, and surrounding all this great square with *Kanates* or skreens seven or eight foot high, which they fasten with cords tied to sticks, and with perches fixt in the ground, by couples,

couples, from ten to ten paces, one without, and the other within, inclining the one upon the other. These *Kanats* are made of a strong cloth lined with stained linnen. In the middle of one of the sides of this square is the entry or royal gate, great and magnificent, and the *Indian* stuff which 'tis made of, as also those stuffs, of which the whole side of the square of the face is lined without, are far better and richer than the others.

The first and the greatest of the tents, that is reared in this inclosure, is called *Am-kas*, because it is the place where the king and all the lords in the army do assemble about nine a clock in the morning, when the *Mokam*, that is, the usual publick meeting is held. For the kings of *Indostan*, although they are in a march, do not dispense but very rarely with this almost inviolable custom, which is passed into a kind of duty and law, viz. to appear twice a day in the assembly, there to give order for state-affairs, and to administer justice.

The second, which is little less than the first and a little farther advanced into the inclosure, is called *Gosh-kane*, that is to say, a place to wash in: And here 'tis, where all the lords every night meet, and where they come to salute and do obeisance to the king, as ordinarily they do when they are in the metropolis. This assembly, in the evening, is very inconvenient to the *Omrahs*; but 'tis a thing that looks great and stately, to see afar off, in an obscure night, in the midst of a champaign, cross all the tents of an army, long files of torches lighting these *Omrahs* to the king's quarters, and attending them back again to their tents. 'Tis true, these lights are not of wax as ours, but they last very long: They are only an iron put about a stick, at the end of which are wound raggs of old linnen from time to time, which is moisten'd with oil, held by the link-men in their hands in a brass, or latten flaggon with a long and strait neck.

The third tent, which is not much less than the two first, and is yet farther advanced into the inclosure, is called *Kalvet-kane*, that is to say, a retired or the privy-council place, because none but the first officers of the kingdom enter into it; and 'tis there where the greatest and the most important affairs are transacted.

Yet farther into the square are the particular tents of the king, encompassed with small *Kanates* or screens, of the heighth of a man, and lined with stained *Indian* stuff, of that elegant workmanship of *Maslipatam*, which do represent an hundred sorts of different flowers, and some of them lined with flower'd sattin, with large silk fringes.

The tents joining to the king's, are those of the *Begum* or princesses, and the other great ladies and she-officers of the *Scranglio*, which are likewise encompassed, as those of the king, with rich *Kanates*; and amidst all these tents are placed those of the lower she-officers, and other serving-women, always, upon the matter, in the same order, according to their office.

The *Amkas*, and the five or six principal tents are raised high, that they may be seen at a good distance, and the better fence off the heat. Without it is nothing but a coarse and strong red cloth, yet beautified and striped with certain large stripes, cut variously and advantageously to the eye: But within it is lined with those fine *Indian* flower'd stuffs, of the same work of *Maslipatam*; and this work is raised and enriched with silk, gold and silver embroideries having great fringes, or with some fine flow'ed satin. The pillars supporting these tents, are painted and gilt: One marcheth on nothing but rich tapistery, having matrasses of cotton under them four or five inches thick, and round about these tapistries there are great square rails richly covered to lean upon.

In each of the two great tents where the assembly is kept, there is raised a theatre richly adorn'd, where the king giveth audience under a great canopy of velvet, or purpled with gold. In the other tents are found the like canopies, and there you may see also set up certain *Karguais*, that is, fine cabinets, whose little doors are shut with silver locks. To conceive what they are, you may represent to you two small squares of our screens, set upon one another, and neatly round about fasten'd to one another with a silken string; yet so, that the extremities of the sides of the uppermost come to incline upon one another, so as to make a kind of a little tabernacle; with this difference from our screens, that all the sides of these are of very thin and slight fir boards, painted and gilt without, and enriched round about with gold and silk fringes, and lined within with scarlet, or flower'd sattin, or purpled with Gold.

And this is very near, what I can tell you of what is contained within the great square.

What concerns the particulars that are without the square; there are first two pretty tents on both the two sides of the great entry or royal gate, where are found two choice horses saddled, and richly harnessed, and altogether ready to be mounted upon occasion, or rather for state and magnificence.

On the two sides of the same gate are placed in order those fifty or threescore small field-pieces, that make up the artillery

lery of the stirrup above-mentioned, and which discharge all together, to salute the king entring into his tent, and to give notice thereof to the whole army.

Before the gate there is always left void, as much as may be, a great place, at the end of which there is a great tent, called *Nagar-kane*, because that is the place of the timbals and trumpets.

Near this tent there is another great one, which is called *Tchauky-kane*, because it is the place where the *Omrabs* keep guard, every one in his turn, once a week twenty-four hours together; yet notwithstanding most of the *Omrabs* on the day of their guard, cause close by, to be reared one of their own tents, to be the more at liberty, and to have more elbow-room.

Round about the three other sides of the great square are set up all the tents of the officers, which are always found in the same order and disposition, unless it be that the place permit it not: They have all their peculiar names; but as they are hard to pronounce, and I pretend not to teach you the language of the country, it will be sufficient to tell you, that there is a particular one for the arms of the king; another for the rich harnesses of horses; another for vests purfled with gold, which are the ordinary presents bestowed by the king. Besides, there are four more, near one another; the first of which is designed for keeping fruit; the second for comfits; the third for *Ganges* water, and the salt-petre to cool it; and the fourth for the *Betele*, which is that leaf, whereof I have spoken elsewhere, which is offered to friends as coffee is in *Turkey*, and chewed to make ruddy lips, and a sweet breath. Next to these, there are fifteen or sixteen others that serve for kitchens and what belongs to them. Amongst all these tents are those of a great number of officers and eunuchs. Lastly, there are four or five long ones for led horses, and some others for the best elephants, and all those that are for hunting: For there must needs be a retreat for all that great number of birds of prey that are always carried for game and magnificence; and so there must be for those many dogs, and those leopards serving to take wild goats; for those *Nilgaus*, or grey oxen, which I take for elcks; for those lions and rhinoceros's that are led for greatness; for those great buffalo's of *Bengal* fighting with lions; and lastly, for those tamed wild goats, they call gazelles, that are made to sport before the king.

This vast number of tents, now spoken of, together with those that are within the great square, make up the king's quarter, which is always in the middle, and as it were in the center of the army, except the

place do not allow it. It will easily be thence concluded, that this quarter of the king must needs be something great and royal, and afforded a very fine prospect, if one behold from some high place this great body of red tents in the midst of the army, encamped in a fair and even champaign, where may be fully seen, all that order and disposition that is to be observed in the whole.

After that the great marshal of the camp hath chosen a place fit for the king's quarter, and hath made the *Am-kas* to be set up highest of all the tents, and by which he is to take his measure for the ordering and disposing the rest of the army accordingly; he then marketh out the royal *Bazars* or markets, whence the whole army is furnish'd with necessaries, drawing the first and chief of all, like a great street running strait, and a great free way traversing the whole army, now on the right-hand, and by and by on the left of the *Am-kas* and the king's quarter, and always in the straightest line that may be towards the encamping of the next day. All the royal *Bazars*, that are neither so long nor so broad, commonly cross this first, some on this, others on the other side of the king's quarter; and all these *Bazars* are discern'd by very high canes like great perches, which are fixed in the ground from three hundred to three hundred paces, or thereabout, with red standards, and cow's tails of the great *Tibet* fastned on the top of these canes like perukes.

The same marshal designs, next, the place of the *Omrabs*, so as they may always keep the same order, and be ever as near as may be the king's quarter; some on the right, others on the left-hand, some on this side of him, others beyond him; so that none of them may change the place that hath been once appointed for him, or that himself hath desired in the beginning of the voyage.

The quarters of the *Omrabs* and *Rajas*, as to their particular order and disposition, are to be imagined in a manner like that of the king: For commonly they have two *Peiche-kanes* with a square of *Kanates*, which incloseth their principal tent and those of their women; and round about these are put up the tents of their officers and cavaliers, with a peculiar *Bazar*, which is a street of small tents for the lower sort of people that follow the army, and furnisheth the camp with forrage, grain, rice, butter, and the other things that are most necessary; whereby they are so accommodated, that they need not always go to the royal *Bazars*, where generally all things are to be found, as in the capital city. Each *Bazar* is marked at the two ends by two canes

canes planted in the ground, which are as tall as those of the royal *Bazars*, that so at a good distance the particular standards fasten'd to them may be discovered, and the several quarters distinguish'd from one another.

The great *Omrabs* and *Rajabs* affect to have their tents very high. But they must beware lest they be too high, because it may happen, that the king, passing by, might perceive it, and command them to be thrown down; of which we have seen an example in this last march. Neither must they be altogether red from without, since those of the king alone are to be so. Lastly, out of respect, they must all look towards the *Am-kas* or the quarter of the king.

The residue of the space between the king's quarter, and those of the *Omrabs* and the *Bazars*, is taken up by the *Mansebdars* or little *Omrabs*, and of that infinite number of great and small merchants that follow the army; of all those that belong to the law; and lastly, of all such as serve both the artilleries; which maketh indeed a prodigious number of tents, and requireth a very great extent of ground. Yet is it not all true what is said of either of them. And I believe, that when the whole army is in a fair and even campaign, where it may encamp with ease, and that, following the ordinary plot, it comes at length to be lodged, as near as may be, in a round, (as we have often seen it does upon this road) the compass of it will not be above two leagues, or two leagues and an half; and with all this there will yet be left here and there several void places: But then the great artillery, which taketh up a great tract of ground, doth very often a day or two go before.

Nor is all true, what is said of the strange confusion, which commonly strikes an astonishment into all new comers. For a little acquaintance with the method of the army, and some heeding of the order observed in the camp, will soon enable one to avoid all embarrassment, and to go to and fro about his business, and to find his quarter again; forasmuch as every one regulateth himself by the king's quarter, and the particular tents and standards of the *Omrabs*, that may be seen afar off, and by the standards and perukes of the royal *Bazars*, which may also be seen at a great distance.

Yet for all these marks, it will sometimes fall out, that one shall be extremely perplexed, and even in the day time, but especially in the morning, when a world of people do arrive, and every one of those is busy and seeks to lodge himself: And that not only, because there is often raised

so great a dust, that the king's quarter, the standards of the *Bazars* and the *Omrabs*, which might serve for guides, cannot be discover'd: But because a man finds himself between tents that are putting up, and between cords, which the lesser *Omrabs*, that have no *Peiche-kane*, and the *Mansebdars* stretch out to mark their lodgings, and to hinder that no way may be made nigh them, or that no unknown person may come to lodge near their tents, where often they have their women: If in this case you mean to get by on one side, you will find the ways obstructed by those stretched out cords, which a troop of mean serving-men, standing there with big cudgels, will not suffer to be lower'd, to suffer the baggage to pass: If you will turn back, you'll find the ways shut since you passed. And here it is, where you must cry out, storm, intreat, make as if you would strike, and yet well beware of doing so, leaving the men, as well as you can, to quarrel against one another, and afterwards to accord them for fear of some mischief; and, in short, to put yourself into all imaginable postures to get away thence, and to make your camels pass: But the great trouble is, when a man is obliged to go in an evening to a place somewhat remote, because that those offensive smokes of the fire of green wood, of cow-shares, of camel-dung, which the common people then make in their kitchens, do raise a mist (especially when there is no wind) so thick, that you can see nothing at all. I have been three or four times surprized with it, so as not to know what to do. Well might I ask the way; I knew not whither I went, and I did nothing but turn. Once among other times, I was constrained to stay till this mist passed, and the moon risen. And another time I was forced to get to the *Aguacy-die* to lie down at the foot thereof, and there to pass all the night as well as I could, having my servant and horse by me. This *Aguacy-die* is like a tall mast, but very slender, which can be taken down in three pieces, and 'tis planted towards the king's quarter, near that tent which is called *Nagar-kane*: In the evening is drawn up to the top of it a lanthorn with a light burning in it all night long, which is very commodious, as being seen a great way off; and thither it is that people gone astray do retire, from thence to get again to the *Bazars*, and to ask the way, or there to pass the rest of the night; for no body hinders one from doing so, and a man may be there in safety from robbers. It is called *Aguacy-die*, as if you should say, *light of heaven*, in regard that from afar off it appears like a star.

For the prevention of robberies, each *Omrab* causeth a guard to be kept all the night

night long, in his particular camp, of such men that perpetually go the round, and cry *Kaber-dar*, have a care. Besides, there are round about the army set guards, at five hundred common paces from one another, that keep a fire, and cry also, *Kaber-dar*. And over and above all these, the *Cotoual*, who is, as it were, the great provost, sends out troops of guards every way, that pass through all the *Bazars*, crying out and trumpeting all night long. Yet for all this, some robberies there are now and then committed; and 'tis necessary always to be upon ones guard, to go to sleep by times, that so you may be awake the rest of the night, and not to trust your servants too much to keep guard for you.

But let us now see, how many different ways the great *Mogol* is carried in the field.

Ordinarily he causeth himself to be carried on men's shoulders, in a kind of sedan or litter, upon which is a *Taht-raven*, that is, a field-throne, on which he is seated: And this is like a magnificent tabernacle, with pillars, painted and gilded, which may be shut with glass, when 'tis ill weather; the four branches of the litter are covered with scarlet or purpled gold, with great gold and silk fringes; and at each branch there are two robust and well-clothed porters, that change by turns with as many more that follow.

Sometimes, also, he goeth on horse-back, especially when 'tis a fair day for hunting. At other times he rideth on an elephant, in a *Mik-dember*, or *Hauze*; and this is the most splendid appearance; for the elephant is decked with a very rich and magnificent harness; the *Mik-dember*, being a little square house or turret of wood, is always painted and gilded; and the *Hauze*, which is an oval seat, having a canopy with pillars over it, is so likewise.

In these different marches he is always accompanied with a great number of *Omrah*s and *Rajas* following him close and thick on horseback, without any great order: And all those that are in the army are obliged to be at the *Am-kas* at break of day, unless he do exempt them from it, upon the account either of their peculiar office, or their great age. This march is very inconvenient to them, especially on hunting days; for they must endure the sun and dust as the simple soldiers, and that sometimes until three of the clock in the afternoon; whereas, when they do not attend the king, they go at ease in their *Palekys*, close cover'd, if they please, free from the sun and dust; sleeping in them couched all along as in a bed, and so coming in good time to their tent, which expects them with a ready dinner, their kit-

chen being gone the night before, after supper. About the *Omrah*s, and amongst them, there is always a good number of horsemen well mounted, called *Gourze-berdars*, because they carry a kind of silver mace of arms. There are also many of them about the right and left wings, that precede the person of the king, together with store of foot-men. These *Gourze-berdars* are choice men, of a good mein and a fair stature, appointed to carry orders, and having all of them great sticks in their hands, whereby they put people aside at a good distance, and hinder that no body march before the king to incommode him.

After the *Rajas* marcheth a train mixed of a great number of timbals and trumpets. I have already said in another place, that this train consists of nothing but of figures of silver representing strange animals, hands, scales, fishes, and other mysterious things, that are carried at the end of great silver sticks.

At last, a great troop of *Mansebdars*, or little *Omrah*s, well mounted, and furnish'd with swords, arrows and quivers, follow after all the former: And this body is much more numerous than that of the *Omrah*s, because, besides that all those that are of the guard dare not fail to be at break of day, as the *Omrah*s, at the gate of the king's tent to accompany him, there are also many that come amongst them to make their court, and to become known there.

The princesses, and the great ladies of the *Seraglio* are also carried in sundry fashions; some are carried, like the king, on men's shoulders, in a *Tchaudoule*, which is a kind of *Taht-ravan*, painted, gilded, and cover'd with great and costly network of silk of divers colours, enriched with embroidery, fringe, and thick pendant tufts. Others are carried in very handsome *Palekys* closed, that are likewise painted and gilded, and covered with that rich filken net-work. Some are carried in large litters by two strong camels, or by two small elephants, instead of mules: And in this manner I have sometimes seen carried *Rauchenara-Begum*; when I also observed, that in the fore-part of her litter, being open, there was a little she-slave, that with a peacock's tail kept off from her the flies and dust. Lastly, others are carried upon elephants richly harnessed, and cover'd with embroider'd deckings, and great silver bells, where these ladies sit, raised, as it were, into the middle region of the air, four and four in *Mik-dembers* latticed, which always are covered with filken net-work, and are no less splendid and stately than the *Tchaoudoules* and *Taht-ravans*.

I cannot forbear relating here, that in this voyage I took a particular pleasure in beholding and considering this pompous march of the *Seraglio*. And certainly nothing more stately can be imagined, than to see *Rauchenara-Begum* march first, mounted upon a lusty elephant of *Pegu* in a *Mik-dember*, all shining of gold and azur, attended by five or six other elephants with their *Mik-demberr*, almost as splendid as hers, filled with the principal she-officers of her house; some of the most considerable eunuchs, richly adorned, and advantageously mounted, riding on her side, each with a cane in his hand; a Troup of *Tartarian* and *Kachemirian* maids of honour about her, odly and fantastically dressed, and riding on very pretty hackney-horses; and lastly, many other eunuchs on horseback accompanied with store of pages and lackeys, with great sticks in their hands, to make way afar off. After this *Rauchenara-Begum*, I saw pass one of the principal ladies of the court, mounted and attended in proportion: And after this, a third in the same fashion; and then another, and so on to fifteen or sixteen, all (more or less) bravely mounted and accompanied according to their quality, pay, and office. Indeed this long file of elephants to the number of fifty, or sixty, or more, thus gravely marching with paces, as 'twere, counted, and withal this gallant train and equipage, does represent something that is great and royal; and if I had beheld this pomp with a kind of philosophical indifference, I know not, whether I should not have suffered myself to be carried away to those extravagant sentiments of most of the *Indian* poets, who will have it, that all these elephants carry as many hidden goddesses. 'Tis true, one can hardly see them, and they are almost inaccessible by men; it would be a great misfortune to any poor Cavalier whosoever, to be found in the field too near them in the march; all those eunuchs, and all the crew of servants are to the highest degree insolent, and desire nothing more than such a pretext and occasion to fall upon a man, and give him some bastinadoes. I remember I was once thus unfortunately surprized, and certainly I had been very ill used, as well as many other Cavaliers, if at length I had not resolved to make my way out by my sword, rather than suffer myself to be thus maimed, as they began to order the matter; and if by good luck I had not been provided with a good horse, that carried me vigorously out of the press, when I put him on through a torrent of people, that was to be repassed. And it is grown in a manner a common proverb of these armies, that, above all, one must beware of three

things: *First*, not to let himself to be engaged amongst the troops of the chosen led horse, they never failing to strike: *Secondly*, not to come into the places of hunting: *Thirdly*, not to approach too near the women of the *Seraglio*. Yet notwithstanding, by what I hear, it is much less dangerous here than in *Persia*; for there 'tis death to be found in the field in sight of the eunuchs that attend them, though you were half a league distant from them. It is required, that as many men as there are in the villages and boroughs, where they pass, do all abandon them, and retire afar off.

As to the *hunting* of the king, I knew not first how to imagine what is commonly said, which is, that the great *Mogol* goes to hunt with an hundred thousand men: But now I see, it may very well be said, that he goes to hunt with above two hundred thousand; nor is it a thing hard to comprehend. In the neighbouring places to *Agra* and *Debli*, along the river *Gemna* as far as to the mountains, and even on both sides of the high-way to *Labor*, there is abundance of untilled lands, some of copse-wood, and some of grafs above a man's height: In all these places there are great numbers of guards, incessantly roving up and down, and hindering all other people from hunting, except partridges, quails and hares, which the *Indians* know to take with nets: So that every where in those places there is very great store of all kind of game. This being so, the hunting guards, when they know that the king is in the field, and near their quarters, give notice to the great hunting-master, of the quality of the game, and of the place where most of it is; then the guards do line all the avenues of that quarter, and that sometimes for above four or five leagues of ground, that so the *whole army* may pass by, either this or that way, and the king being in his march may at the same time enter into it with as many *Om-rabs*, hunters and other persons as he shall please, and there hunt at his ease, now in one manner and then in another, according to the difference of the game. And now behold first, how he hunted the *Gazelles* or wild fawns with tamed *Leopards*.

I think, I have elsewhere told you, that in the *Indies* there is store of *Gazelles*, that are in a manner shaped as our hinds or fawns; that these *Gazelles* commonly go in several troops, and that every troop, which never consists of above five or six, is always follow'd by one only male, discernable by the colour. One of such troops being discovered, they endeavour to make the leopard see them, who is held chain'd upon a little chariot. This crafty animal doth

doth not presently and directly run after them, but goes winding and turning, stopping and hiding himself, so to approach them with more advantage, and to surprize them: And as he is capable to make five or six leaps with an almost incredible swiftness, when he finds he is within reach, he lanceth himself upon them, worrieth them, and gluts himself with their blood, heart and liver: If he faileth (which often happens) he stands still, and it would be in vain for him to attempt to take them by running after them, because they run much faster, and hold out longer than he. Then the master comes gently about him, flattering him, and throwing him some pieces of flesh, and thus amusing him, puts something over his eyes to cover them, and so chains him, and puts him upon the chariot again. One of these leopards gave us once in our march this divertisement, which frightened store of people. A troop of *Gazelles* appeared in the midst of the army, as they will do every day; it chanced that they passed close to two leopards that were carried, as they use to be, upon their little chariot. One of them not blinded, made such an effort that he burst his chain, and darted himself after them, but without catching any of them: Yet the *Gazelles*, not knowing which way to escape being pursued, cried after, and hunted on every side, there was one of them that was forced to repass again near the leopard, who, notwithstanding the camels and horses, that pester'd all the way, and contrary to what is commonly said of this beast, that it never returns to its prey when it hath once failed of it, flew upon it and caught it.

The hunting of the *Nilgaux* or grey oxen, which I said were a kind of elcks, hath no great matter in it. They are inclosed in great nets, that are by little and little drawn closer together, and when they are reduced to a small compass of enclosure, the king, the *Omrabs*, and the hunters do enter and kill them at pleasure with arrows, half-pikes, fables, or musquets; and sometimes in so great numbers, that the king sends quarters of them for presents to all the *Omrabs*.

The game of the *Cranes* hath something of divertisement. 'Tis a pleasure to see them defend themselves in the air against the birds of prey; they sometimes kill some of them; but at length, not being nimble in turning, many strong birds master them.

Of all the games that of the *Lion* is the most royal, because there is none but the king and princes that can exercise it (unless it be by a very particular leave;) but it is also the most dangerous. The manner of

it is this: When the king is in the field, and the hunting-guards have discovered the place of the lions retirement, they tie fast an afs thereabout, which the lion soon comes to devour, and without caring to look out for other prey, as oxen, cows, mutton, or shepherds, he goes to seek for drink, and returns to his ordinary lodging place, where he lies down and sleeps until next morning, when he finds another afs in the self same place, which the hunters have fastned there as the day before; and when they have thus baited and amused him several days in the same place, and now know that the king is nigh, they at length tie fast another afs, but whom they have made to swallow a quantity of opium, to the end that his flesh may the better lull asleep the lion, and then all the countrymen of the circumjacent villages spread large and strong nets, made for that purpose, which they also by degrees reduce to a small compass, as is practised in the hunting the *Nil-gaux*. All things thus prepar'd, the king mounted on an elephant trap'd with iron, being attended by the great hunting-master, some *Omrabs* riding also on elephants, by abundance of *Gourze-bedars* on horseback, and by a numerous hunting-guard on foot, arm'd with half-pikes, approacheth to the nets from without, and with a great musquet shoots at the lion; who when he finds himself wounded, comes directly to the elephant, as his custom is; but he meets with those big nets stopping him, and the king shoots so often at him, that at last he kills him. Yet in this last hunting there was a lion that leapt over these nets, fell upon an horseman whose horse he kill'd, and then ran away: But the hunters met with him, and inclosed him again in the net, which caused a great disturbance to the army; we were three or four days padding in small torrents running down the mountains, betwixt under-wood and such long grass as that camels hardly can be seen therein; and happy were these that had some provision of victuals; for all was in disorder: The *Bazars* could not range themselves, and the villages were remote. The reason why they were to stop there so long, was, that as it is a good omen with the *Indians* when the king kills a lion, so it is a very ill one, when he faileth, and they think that the state would run great hazard if they should not master him. Hence 'tis also that they make many ceremonies upon the account of this hunting; for they bring the dead lion before the king in the general assembly of the *Omrabs*, and after he hath been well viewed, and exactly measur'd, 'tis recorded in the archives, that such a king, at such a time,

time, slew a lion of such bigness, of such hair, of so long and large teeth and claws, not omitting the least circumstances.

I shall here only add a word in reference to what is commonly said of the *opium*, that the ass is made to swallow, *viz.* That one of the chief hunters assured me, that it was but a tale of the vulgar, and that the lion slept sufficiently without it, when he had his belly full.

Now to return to our march, when the great rivers, which in these quarters commonly have no bridges, are to be passed, there are made two boat bridges, about two or three hundred paces distant from one another; which they know well enough how to chain and fasten together. Upon them they cast earth and straw mingled together, which preventeth the sliding of the animals. The first passing upon, and the coming from it are only dangerous, because, that besides the great crowd, which then commonly throngeth, and the great confusion and embarrassment, it often happens that pits or holes are made when 'tis moving earth; and then you shall have horses and burthen'd oxen tumble upon one another, over whom people do pass with an incredible disorder; which would be yet greater, if all were to pass in *one* day: But ordinarily the king encamped but half a league from the bridge, where he stays a day or two, and he never almost encampeth farther than half a league from the river on the other side of the bridge, that so the army may have at least three days and three nights to pass more conveniently.

Lastly, as to the number of people that is found in the army, it is not so easy a thing to determine it. It is so differently spoken of, that one knows not what to judge of it. What I can tell you of it in the general, that is most probable, is this: That in this march there were at least, as to soldiers and others, an hundred thousand horsemen, and above an hundred and fifty thousand animals, as horses, mules or elephants; that there were near fifty thousand camels, and almost as many oxen or asses, that serve to carry the grain, and other provisions of these poor people of the *Bazars*, their wives and children: For they lug all with them, as our *Bohemians* do. Upon this measure, you may reckon pretty near the number of the serving people, supposing that nothing is there done but by the force of servants, and that I, who am but in the rank of a Cavalier of two horses, can hardly do my business with less than three men: Some say, that in the whole army, there is scarce less than between three or four hun-

dred thousand persons. Others reckon more; others less. No body ever told them to determine the precise number. I can say nothing of certainty, but only that 'tis a prodigious and almost incredible number; but then you are to imagine, that 'tis all *Debli*, the capital city, that marcheth, because that all the inhabitants of that town, living upon the court and the army, are obliged to follow them, especially when the voyage is to be long, as this; or else they must starve.

The difficulty is to know, whence, and how so great an army can subsist in the field, so vast a number of people and beasts. For that, we must only suppose, (which is very true) that the *Indians* live very soberly, and observe a very simple diet, and that of all this great number of Cavaliers, there is not the tenth, no not the twentieth man, that in his march eats flesh; provided they have their *Kichery*, that is, their mixture of rice, and of other legums, upon which they pour butter when they are boiled, they are content.

We are also to know, that camels endure labour, hunger and thirst extremely well, live upon little, and eat almost any thing: And that as soon as the army encampeth any where, the camel-drivers let them go into the field to brouze, where they eat whatever they light upon. Besides, that the merchants that entertain *Bazars* in *Debli*, are obliged to entertain them in the field; and that all the small merchants that keep shop in the *Bazars* of *Debli*, keep them also in the army, either by force, or out of necessity; and lastly, that as to forage, all these poor people go roving up and down every where in the villages, to buy what they can get, and to gain something by it; and their great and common refuge is, with a kind of trowel to raspe or knock down whole fields, to beat and wash what they have there gotten, and so to carry it to sell to the army, which they do sometimes very dear, and sometimes very cheap. I forgot to mention one thing that is remarkable, *viz.* that the king enters into the camp, now on one side, then on another; and to day he passeth near the tents of certain *Omrabs*, and to-morrow near those of others, Which he doth not without design; for the *Omrabs*, which he passeth by so near, are obliged to meet him, and to make him some small present or other; so that some will present him with twenty roupies of gold, which maketh thirty pistoles; others with fifty, and so others in proportion, according to their generosity, and the greatness of their pay.

For the rest, you will excuse me, that I do not observe to you the towns and boroughs that are between *Debli* and *Labor*. I have seen in a manner none of them, for I went almost always cross the fields; and in the night, because my *Agab* was not placed in the middle of the army, where often is the high way, but very forward in the right wing. We went as well

as we could by star-light cross the fields to gain the right wing of the camp, without seeking for the high-way; though sometimes we found ourselves much perplexed, and in lieu of three or four leagues, which is the ordinary distance of one encampment from another, we sometimes made five or six; but when the day comes on, we soon found ourselves where we should be.

L E T T E R III.

A description of Lahor, the capital of Penjeab, or, the kingdom of the Five Waters.

S I R,

IT is not without reason, that this kingdom, of which *Labor* is the capital city, is called *Penje-ab*, or the country of the *five waters*, because there are actually five considerable rivers coming down from those mountains, within which the kingdom of *Kachemire* is lock'd up, and that run cross this tract of land to fall into the river *Indus*, discharging themselves together into the ocean at *Scymdi*, towards the entry of the *Persian* gulf. Whether *Labor* be that ancient *Bucephalos*, I decide not. Mean time, *Alexander* is sufficiently known here under the name of *Sekander Filifous*, that is, *Alexander* son of *Philip*; but as to his horse, they know it not. The city of *Labor* is built upon one of these five rivers, which is not less than our river *Loire*, and for which there is great need of a like bank, because it maketh great devastation, and often changeth its bed, and hath but lately retired itself from *Labor* for a quarter of a league; which very much incommodeth the inhabitants. The houses of *Labor* have this peculiar above those of *Debli* and *Agra*, that they are very high, but most of them are ruinous, because 'tis now more than twenty years that the court is always at *Debli* or at *Agra*, and that in these later years the rains have been so ex-

cessive, that they have overthrown many of them, whereby also much people hath been killed. 'Tis true, there remain still five or six considerable streets, of which there are two or three that are above a league long; but in them also are many buildings found that fall down. The king's palace is no longer upon the river-side, as it was formerly, because that the river hath left it. It is very high, and magnificent; yet those of *Agra* and *Debli* do much surpass it. It is now above two months that we are here, expecting the melting of the snow of the mountains of *Kachemire*, for a more convenient passage into that kingdom. But at length we are to depart tomorrow. The king hath been gone these two days. I have got a little *Kachemirian* tent, which I bought yesterday. I was advised to do like others, and to leave here my ordinary tent, which is big and heavy enough, because, they say, that between the mountains of *Kachemire*, whither we are now marching, it will be difficult to find room enough, and that the camels not having place enough to pass, we shall be obliged to get our baggage carried by porters, and that so my large tent would cost me much to carry. *Adieu.*

L E T T E R IV.

S I R,

I Believed, that after we had overcome the heats of *Moka*, near *Babel-mandel*, I could defy those of the rest of the earth, but since these four days that the army left *Labor*, I find I come very short of my reckoning, and I have experimented to the hazard of my life, that it is not without reason, that the *Indians* themselves did apprehend the eleven or twelve days march of the army, from *Labor* to *Bamber*, the entry of the mountains of *Kachemire*. I protest unto you, without any exaggeration, that the heats have been so excessive, that

sometimes they have reduced me to extremity, insomuch that I knew not in the morning whether I should live till night. The cause of this extraordinary heat is, that the high mountains of *Kachemire* being on the north of our road, keep from us all the cool wind that might come and refresh us from that quarter, and do reflect the sun-beams upon us, and leave the field burnt up and choaking. But to what purpose, to play the philosopher, and to seek reasons for that, which perhaps will kill me to morrow.

L E T T E R V.

S I R,

I Passed, yesterday, one of the greatest rivers of the *Indies*, called the *Lchenau*. The excellency of its water, of which the great *Omrabs* make provision, in lieu of that of *Ganges*, (whereof they have drunk hitherto) keeps me from believing this to be some river to pass to hell, rather than to *Kachemire*, where they would make us believe we shall find snow and ice: For I find it grow worse and worse every day, and that the more we advance, the more heat we feel. 'Tis true that I pass'd the bridge at noon-day, but I almost knew not which was best, to march in the field, or to keep one's self stuffed up under a tent: At least, I have succeeded in my design, which was, to pass the bridge with ease, whilst all men did repose themselves, expecting to leave the camp towards evening when the heat is not so violent; whereas if I had staid as the rest did, some mischief

perhaps might have befallen me. For it hath been, I hear, the most terrible confusion, and the greatest disorder that ever was in any the like former passage from *Debli*; the entering upon the first boat, and the going off from the last, having been made very difficult, because it was meer moving sand, which as people march'd upon it, and stirr'd it, did slide away into the water, and left a pit; insomuch that a great number of camels, oxen and horses were, in the crowd, overthrown and trampled under foot, and store of blows distributed besides. There are ordinarily, upon such occasions, some officers and cavaliers of the *Omrabs*, who, to make way for their masters and baggage, are not sparing of them. My *Navab* hath lost one of his camels with the iron oven it carried; which maketh me apprehend, I shall be reduced to the bread of *Bazar*. Farewel.

L E T T E R VI.

S I R,

It is too much curiosity, 'tis folly, or at least temerity in an *European* to expose himself to such heats and dangerous marches. It is putting one's self into manifest peril of life. Yet, notwithstanding, misfortune

is good for something. Whilst we stay'd at *Labor*, I was seized on by a flux, and by gripings, which did very much incommode me, caused by my constant lying upon a terrass, and taking the cool of the night,

as we used to do at *Debli* without danger : But since we have been marching these eight or nine days, the sweat hath dissipated all these humours. My body is become a right sieve, very dry ; and I have no sooner taken into my stomach a pint of water, (for less will not serve our turn) but I see

it at the same time issue out of my limbs, like a dew, to the very ends of my fingers. I believe I have this day drank above ten pints. And this is some comfort, that one may drink of it as much as one lists without danger, provided it be good water.

L E T T E R VII.

To the same.

Written from the camp of the army, marching from Lahor to Kachemire, the tenth of March in the morning.

SIR,

THE sun is but just now rising, yet he is intolerable ; there is not a cloud in the sky, nor a breath of wind ; my horses are spent, they have not seen a green herb since we came out of *Labor* ; my *Indians*, for all their black, dry and hard skin, sink under it. My face, hands and feet are pealed off, and my body is cover'd all over with pimples, that prick me as so many needles. Yesterday one of our poor

cavaliers, that had no tent, was found dead at the foot of a small tree he had seized on. I doubt whether I shall out-live this day's journey ; all my hope is in a little dry curdled milk, which I am going to dilute with water and sugar, and some lemons, I have left, to make lemonade, farewell ; the ink dryeth at the end of my pen, and the pen falls out of my hand. Farewel.

L E T T E R VIII.

To the same.

Written from Bember, the entry of the mountains of Kachemire, after having two days encamped there. What Bember is ; the Change of carriages for the mountains ; the incredible number of porters, and the order observed in the army.

SIR,

WE are at length arrived at *Bember*, the foot of a steep, black and burn'd mountain, and we are encamped in the channel of a large torrent dried up, full of sand and stones burning hot. It is like an hot oven : And if it were not for the shower of rain we had this morning, and for the curdled milk, the lemons, and the fowl brought to us from the mountains, I know not what would have become of me, and you would perhaps never have seen this letter. But, God be thanked, I feel the air a little cooler ; my stomach, strength and tongue are returned. So then take

this account of our new kind of march and trouble.

Yester-night the king first of all, together with *Rauchenara-Begum*, and the other women of the *Seraglio*, the Raja *Ragnat* that performs the office of the vizir, and *Fazel-kan* the high steward, went away from this burning place, and last night the great hunting-master departed, with some of the greatest and most necessary officers of the royal family, and many considerable women. This night 'tis our turn ; my *Navab*, *Danech-mend-kan*, will go away, and *Mahmet-Emir-kan*, the son of that famous

mous *Emir-Jemla*, of whom I have spoken so much in another place, will be of our company; and so will *Dianet-kan*, our good friend, with his two sons, and many other *Omrahs*, *Rajas* and *Mansebdars*: And after us, all the other lords, that are bound for *Kachemire*, will be gone all in their turns, to avoid in these difficult and narrow ways of the mountains, the trouble and confusion, during these five days of marching between this place and *Kachemire*. All the rest of the court, as *Feday-kan*, the great master of the artillery, three or four great *Rajas*, and many *Omrahs*, are to stay here about, for a guard, during three or four months, until the king do return after the great heats are over. Some shall go to dress their tents on the one side of the river *Tchenau*, others in the neighbouring towns and boroughs, and others will be obliged to camp here in this fire of *Bember*.

The king, for fear of starving this small kingdom of *Kachemire*, first carries with him the least number of women he can, the greatest ladies, the best friends of *Rauchbenara-Begum*, and those that are most necessary for service. Nor doth he carry more of the *Omrabs* and *Militia* than needs he must: And the *Omrabs* that have leave to come with him, cannot take with them all the cavaliers, but only 25 of 100; yet without comprehending therein the particular officers of their family. And that is to be religiously observed; because there is an *Omrab* upon the guard at the entry of the mountains, that reckons all that pass, one by one, and hinders the passing of that great number of *Mansebdars* and other cavaliers, that would fain go and enjoy the

cool air of *Kachemire*; as also all those small merchants and little people of *Bazar* that seek to gain a livelihood. The king, for the carriage of necessaries and the women of the seraglio, taketh with him some of the strongest and best elephants: These beasts, though gross and unweildy, are very sure-footed, and in ill way they march very warily, assuring themselves first of one foot before they remove the other. He taketh also some mules with him; but camels, the most necessary, he cannot make use of in this passage; these mountains being too steep and craggy for their long-shanked and stiff legs: Porters must supply their places; and what number, think you, must there be, if the king alone, as they say, hath above six thousand for his occasions, and I, a private man, though I have left at *Labor* my ordinary tent and much of my baggage, as every one hath done, even the king himself and the *Om-rabs*, find myself obliged to have three of them? 'Tis believed, there are already no less here than fifteen thousand, partly of those which the governor of *Kachemire*, and the *Rajas*, here-about have compelled to be here, partly of those that come hither of their own accord out of the neighbouring villages to earn something; for a man is obliged, following the king's order, to give them ten crowns for an hundred pound weight. 'Tis said, that, in all, there are above thirty thousand of them, without reckoning that a month ago the king and the *Om-rabs* sent away some baggage before, and the merchants, all sorts of commodities.

LETTER IX.

An exact description of the kingdom of Kachemire, and the present state of the neighbouring mountains; together with an answer to five considerable questions of a friend.

SIR,

THE histories of the ancient kings of *Kachemire* tell us, that all that country was formerly nothing but a great lake, and that there was an old holy man, called *Kacheb*, that gave an out-let to the waters, by a miraculous cut he made in the mountain of *Baramoule*. This may be seen in the abridgment of these histories, which *Jehan-Guyre* caused to be made, and which I am translating out of the *Persian* tongue. For my part, I would not deny, all this

land to have once been cover'd with water ; the like is affirmed of *Thessaly*, and some other countries ; but 'tis hard to believe, that this opening is the work of one man, because the mountain is very big and very high. I should rather think, that some great earthquake (those parts being subject enough to them) had opened some cavern under ground, which the mountain did sink into, after the same manner as the opening of *Babel-Mandel* is made (if it be true

true what the *Arabians* of that country say of it) and as whole towns and mountains have been seen to be swallowed up in great lakes.

However it be, *Kachemire* is no lake now, but a very fair champaign, diversified by many little hillocks, about thirty leagues long, and ten or twelve leagues broad; situated in the extreme of *Indostan*, north of *Labor*, locked up within the mountains of *Caucasus*, between those of the kings of the great *Tibet*, the little *Tibet*, and the *Raja Gamon*, its next neighbours.

The first mountains surrounding it, I mean those that are next to the plain, are of a middle height, all green with trees or pasture, full of all sorts of cattle, as cows, sheep, goats, horses; and of game of divers kinds, as partridges, hares, gazelles, and of some animals yielding musk. There are also abundance of bees, and (which is rare in the *Indies*) there are found no serpents, tigers, bears, lions, but very seldom. So that it may be said, that these are not only very innocent mountains, but flowing with milk and honey, as were those of the land of promise.

Beyond those middle-siz'd mountains, there rise others, very high ones, the top of which are always cover'd with snow, and appear above the ordinary clouds and mists, always calm and clear, as well as mount *Olympus*.

Out of all these mountains do issue innumerable sources and rivulets on all sides, which the inhabitants know how to convey to their rice-fields, and even through raised ground unto their little hillocks; and which, after they have made a thousand other little rivulets, and a thousand *Cascata's* every where, come at last to meet, and to make a very fair river, that carryeth boats as big as our river of *Seine*; and after it hath gently turned about the kingdom, and passed through the midst of the capital city, finds its out-let at *Baramoule* between two steep rocks; and having afterwards taken in many small rivers that come down from the mountains, falls about *Alex* into the river *Indus*.

All these rivulets, descending from the mountains, make the plain and all those hillocks so fair and fruitful, that one would take this whole kingdom for some ever-green garden, intermixed with villages and boroughs discovering themselves between the trees, and diversified by meadows, fields of rice, corn, and divers other legumes, of hemp and saffron; all interlaced with ditches full of water, with channels, with small lakes and rivulets here and there. Up and down, every where, are also seen some of our *European* plants, flowers, and all sorts of our trees, as apples, pears, prunes, apri-

cots, nuts, vines. The particular gardens are full of melons, water-melons, skirrets, beets, radishes, all sorts of our pot-herbs, and of some we have not.

'Tis true, there are not so many sorts of fruit as with us, nor are they so excellent as ours; but I believe that that is not the fault of the soil, but that if they had as good gardeners as we, knowing to cultivate and graft trees, to chuse proper places and proper stocks, and to send for grafts from foreign countries, they would have as many and as good as we; because among that number of divers sorts, which I often caused to be brought to me, I have frequently met with very excellent ones.

The capital city, which is of the same name with that of the kingdom, is without walls; 'tis three quarters of a league long, and half a league broad; situate in a plain, about two leagues distant from mountains, which seem to make, as it were, a semi-circle; and standing upon a lake of sweet water of four or five miles in compass, which is made up of live springs, and of rivulets running down the mountains, and disgorgeth itself, by a navigable channel, into the river which passeth through the midst of the town. This river hath, in the town, two wooden bridges over it, for communication. Most houses are of wood, but well built, and of two or three stories high; not as if they had not very good free-stone there (many old idol-temples ruined, and other building made of it, being yet to be seen;) but the abundance of wood, easily descending from the mountains by little rivers, which it is cast into, maketh people find that way of building turn to better account. The houses that stand upon the river have almost all of them their little garden, lying upon the water, which maketh a very pleasant perspective, especially in the spring and summer, when men walk on the river-side. The other houses that stand not upon the river, have also almost all of them some garden; and there are a good number of such that have a channel answering to the lake, and a little boat to go and divert themselves upon it.

In one end of the town there appears an hill, loose from all the rest, which maketh another very agreeable perspective, because on its declivity there stand very fine houses with gardens, and on the top, a mosque and an hermitage well built, with a garden and store of fine green trees: And 'tis upon the account of these trees and gardens, that in the language of the country 'tis called *Haryperbet*, as if you should say, the mountain of verdure.

Opposite to this hill there is seen another, on which there is also a mosque, but

a little one, together with a garden, and a very ancient building, which seems to have been a temple of idols, though they call it *Tact Souliman*, that is, the throne of *Solomon*, because that *Solomon*, as the *Mahometans* say, caused it to be built when he came to *Kachemire*; but how they will prove that *Solomon* made this voyage, I know not.

The lake hath this peculiar, that 'tis full of little isles, which are as many gardens of pleasure, that appear all green in the midst of the water, by reason of those fruit-bearing trees, and of the walks, on both sides set with arbors, and because they are surrounded with large-leaved aspen-trees, standing at two foot distance from one another, the biggest whereof may be clasped about, but as tall as masts of great ships, having only a tuft of branches at the top like palm-trees.

Beyond the lake, upon the side of the hills, there is nothing but houses and gardens of pleasure, the place having been found wonderfully proper for it, as being in a very fine air, in the view of the lake, the isles and the town, and full of springs and rivulets.

The most admirable of all these gardens is that of the king, which is called *Chab-limar*. From the lake, one enters into it by a great canal, border'd with great green turfs. This canal is above five hundred common paces long, and runs betwixt two large alleys of poplars: It leadeth to a great cabinet in the midst of the garden, where begins another canal far more magnificent, which runs with a little rising unto the end of the garden. This canal is paved with large free-stone; its sloping side covered with the same; and in the midst of it there is a long row of jets of water, from fifteen to fifteen foot. There are also, from space to space, great rounds of water serving for store-houses, whence many jets of water, variously figured, do spring up: And this canal ends at another great cabinet, which is almost like the first.

These cabinets, which are in a manner made like domes, situate in the middle of the canal, and encompassed with water, and consequently between those two great alleys of poplars, hath a gallery that reigneth round about, and four gates opposite to one another; two of which do respect the alleys, with two bridges to pass over, one on one side, and the other on the other; the other two look upon the opposite canals. Each cabinet consists of a great chamber in the midst of four other lesser chambers, which are in the four corners. All is painted and gilded within, the great chamber as well as the little ones, having sentences with great letters in the *Persian* tongue written upon them. The four gates are

very rich; they are made of great stones with two columns, taken from those ancient idol-temples ruined by *Chab-Jehan*. The price of these great stones and pillars is not well known, nor what kind of stone they be; though it appears sufficiently, that 'tis a sort of precious stone, finer than marble or porphyry.

From all that hath been said, one may easily conjecture, that I am somewhat charmed with *Kachemire*, and that I pretend, there is perhaps nothing in the world like it for so small a kingdom. It deserves very well to reign over all those neighbouring mountains as far as *Tartary*, and over all *Indostan* as far as *Ceylon*, as once it did: And 'tis not without some cause, that the *Mogols* call it the terrestrial *Paradise* of the *Indies*; that *Ekbar* took so much pains to make himself master of it; and that his son *Jehan-Guyre* became so amorous thereof, that he could not leave it; and often said, he would rather lose all his empire, than *Kachemire*. And from the time that we arrived there, all the poets, both *Kachemirians* and *Mogolians*, strove to make poems to the praise of this little kingdom, to present them to *Aureng-Zebe*, who gladly received and rewarded them. I remember, that among others, there was one, that exaggerating the extraordinary height of the mountains encompassing it, and rendering it almost inaccessible any where, said, that the top of these mountains was the cause, that the heavens did retire into the figure of a vault, as we see it; and that *Kachemire* being the master-piece of nature, and the king of the kingdoms of the world, it was suitable it should be hard of access, and so enjoy an undisturbed peace and tranquility, commanding all, and not being liable to be commanded by any. He added, that the reason why nature had surrounded it with mountains, of which some, namely the highest and most remote, were always white and covered with snow, the lowermost and the next to the plain, all green and covered with wood, was, because that the king of the kingdoms of the world was to wear the most precious crown, the top whereof was to be of diamonds, and the bottom of emeralds. If the poet had added (said I to my *Naveb Danechmend-kan*, who was willing to make me admire all those poems) that all those great countries of mountains that environ it, as the little *Tibet*, the state of the *Raja Gamon*, *Kachguer* and *Serenaguer*, are to be comprehended under the kingdom of *Kachemire*; since, according to the history of the country, they once depended from it, and consequently that the river *Ganges* on the one side, that of *Indus* on the other, the *Chenau* on a third, and the *Gemma* on the fourth,

fourth, do issue out of *Kachemire*, that these rivers, with so many others that run thence, do countervail the *Gibon*, the *Pison*, * and the two others; and if at last he had concluded, that this was certainly the true terrestrial paradise, rather than that in *Armenia*, this would have much enhanced the worth of all his commendations.

The *Kachemirians* have the reputation of being a very witty people, much more intelligent and dextrous than the *Indians*, and as fit for poesy and sciences as the *Persians*. Besides, they are very industrious, and willing to take pains; they make *Palekys*, trunks, bed-steds, standishes, boxes, spoons, and many other pieces, and all of good and very handsome workmanship, sent over all the *Indies*. They know how to give it a good varnish, and so dextrously to counterfeit the veins of a certain wood that hath very fine ones, by applying gold strings upon it, that there is nothing finer. But what is peculiar and considerable in them, and which draws the trade and silver into the country, is that prodigious quantity of stuffs called *Cbales*, which they work there, and employ their little children in. These *Cbales* are certain kinds of stuff an ell and an half long, and about an ell broad, which are embroidered at each end with a kind of embroidery about a foot large. The *Mogols* and *Indians*, both men and women, wear of them in winter upon their heads, passing them over their left shoulder like a mantle. They make two sorts of them; one, of the wool of the country, which is finer than that of *Spain*; the other, of a wool, or rather of an hair, they call *Touz*, taken from the breast of a wild goat of the great *Tibet*. These latter are of a far greater price than the former; neither is there any *Castor* so soft and delicate. The mischief is, the worms get easily into it, unless you have a particular care often to unfold and air them. I have seen of these, which the *Omrahs* purposely caused to be made, which cost an hundred and fifty rupies: Of the others, that are made of the wool of the country, I have seen none that cost above fifty.

'Tis observed of these *Cbales*, that, work them never so carefully in *Patna*, *Agra* and *Labor*, you shall never make the stuff so soft and fine, as in *Kachemire*; which is commonly imputed to the particular water of the country: As at *Maslipatan* they make those fine stuffs, which become fairer by washing.

The *Kachemirians* are also famous for their good complexion. They look as well as our *Europeans*, and have nothing of a *Tartarian* flat-nos'd and little-ey'd face, as those of *Kachguer*, and most of the people

of the great *Tibet*. The women, especially, are very beautiful; and therefore all strangers, that are new comers to the court of *Mogol*, are furnished from thence, that so they may have children whiter than the *Indians*, and which by this means may pass for true *Mogols*. And certainly, if one may judge of the beauty of the retired women by that of the common people, met with in the streets, and seen up and down in the shops, we must believe, that there are very handsome ones. At *Labor*, where they have the repute of being proper and slender, and the handsomest of the brown lasses of the *Indies* (as really they are) I used an art which is ordinary among the *Mogols*, which is, to follow some elephants, especially those that are richly harnessed; for as soon as those women hear the two bells hanging on the sides of those beasts, they all put their heads out of the windows. The same trick I used here; and I made also use of another, in which I succeeded very well; it was devised by an old and famous master of a school, whom I had taken to help me to understand a *Persian* poet. He made me buy store of confits; and he being known and welcome every where, carried me into above fifteen houses, telling them that I was his kinsman, newly come out of *Persia*, that I was rich and to be married. As soon as we came into a house, he distributed confits to the children, and presently all came about us, women and children, great and small, to have their share, or to be seen. This curiosity alone cost me many a good rupy; but it confirmed me, that in *Kachemire* there are as fair faces, as in any place of *Europe*.

There remains only to impart unto you what I observed most considerable between the mountains, from *Bember* hither, (with which perhaps I should have begun;) and after having given you an account of some other little voyages I have been obliged to make in divers parts of this kingdom, you will learn all I could come to know of the rest of the circumjacent mountains.

Concerning therefore, first, our voyage from *Bember* hither, it seemed to me surprising enough, to find myself, from the first night that we parted from *Bember*, and enter'd into the mountains, pass from a torrid to a temperate zone: For, we had no sooner mounted this dreadful wall of the world, I mean, this high, steep, black and bald mountain of *Bember*, but that in descending on the other side, we found an air that was pretty tolerable, fresh, gentle and temperate. But that which surprized me more in these mountains was, to find myself, in a trice, transported out of the *Indies*

* Gen. ii. 11, 12, 13, 14.

Indies into *Europe*. For, seeing the earth covered with all our plants and shrubs, except issop, thyme, marjoram and rosemary, I imagined I was in some of our mountains of *Auvergne*, in the midst of a forest of all our kinds of trees, pines, oaks, elms, plane-trees. And I was the more astonish'd, because in all those burning fields of *Indostan*, whence I came, I had seen almost nothing of all that.

Among other things relating to plants, this surprized me, that one and a half days journey from *Bember*, I found a mountain that was cover'd with them on both sides, but with this difference, that on the side of the mountain that was southerly, toward the *Indies*, there was a mixture of *Indian* and *European* plants, and on that which was expos'd to the north I observed none but *European* ones; as if the former had participated of the air and temper of *Europe* and the *Indies*, and the other had been merely *European*.

As to the trees, I admired this natural course of generations and corruptions: Below in these bottoms, where perhaps no man ever was, I saw hundreds that were falling, or fallen, one upon another, dead and half rotten of age, and other young and verdant ones growing out of the foot of those that were dead: Some of them also I saw burnt, whether it was from lightening, or that in the heat of summer they had taken fire by rubbing themselves against one another, when they were agitated by some hot and impetuous wind; or, as the county people say, that they take fire of themselves, when they are grown old and dry.

I admired also those natural *Cascata's* of water, which we found between those rocks. We met, among others, one of them so wonderful, that doubtless it cannot be parallel'd. One seeth afar off from the side of an high mountain, running down, a torrent of water, in a channel covered with trees, and precipitate itself in a trice to the bottom of a steep rock of a stupendous heighth, with a noise that is able to strike one deaf, like a cataract. There was erected near it a theatre, upon a rock, which *Jehan-Guyre* had caused purposely to be made plain, that the court passing, might there repose themselves, and from thence, with conveniency, behold this admirable workmanship of nature; which, as well as those old trees I was just now speaking of, seems to resemble something of great antiquity, and of the first production of the world.

All these divertisements were blended with an odd accident. On the day that the king went upon the mountain of *Pirepenjale*, which is the highest of all, and

whence one begins to discover afar off the country of *Kachemire*; on that day, I say, that the king ascended this mountain, being followed by a long row of elephants, upon which sit the women in *Mik-dembars*, and *Embarys*, one of those elephants was frighted by beholding, as the *Indians* would have it, such a long and steep ascent, and fell back upon him that was next, and he upon the next, and so on to the fifteenth, so that not one of them being able to turn in this way, which was extremely rude and steep, they all tumbled into the precipice. It was good fortune for those poor women, that the precipice itself was not very steep, so that there were but three or four of them kill'd; but the fifteen elephants remained upon the place. When these bulky masses do once fall under those vast burdens they are loaden with, they never rise again, though the way be never so fair. We saw them two days after, in passing by, and I observed some of them yet stirring their trunk. This accident put the whole army, which had marched four days along the mountains in file, into great disorder, because to recover these women and all that wreck, a stop was made for the remainder of that day and all the night, every one being necessitated to stop where he was, because it was in many places impossible to advance or go back, and none had near him those porters that carried his tent and victuals. As for myself, I was not in the worst condition, having found means to creep out of the way, and to take the conveniency of a small place to lie down in, for myself and my horse. And, to my good luck, one of my servants that follow'd me, had a little bread, which we shared together. I remember, it was there where, stirring some stones, we found a great black scorpion, which a young *Mogol* of my acquaintance took, and squeezed it in his own hand, and then in the hand of my servant, and at last in mine, without our being stung by him. This young cavalier said, that he had charm'd him, as he had done many others before, by a passage of the *Alcoran*, which he would not teach me, because, said he, the power of charming would pass to me and leave himself, as it had pass'd to him by quitting his teacher.

In traversing this same mountain of *Pirepenjale*, where the elephants tumbled down, there occur'd those things which call'd to my mind some of my former philosophical thoughts. The first was, that in less than an hour we felt summer and winter; for in ascending we did sweat gross drops, all men going on foot in a burning sun; and when we came to the top of the mountain, we yet found the icy snow, that had been cut to open the way; there was a frost upon

upon a missing rain, and there blew a wind so cold, that all people shook and ran away, especially the silly *Indians*, who never had seen ice or snow, nor felt such a cold.

The *second* was, that in less than two hundred paces I met with two quite contrary winds; one from the north, which blew in my face ascending, especially when I came near the top, and another from the south, which blew against my back in descending; as if this hill had protruded exhalations out of its bowels from all sides, which coming forth had caused a wind that had descended and taken its course in those two opposite dales.

The *third* was the meeting an old hermit, that had lived on the top of this mountain since the time of *Jehan-Guyre*, and whose religion was not known; though it was said, that he did miracles, caused strange thunders when he would, and raised storms of hail, snow, rain and wind. He look'd somewhat savage-like, having a long and large white beard uncombed. He asked alms somewhat fiercely; suffer'd us to take up water in earthen cups, he had ranged upon a great stone; made sign with his hand, importing that we should speedily march away, and grumbled at those that made a noise, because, said he to me, (when I was come into his cave, and had a little sweetned his looks with half a rousy, which with much humility I put into his hand) a noise raiseth furious storms and tempests. *Aureng-zebe*, said he further, did very well in following my counsel, and not permitting to make a noise: *Ghab-Jehan* always took care of the same; but *Jehan-Guyre* once mocking at it, and causing trumpets and cymbals to sound, was like to have perish'd here.

In reference to the little voyages I have made in divers parts of this kingdom, behold the particulars I took notice of as I passed. We were no sooner arrived at *Kachemire*, but my *Navab Danechmend-kan* sent me, together with one of his horsemen for a convoy, and a countryman, to one of the extremities of this kingdom, three small days journey from hence, upon the relation made him, that this was the very time to see the wonders (for so they speak of them) of a spring that is thereabout. These wonders are, that in the month of *May*, the time when the snow begins but to melt, this fountain, for about the space of fifteen days, regularly flows and stops thrice a-day, at break of day, at noon, and at night: Its flowing ordinarily lasts three quarters of an hour, more or less, and that plentifully enough to fill a square receptacle having steps to go down to it, and being about ten or twelve foot broad, and as many foot deep. After the

first fifteen days, its course begins to be less regular, and less copious; and at length, after a month or thereabout, it quite stops and runs no more for the rest of the year, unless it be, that during some plentiful and long rains, it flows incessantly and without rule, as other fountains do. The *Gentiles* have on the side of the receiver a little temple of the idol of *Brare*, which is one of their false deities; and thence it is that they call this fountain *Send-Brary*, as if you should say, *Water of Brare*; and that thither they come from all parts in pilgrimage, to bathe and sanctify themselves in this miraculous water. Upon the origin of this water they make many fables, which I shall not recite to you, because I find not the least shadow of truth in them. During the five or six days of my stay there, I did what possibly I could to find the reason of this wonder: I did attentively consider the situation of the mountain, at the foot of which this spring is found: I went to the very top with great pains, searching and prying every where. I observed that it extends itself in length from north to south; that 'tis sever'd from other mountains, which yet are very near to it; that it is in the form of an asses back; that its top, which is very long, hath not much more than an hundred paces where it is largest; that one of the sides of the mountain, which is cover'd with nothing but green grass, is expos'd to the east, yet so that the sun comes not to shine out before eight a clock in the morning, because of the other opposite mountains; and lastly, that the other side, which is expos'd to the west, is covered with trees and bushes. All this being considered, I did imagine, that the heat of the sun, together with the particular situation, and the internal disposition of the mountain, might very well be the cause of this pretended miracle; that the morning sun, coming briskly to strike on the side opposite thereto, heats it, and melts part of the frozen waters, which, during the winter, when all was covered with snow, had insinuated themselves into the inner parts of the earth of this mountain; that these waters penetrating, and by little and little running down unto certain beds of quick rock, which retain and convey them toward the spring-head, cause the flowing of the fountain at noon; that the same sun, raised to the south, and leaving that other side, now growing cold, for to strike with its beams as 'twere perpendicularly, the top, doth also melt other frozen waters, which likewise run down by little and little as the other, but by other turnings, unto those rocky beds, and cause the flowing at night: And that lastly,

lastly, the sun heating likewise this western side, produceth the like effect, and causes the third flux in the morning; which is slower than the two others; either because this western side is remote from the eastern where the source is; or because that being covered with wood, it is not so soon heated; or by reason of the cold of the night. Now I found this my reasoning the more cogent, forasmuch as it seems to agree with what is affirmed, that in the first days the water comes in greater abundance than in the latter, and that at last it stops, and runs not at all; as if indeed in the beginning there were of those frozen waters greater plenty in the earth than at last. It seems also to agree with what is observed, that there are some days in the beginning, in which one flux is found more abounding than the other, and sometimes more at noon than in the evening or morning, or in the morning more than at noon; it commonly falling out so that some days there are hotter than others, or that some clouds arise which interrupt the equality of the heat, and consequently make the flux unequal.

Returning from *Send-brary* I turn'd a little aside from the road to go and lie at *Achiavel*, which is an house of pleasure of the ancient kings of *Kachemire*, and at present of the great *Mogol*. That which most adorns it, is a fountain, the water whereof diffuseth itself on all sides round about that fabrick (which is not despicable) and into the gardens by an hundred canals. It breaks out of the earth, as if by some violence it ascended up from the bottom of a well, and that with such an abundance as might make it to be called a river rather than a fountain. The water of it is admirably good, and so cold that one can hardly endure to hold ones hand in it. The garden itself is very fine, there being curious walks in it, and store of fruit-bearing trees, of apples, pears, prunes, apricocks and cherries, and many jets of waters of various figures, and ponds replenish'd with fish, together with a very high *Cascata* of water, which by its fall maketh a great nape of thirty or forty paces long, which hath an admirable effect, especially in the night, when under this nape there is put a great number of little lamps fitted in holes purposely made in the wall; which maketh a curious shew.

From *Achiavel* I went yet a little more out of my way to pass through another royal garden, which is also very beautiful, and hath the same pleasantness with that of *Achiavel*, but this is peculiar in it, that in one of its ponds there are fishes that come when they are called, and when you cast bread to them; the biggest whereof have

golden rings in their noses, with inscriptions about them, which, they say, that renowned *Nour-Mehalle*, the wife of *Jehan Guyre*, the grandfather of *Aurenge-Zebe*, caused to be fastened in them.

I was no sooner returned from *Send-brary*, but *Danech-mend-kan*, well satisfied with my voyage, made me undertake one more, to see another sure miracle, as he call'd it, which should be capable to make me soon change my religion, and turn *Musselman*. Go, saith he, to *Baramoulay*, which is not further from hence than *Send-brary*; there you shall find a mosque, in which is the tomb of one of our *Pires* or saints, which still every day works miracles in curing sick people, that flock thither from all parts: It may be, that you will believe nothing of all those miraculous cures you shall see; but you will at least believe one miracle, which is done every day, and you may see with your own eyes: And that is of a big round stone, which the strongest man is hardly able to raise in the least from the ground, but yet eleven men, by praying to that saint, lift up, as if it were a straw, with the end of their eleven fingers, without any trouble at all, and without being sensible of any weight. Hereupon I began this journey also, accompanied with my horseman and the country fellow, and being arrived at *Baramoulay*, I found it a place pleasant enough. The mosque is sufficiently well built, the tomb of the pretended saint well adorn'd, and round about it there was store of people of great devotion, who said they were sick. Near the mosque there was a kitchen with large kettles full of flesh and rice, which, in my opinion, was the magnet drawing the sick people thither, and the miracle that cured them. On the other side was the garden and the chambers of the *Mullabs*, who with great conveniency and delight spend their life there, under the shadow of the miraculous sanctity of this *Pir*, which they are not wanting to celebrate: But as I am always very unhappy in such occasions, he did no miracle that day upon any of the sick. As for the great Stone, which was the business I came for; there were eleven cheats of these *Mullabs* that crowed together in a round, and by their long vests hindred me from seeing well in what manner they took and lifted it up, yet said all, that they held it only with the end of one of their fingers, and that it was as light as a feather. For my part, who had my eyes open and look'd on narrowly, I perceived well enough, that they took great pains, and they seemed to me, that they used also the thumb, which they held very firm upon the second finger bent and closed: But yet I was not wanting

to

to cry out as well as the *Mullabs* and all the other assistants, *Karamet*, *Karamet*, miracle, miracle; giving at the same time a roudy for the *Mullabs*, and with great shew of devotion praying them to favour me with suffering me once to be one of the eleven lifters up of the stone. They did hesitate long before they resolved to permit it; but having given them another roudy, and made them believe I was persuaded of the truth of the miracle, one of the eleven gave me his place; they doubtless imagined, that ten of them joined together would be sufficient to do the business; though I should not add much to it; and that they would so range themselves and crowd together, that I should perceive nothing of their imposture. But they found themselves egregiously deceived, when they saw, that the stone, which I would not support but only by the end of my finger, always inclined and fell to my side, until at length I found it necessary to put my thumb to it, and to hold it with my finger as they did; and then we lifted it up from the earth, yet not without much pain. Notwithstanding which, when I saw that they all looked upon me a-squint, not knowing what to make of me, I still went on crying like the rest, *Karamet*, miracle, miracle, and over and above casting to them another roudy to secure myself from being ston'd; and stealing away from among the crowd, I presently took horse, without eating or drinking, and left the faint and the miracles to those that had faith enough to believe them: Observing, as I passed along, that famous opening, which is an outlet to all the waters of this kingdom, of which I have already said something in the beginning of this book.

I left my way again, to approach to a great lake, which I saw afar off, thorough the middle whereof passeth the river that runs to *Baramoulay*. It is full of fish, especially eels, and covered with ducks and wild-fowl, and many other river fowl, and 'Tis where the governor comes in winter, at which time 'tis covered with those creatures, to divert himself with fowling. In the midst of this lake there is an eremitage with its little garden, which, as they say, doth miraculously float upon the water, and where the eremite passeth his life without ever going from it. Besides which, they make a thousand other ridiculous tales of it, which are not worth reciting, unless perhaps you will except what some have told me, That it was one of those ancient kings of *Kachemire*, who out of curiosity caused this eremitage to be built upon thick beams fastned to one another.

Thence I went to find out a fountain, which hath something that's rare enough

in it; bubbling up gently, and rising with some little impetuosity, and making small bubbles of air, and carrying with it, to the top, some small sand that is very fine, which goeth away again as it came, the water becoming still, a moment after it, without ebullition, and without bringing up sand; and soon after beginning afresh as before, and so continuing its motion by intervals, which are not regular. But the wonder, as they say, consists in this, that the least noise, made by speaking, or by knocking ones foot against the ground, moveth the water, and maketh it run and bubble as was said. Yet I found plainly, that speaking or knocking availeth nothing to produce that effect, and that it moveth as well when one saith nothing, as when one speaks or knocketh. But now, to give the true cause of it, that requireth more thinking than I have bestow'd upon it; unless one should say, that the sand, by falling down again, obstructeth the narrow channel of this small and weak spring, until the water, being closed up and kept in, make an effort to remove and raise again the sand, and so to disengage itself; or rather, that some wind, pent in the channel of the spring, rises by turns, as it comes to pass in artificial fountains.

After we had considered this fountain, we enter'd into the mountains to see a great lake, which hath ice in summer, and looketh like a little icy sea, having heaps of ice, made and unmade by the winds. Afterwards we passed through a certain place, called *Seng-safed*, that is, white stone; which is famous for being full all the summer long of all sorts of flowers like a *Parterre*, and for this observation, that when much people goes thither, making a great noise and much stirring the air, there presently falls a shower of rain. This is certain, that when, some years since, *Chah-Jehan* went thither, he was in danger of perishing by the great and extraordinary rain survening, though he had commanded, they should make the least noise they could. This agreed with what my eremite of *Pirepengale* had told me.

And now I was going to a grotto of odd congelation, which is two days journey from thence; but I received news, that after my so long absence my *Navab* was troubled about me.

As to the condition of the neighbouring mountains round about, I have, since our being here, done what possibly I could to inform myself about them; but I have profited but little, for want of people that are intelligent and observe things; yet notwithstanding I will not omit to relate to you what I have learn'd of it.

The

The merchants of *Kachemire*, that go every year from mountain to mountain, gathering fine wool to make those stuffs I have above been speaking of, do all agree, that between the mountains, which still depend from *Kachemire*, there are found very fine places of good land, and that amongst others there is one place, which pays its tribute in leather and wool, sent for by the governor every year; and where the women are extreme handsome, chaste and laborious; that there is also another farther off from *Kachemire*, which also pays its tribute in leather and wool, and hath very pretty, though but small, fertile plains, and most pleasant vallies, abounding in corn, rice, apples, pears, apricocks and melons; as also in raisins yielding very good wine; the inhabitants whereof have some times refused to pay the tribute, relying upon the difficulty of access to their country; but there hath always been a way found to enter and to reduce them. The same merchants agree also, that among the other mountains, that are more distant and depend no more from *Kachemire*, there are likewise found very pleasant countries, peopled with very handsome whites, but such as almost never come out from their homes; of which some have no kings, nor, as far as could be perceived, any religion; only that some of them do eat no fish, counting them unclean.

I shall add here, what I was lately told by a good ancient man, that had married a wife of the ancient family of the kings of *Kachemire*. He said, that when *Jehan-Guyre* made a strict inquiry after all those that were of that family, he was afraid to be taken, and thereupon fled with three servants cross these mountains, not knowing in a manner whither he went; that thus wandering he came at last into a very fine small canton, where, when it came to be known who he was, the inhabitants came to visit him and brought him presents, and that, to make up their kindness, they brought to him in the evening one of the beautifullest of their young maidens, praying him that he would bed with her, because they desired very much to have issue of his blood: That passing from thence into another canton, not much distant from the former, the people likewise came to see him, and to present him; but that the kindness of the evening was far different from the other, in that these inhabitants brought to him their own wives, arguing that those of the other canton were beasts, because that his blood would not remain in their house, since the maidens would carry the child with them

into the house of him, to whom they should be married.

I may further add, that some years since, there being a dissention risen between the family of the king of the little *Tibet*, which borders upon *Kachemire*, one of the pretenders to the crown did secretly call for the assistance of the governor of *Kachemire*, who by order of *Chah-Jehan* gave him powerful succours, and put to death or flight all the other pretenders, and left this man in the possession of the country, on condition of an annual tribute to be paid in crystal, musc and wool. This petty king could not forbear coming to see *Aureng zebe*, bringing with him a present of those things I just now named; but he had so pitiful a train, that I should never have taken him for what he was. My *Navab* entertained him at dinner, that he might receive the better information concerning those mountains. I heard him say, that his country on the east-side did confine with great *Tibet*; that it was about 30 or 40 leagues broad; that there was indeed some little crystal, musc, and wool, but for the rest very poor; and that there were no gold mines, as was said; that in some places there was very good fruit, especially melons; that they had very hard winters and very troublesome, because of the deep snows; and that the people, which formerly had been heathen, were almost all become *Mahometan*, as himself, namely, of that sect called *Chia*, which is that of all *Persia*. Besides, that seventeen or eighteen years ago *Chah-Jehan* had attempted to make himself master of the kingdom of the great *Tibet*, as formerly also had done the kings of *Kachemire*; that his army after sixteen days difficult march, always among mountains, did besiege a castle which they took; that there remain'd no more for him to do, than to pass a river, which is famous and very rapid, and thereupon to march directly to the capital town, which he would have easily carried, the whole kingdom being in a panick terror; but that the season being far spent, the governor of *Kachemire*, who was the general of that army, did apprehend he should be surprized by the snow, and so returned, leaving in that castle a garrison, which, whether it was for fear of the enemy, or from want of sufficient provision, he could not say, soon abandon'd it; which broke the design the governor had of returning thither the next spring.

Now that the king of this great *Tibet* knows, that *Aureng-zebe* is at *Kachemire*, and threatens him with war, he hath sent to him an ambassador, with presents of the country, as crystal, and those dear

white cow-tails, by way of ornament fasten'd to the ears of elephants, as also musc, and a stone of *Jachen* of great price, because of an extraordinary bigness. This *Jachen* is a bluish stone with white veins so hard that it is wrought with nothing else but the powder of diamond, highly esteemed in the court of the *Mogol*. They make cups of it and other vessels, of which I have some richly wrought with threads of gold, of very curious workmanship. The train of this ambassador did consist of three or four cavaliers, and ten or twelve tall men, dry and lean, having three or four hairs in their beards like the *Chinese*, and plain red bonnets upon their heads like our seamen, the rest of their garments suitable. I think there were four or five of them with swords, but the rest marched behind the ambassador without any rod or stick. He treated with *Aureng-Zebe* in his master's name, promising that he would suffer a mosque to be built in the capital city, wherein prayers should be made after the *Mahometan* way; that the money, henceforth to be coined, should on the one side have the impress of *Aureng-Zebe*, and that he would pay him a certain annual tribute. But 'tis believed, that as soon as this king shall know that *Aureng-Zebe* is gone from *Kachemire*, he will laugh at all this treaty, as he did formerly at that which he had made with *Chab-Jehan*.

This ambassador had in his suite a physician, which was said to be of the kingdom of *Lassa*, and of the tribe *Lamy* or *Lama*, which is that of the men of the law in that country, as the *Brabmans* are in the *Indies*; with this difference, that the *Brabmans* have no *Caliph*, or high-priest, but the *Lamians* have one that is not only acknowledged for such by the kingdom of *Lassa*, but also by all *Tartary*, and who is honoured and revered like a divine person. This physician had a book of receipts, which he would never sell to me; the writing of it seem'd, at a distance, somewhat like ours. We made him begin to writ the alphabet, but he wrote so slowly, and his writing was so bad in respect of that in his book, that we soon judged this must needs be a poor doctor. He was much wedded to the *Metempsychosis* or transmigration of souls, and was full of admirable stories of it; among the rest he related of his great *Lama*, that when he was old and ready to die, he assembled his council, and declared to them, that now he was passing into the body of a little child lately born, that this child was bred up with great care, and when it was about six or seven years old, they brought to it store of household-stuff, *pel-mel*, with his own, and that the child was able to distinguish those that were

or had been his, from that of others; which was, said this doctor, an authentick proof of the transmigration. For my part, I thought at first he rallied, but I found at last, that he spoke very seriously. I was once to see him at the ambassador's, with a merchant of *Kachemire* that knew the language of *Tibet*, and was an interpreter to me. I made as if I would buy some stuffs he had brought to sell, which were some kind of ratines of about a foot and an half broad; but it was really to learn something of that country; yet it was no great matter I obtain'd from him. He only told me in general, that all the kingdom of the great *Tibet* was, in comparison to his, a miserable country, full of snow for more than five months of the year; that his king made often war with the *Tartars*; but he could never distinguish to me, what kind of *Tartars* they were. At length, after I had made a good many questions to him, without receiving any satisfaction upon them, I saw I lost only my time with him.

But there is another thing, which is so certain, that no body here doubts of it. 'Tis not yet twenty years that there went caravans every year from *Kachemire*, which crossed all those mountains of the great *Tibet*, entered into *Tartary*, and arrived in about three months at *Cataja*, notwithstanding the very ill ways, and the rapid torrents; which latter are to be passed over cords stretched from one rock to another. These caravans brought back musc, china-wood, rhubarb, and mamiron, which last is a small root exceeding good for ill eyes. Repassing over the great *Tibet*, they also loaded themselves with the merchandise of that country, viz. musc, cristal and jachen; but especially with store of very fine wool of two sorts, one of sheep, and the other called *Touz*, which is rather, as I have said, a kind of hair approaching to our castor, than a wool. But since the attempt which *Chab-Jehan* made on that side, the king of the great *Tibet* hath altogether shut up the way, and suffers not any one from *Kachemire* to enter into his country: And thence it is, that the caravans at present go from *Patna* upon the *Ganges*, not passing through his country at all, but leaving it on the left-hand, and coming directly to the kingdom of *Lassa*.

Concerning this kingdom, here called *Kacheguer*, which doubtless is that which our maps call *Kascar*. I shall relate to you what I was able to learn of it from the merchants of the country itself, who, knowing that *Aureng-Zebe* was to stay a-while at *Kachemire*, were come thither with a good number of slaves, of both sexes, whom they had to sell. They say, that the kingdom of *Kacheguer* lyeth east of *Kachemire*, drawing

ing a little northward; that the shortest way thither was to go directly to the great *Tibet*; but that passage being obstructed, they were forced to take their way through the little *Tibet*: That first they went to a small town called *Gourtche*, the last town depending from *Kachemire*, and four days journey distant from the same; that from thence, in eight days, they came to *Eskekdou*, the capital of the king of the little *Tibet*; and thence in two days more to a small town called *Cheker*, likewise belonging to the little *Tibet*, and situate upon a river very famous for being medicinal; that in fifteen days they came to a great forest upon the confines of the little *Tibet*, and in fifteen days more to *Kacheguer*, a small town, once the seat of the king of *Kacheguer*, which is now at *Fourkend*, lying somewhat more to the north, and ten days journey distant from *Kacheguer*. They added, that from the town of *Kacheguer* to *Katay*, 'tis no more but two months voyage; that every year there go caravans, bringing back of all those commodities I have named, and passing into *Persia* through *Usbeck*, as there are others that do pass to *Patna* in *Indostan*. They said moreover, that to go from *Kacheguer* to *Katay*, travellers must get to a town that is eight days journey from *Coten*, the last town of the kingdom of *Kacheguer*; that the ways from *Kachemire* to *Kacheguer* are very difficult; that among others there is a place, where, in what season soever it be, you must march for about a quarrier of a league upon ice. This is all I could learn of those parts, which though indeed it be very much confused and very little, yet will it be found much, considering I had to do both with people so ignorant, that they almost know not to give a reason of any thing; and with interpreters, who, for the most part, know not how to make the questions to be understood, nor intelligibly to deliver the answers made thereto.

I thought once, I would have here concluded this letter, or rather this book, and taken my leave of you until I came to *Debli*, whither we are now returning: But since I am in the vein of writing, and at some leisure, I shall endeavour to give you some satisfaction to those five particulars you demanded of me in your last letter, in the name of Monsieur *Thevenot*, that illustrious person, who daily giveth us more discoveries, without going out of his study, than we have learned of those that have gone round the world.

The first of his demands is; *Whether it be true, that in kingdom of Kachemire there are Jews settled there from immemorial times; and if so, whether they have the holy scripture,*

and if their old testament be altogether conform to ours?

The second is; *That I would give you an account of what I have observed touching the Monsoons, or the season of the ordinary rains in the Indies.*

The third is; *That I would give you my observations, and declare to you my thoughts concerning the wonderful regularity of the current of the sea, and the winds in the Indies.*

The fourth is; *Whether the kingdom of Bengal is so fertile, so rich, and so beautiful, as 'tis said to be?*

The fifth is; *That I would at length decide unto you the old controversy touching the causes of the increase of the Nile.*

Answer to the first demand, concerning the Jews.

I should indeed be very glad, as well as M. *Thevenot*, that there were Jews to be found in the valley of those mountains, who might be such, as I believe he would have them; I mean, of those ten tribes transported by *Salmanasser*. But you may assure him, that if anciently there have been of them in this place (as there is some reason to believe there were,) there are none of them at present, and all the inhabitants of it are now either *Gentiles* or *Mahometans*; and that perhaps 'tis *China* where they may be found. For I have lately seen, in the hands of our reverend father, the Jesuit of *Debli*, some letters of a German Jesuit, written from *Pekin*, taking notice, that he had there seen some of them that had preserved the *jewish* religion, and the old testament, that knew nothing of the death of *Jesus Christ*, and that they would even have made this Jesuit their *Kacan*, if he would have forborn to eat swine's flesh.

Mean time here also are not wanting several marks of *Judaism*. The first is, that at the entering into this kingdom, after having passed the mountains of *Pirepenjale*, all the inhabitants I saw in the first villages seemed to me to be *Jews*, in their garb and mein, and in something peculiar, which maketh us often discern nations from one another. I am not the only person that hath had this thought; our father, the jesuit, and many of our *Europeans* had the same before me. The second is, that I have observed, that among the meaner sort of the people of this town, tho' they be *Mahometans*, yet the name of *Mousa*, that is, *Moses*, is much used. The third, that commonly they say, that *Salomon* came into their country, and that it was he that cut the mountain of *Baramoule* to give an outlet to the waters. The fourth, that they say, *Moses* died at *Kachemire*, and that his tomb is one league distant from this

this town. The *ffik*, that they pretend, that that little and very ancient edifice, which appears from hence upon an high mountain, was built by *Salomon*, and that thence they call it to this very day the *throne of Salomon*. So that I would not deny, but that some *Jews* may have penetrated hither; and that in length of time they may have lost the purity of their law, turned idolaters, at last *Mahometans*. In short, we see store of the Jewish nation that have passed into *Persia* to *Lar*, *Ispahan*, and also into *Indostan*, on the side of *Goa* and *Cochin*. I have been informed, that there were of them in *Æthiopia*, even gallant and military men, and some of them so considerable and potent, that there was one of them, fifteen or sixteen years ago, that had attempted to make himself king of a little country of the mountains of a very hard access; if it be true, what two ambassadors of the king of *Æthiopia*, that were lately in this court, related to me.

Answer to the second demand, about the stated rains in the Indies.

The sun is so strong and violent in the *Indies* all the year long, and principally for the space of eight months, that he would burn all, and render the country barren and inhabitable, if providence had not particularly provided and disposed things in so admirable a way, as in the month of *July*, when the heats are most violent, rains begin regularly to fall, which continuing for three months together, do temper the earth, and render it very fruitful, and so qualify the air that it may be endured. Yet are not these rains so regular, that they fall always just at the same time; of which I have made many observations in different places, and principally at *Debli*, where I lived a long while. The like is found in other countries; and there is always some difference in the time, from year to year: For sometimes they begin or end a fortnight or three weeks sooner, sometimes later; and there are also some years, in which they are not so plentiful as in others; insomuch that two years together it did almost not rain at all, which caused much sickness, and great famine. Besides, there is also this difference, in respect of countries different and remote from one another; that these rains ordinarily begin sooner, or are more plentiful in one than in the other. For example, in *Bengal* and along the coast of *Coromandel*, as far as to the isle of *Ceilan*, they begin and end a month sooner than towards the coast of *Malabar*: And in *Bengal* these rains are pouring down for four months, and sometimes continue for eight days and

nights together without intermission; whereas at *Debli* and *Agra* they are never so strong, nor so durable, there passing sometimes two or three whole days without any rain; and ordinarily the whole morning, from break of day until about nine or ten a clock, it rains but very little or nothing. But the most considerable difference I have observ'd, is, that the rains in divers places come from different quarters of the world; as about *Debli* they come from the east, where lies *Bengal*; whereas, on the contrary, in the parts of *Bengal*, and upon the coast of *Coromandel*, they come from the south; and upon the coast of *Malabar* they proceed almost always from the west.

I have also observed another particular, about which they all agree in those parts; viz. That according as the heat of the summer comes sooner or later, is more or less violent, and lasts longer or a shorter time; the rains also come sooner or later, are more or less plentiful, last longer or a shorter time.

These observations have given me ground to believe, that the heat of the earth and the rarefaction of the air must be the principal causes of these rains, and draw them; forasmuch as the air of the seas, which lie near round about the lands, being colder, more condensed and more gross, filled with clouds which the great heats of the summer raise from the waters, and which the winds drive and agitate, dischargeth itself easily upon the land, where the air is hotter, more rarified, in more motion and less resisting than upon the seas, so as that this discharge is more or less tardy and abundant, according as the heat comes sooner and is more violent.

Suitable to the same observations, I was persuaded, that if the rains begin sooner upon the coast of *Coromandel* than upon that of *Malabar*, 'tis by reason that the summer begins there sooner, it being possible that there it may do so for some particular reasons which perhaps would not be hard to find, if the country were well examined: For we know, that according to the different situation of a land in respect of seas or mountains, and according as 'tis more sandy, or hilly, or woody, the summer comes there either sooner or later, and with more or less violence.

I am further persuaded, that it is no wonder, that the rains come from different quarters; that upon the coast of *Coromandel*, for example, they come from the south, and upon that of *Malabar* from the west; because that in all appearance it must be the nearest seas that send them, and the coast of *Coromandel* is nearer to the sea, which lyeth southerly in respect of it, and

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is more exposed to it, as the coast of *Malabar* is to the west of it, lying towards *Babel-mandel*, *Arabia*, and the gulf of *Persia*.

Lastly, I have imagined, that if at *Debli*, for example, the rains come from the east, it may yet be that the seas which are southerly to it, are the origin of them; but that they are forced by reason of some mountains, or some other lands where the air is colder, more condensed and more resisting, to turn aside and discharge themselves another way, where the air is more rarified, and where consequently they find less resistance.

I forgot to tell you, that I also observed at *Debli*, that there it never rains to purpose, till for many days there have passed store of clouds westward; as if it were necessary that those spaces of air which are beyond *Debli* westward, should be first fill'd with clouds, and that these clouds finding there some obstacle, as it may be some air less hot and less rarified, and consequently more condensed and more able to resist, or some other contrary clouds and winds repelling them, should become so thick, so burthensome and so heavy, that they must fall down in rain, after the same manner as it often enough falls out, when the wind driveth the clouds against some high mountain.

Answer to the third demand, concerning the regularity of the current of the sea, and of the winds in the Indies.

As soon as the rains do cease (which ordinarily comes to pass towards the month of *October*,) it is observed, that the sea taketh its course southward, and that the cold northern wind ariseth. This wind blows for four or five months without intermission, and without storms, always keeping the same equality as to its strength and quarter, unless it change or cease a day or so by accident, but then it returns again unto its former place and temper. After that time, for two months or thereabout, the other winds do reign without any rule. These two months being past, which is called the *intermediate* season, or, according to the *Hollanders*, the *wavering* or changing season, the sea returns back from south to north, and the south wind riseth to reign also in his turn for four or five months, as the current of the sea doth; so that there pass two months of intermediate season; during which navigation is very difficult and dangerous; whereas during the two seasons it is very easy, pleasant, and without peril, except it be about the end of the season of the south-wind. Hence you may find cause not to wonder, if you hear that the *Indians*, though else very timorous and

inexpert in the art of navigation, do notwithstanding make pretty long and considerable voyages; as when they sail from *Bengal* to *Tanassery*, *Achem*, *Malague*, *Sian* and *Makassar*; or to *Maslipatan*, *Ceilan*, the *Maldives*, *Moka*, and *Bender-Abassy*; because they take their time to go with one good season, and to return with the other.

'Tis true, that oft enough they are surprized and cast away; but that is, when they cannot dispatch their affairs in good time, or fail of taking their measures. Our *Europeans* also do sometimes lose themselves, though they be far better sea-men, bolder, and more understanding, and their ships better condition'd and equip'd.

Of these two intermediate seasons, that which maketh the south-wind is incomparably more dangerous than the other, and much more subject to tempests and storms: And even in the season itself this wind is ordinarily much more impetuous and unequal than that of the north. And here I must not omit to give you a remark, which is, that about the end of the season of the south-wind, during the time of the rain, although there be a great calm out at sea, yet 'tis very tempestuous near the coasts, to the distance of fifteen or twenty leagues; whence the ships of *Europe*, or others, when they will approach the *Indian* coasts, for example, of *Surat*, or *Maslipatan*, must be very careful of taking their time to arrive just after the rains; or else they run great hazard of being split and lost upon the coast.

This is very near what I could observe of the seasons in these parts; of which I much wish I could give you a good reason. I shall venture to tell you, that it came into my thoughts, *first*, that the air, which environs the globe of the earth, ought to be esteemed to have a share in it, as also the water of the sea and rivers, forasmuch as both the one and the other gravitate upon this globe, tend to the same centre of it, and so are in some manner united and fasten'd to it; so that from these three bodies, the air, the water and the earth, there results, as it were, one great globe. *Next*, that the globe of the earth being suspended and balanced, as it is, in its place, in that free and unresisted space, where the Creator thought good to place it, would be capable to be easily mov'd, if some adventitious body should come against it and hit it. *Thirdly*, that the sun having past the line to move towards one of the poles, for example, the *Arctic*, coming to cast its rays that way, maketh there impression enough to depress a little the *Arctic* pole, and to do that more and more according as it advanceth towards the *Tropic*; letting it rise again by little and little, according as he

returns

returns towards the line, until by the force of his rays he do the like on the side of the *Antartic* pole.

If these suppositions, joined to that of the diurnal motion of the earth, were true, it were not, methinks, without reason what is commonly affirmed in the *Indies*, viz. That the sun conducts and carries with him the sea and wind. For, if it be true, that having passed the line to go towards one of the poles, he causeth a change in the direction of the *Axis* of the earth, and a depression in the pole on that side, the other pole must needs be raised, and that consequently the sea and the air, being two fluid and heavy bodies, run down in this inclination: so that it would be true to say, that the sun advancing towards one pole, causeth on that side two great regular currents, viz. that of the sea, and that of the air which maketh the *Monson* wind, as he causeth two opposite ones, when he returns towards the other pole.

Upon this ground, methinks, it might be said, that there are no other but two main opposite fluxes of the sea, one from the side of the pole *Arctic*, the other from that of the *Antartic*; that if there were a sea from one pole to the other, that passed through our *Europe*, we should see, that these two currents would there be regular every where, as they are in the *Indies*, and that that which hinders this regularity of the flux from being general, is, that the seas are intercepted by lands, which impede, break, and vary their course; in like manner as some say, that the ordinary flux and reflux of the sea is hinder'd in those seas that lie in length, as the *Mediterranean* doth from east to west. And so likewise might it be said upon the same foundation, that there are but two principal opposite winds or fluxes of the air, and that they would be universally regular, of the earth were perfectly smooth and equal, and one part like another every where.

An answer to the fourth question, concerning the fertility, riches and beauty of the kingdom of Bengal.

All ages have spoken of *Egypt*, as of the best and fruitfulest part of the world; and writers will not grant, there is any country comparable to it: But as far as I can see by the two voyages I have made in the kingdom of *Bengal*, I am of opinion, that that advantage belongs rather to it, than to *Egypt*. It bears rice in that abundance, that it not only furnishes its neighbours, but many very remote parts. 'Tis carried up the river *Ganges* to *Patna*; and 'tis transported by sea to *Massipatan*, and to many other ports of the coast of *Coro-*

mandel. Besides, 'tis sent away into foreign kingdoms, and principally into *Ceilan* and the *Maldives*. Further, it also abounds in sugar, so that it furnishes with it the kingdoms of *Golkonda* and *Karnates*, where there grows but very little. *Arabia* also and *Mesopotamia* are thence provided with it, by the way of *Moka* and *Bassora*; and *Persia* itself, by *Bander-Abassy*. Moreover, *Bengal* is also the country of good confits, especially in those places where the *Portugueze* are, who are dextrous in making them, and drive a great trade with them. They ordinarily make store of those big pome-citrons, as we have in *Europe*; and a certain root, which is longish like *Sarsaparilla*, and very delicate; and of that common fruit of the *Indies* called *Amba*, and of *Ananas*, and the small *Mirabolans*, which are excellent; as also of lemons and ginger.

'Tis true, that the country of *Bengal* yields not so much corn as *Egypt*; but if that be a defect, it is imputed to its inhabitants that eat very little bread, and much more rice than the *Egyptians*: Yet it always bears what is sufficient for the country, and to afford excellent biscuits, very cheap, for the provision of our *European* ships, *English*, *Dutch*, and *Portugueze*. You may there have, almost for nothing, those three or four kinds of *Legumes*, which together with rice and butter, are the most usual food of the meaner people: And for a rupy, which is about half a crown, you may have twenty good pullets or more; geese and ducks in proportion. There are also kids and sheep in abundance, and such store of pork, that the *Portugueze*, settled there and accustomed to the country, live almost on nothing else but that; and the *English* and *Dutch* victual their ships with it. There is also plenty of many sorts of fish, both fresh and salt: And, in a word, *Bengal* is a country abounding in all things; and 'tis for this very reason, that so many *Portugueze*, *Mesticks*, and other christians are fled thither from those quarters, which the *Dutch* have taken from them. For the *Jesuits* and *Augustinians*, that have great churches there, wherein they exercise their religion with all freedom, did assure me, that in *Ogouli* alone there were no less than eight or nine thousand souls of christians; and (which I will easily believe) that in the rest of that kingdom there were above twenty-five thousand. And 'tis this affluence of all those things necessary for life, joined to the beauty and good humour of the women natives, that hath occasioned this *Proverb* amongst the *Portugueze*, *English* and *Hollanders*, viz. That there are an hundred open gates to enter into the kingdom of *Bengal*, and not one to come away again.

As

As to the commodities of great value, and which draw the commerce of strangers thither; I know not whether there be a country in the world, that affords more and greater variety: For, besides the sugar I have spoken of, which may be numbered amongst the commodities of value, there is such store of cottons and silks, that it may be said, that *Bengal* is, as it were, the general magazine thereof, not only for *Indostan* or the empire of the great *Mogol*, but also for all the circumjacent kingdoms, and for *Europe* itself. I have sometimes stood amazed at the vast quantity of cotton cloth of all sorts, fine and others, tinged and white, which the *Hollanders* alone draw from thence, and transport into many places, especially into *Japon* and *Europe*; not to mention what the *English*, *Portugal* and *Indian* merchants carry away from those parts. The like may be said of the silks and silk-stuffs of all sorts: One would not imagine the quantity, that is hence transported every year; for this country furnishes generally all this great empire of *Mogol*, as far as *Labor* and *Caboul*, and most of the other foreign parts, whither cotton cloth is carried. 'Tis true, that these silks are not so fine as those of *Persia*, *Syria*, *Sayd* and *Barnt*; but then there is also a great difference in the price; and I know from good hands, that whosoever shall take care of choosing them well, and of getting them well wrought, may have very good stuffs made of them. The *Hollanders* alone have sometimes seven hundred or eight hundred men of the natives at work in their factory of *Kassim-Bazar*; as the *English* and other merchants have theirs in proportion.

It is also in *Bengal*, where that prodigious quantity of salt-petre is found, which is so conveniently carried down the river *Ganges* from *Patna*, and where the *English* and *Dutch* load whole ships full for many places of the *Indies*, and for *Europe*.

Lastly, 'tis *Bengal*, whence the good laccas, opium, wax, civet, long-pepper do come; and even butter is to be had there in so great plenty, that though it be a gross commodity, yet notwithstanding 'tis thence transported into divers places.

It cannot be denied that the air, in regard of strangers, is not so healthy there, especially near the sea: And when the *English* and *Hollanders* first came to settle there, many of them died; and I have seen in *Balasor* two very fine *English* ships, which having been obliged, by reason of the war of the *Hollanders*, to stay there above a year, were not able to go to sea, because most of their men were lost. Yet since the time that they have taken care and made orders, as well as the *Hollanders*, that their

people shall not drink so much *Bouleponges*, nor go so often ashore to visit the sellers of arack and tobacco, and the *Indian* women; and since they have found, that a little wine of *Bordeaux*, *Canary* or *Chiras* is a marvellous antidote against the ill air, there is not so much sickness amongst them, nor do they now lose so many men. *Bouleponge* is a certain beverage made of arrack, that is, of strong-water, black sugar, with the juice of lemon-water and a little muscadine upon it; which is pleasant enough to the taste, but a plague to the body and to health.

And to the beauty of the country, you are to know, that all *Bengal*, taking it near an hundred leagues in length on both sides of *Ganges*, from *Raje-mehale* unto the sea, is full of great channels, formerly cut out of the river *Ganges* with vast labour, reaching far into the country for the conveniency of transporting commodities, and the water itself, which by the *Indians* is counted the best in the world. These channels are on both sides lined with well peopled villages and boroughs of *Gentiles*, and the large fields, lying near them, bear abundance of rice, sugar, corn, legumes, mustard, *Sezamum* for oil, small mulberries of two or three foot high, to feed silk-worms. But then the vast number of great and small isles that are in the midst of *Ganges*, and fill all that great space of six or seven days journey, (as there is in some places of this river from one side to the other;) this giveth an incomparable beauty to the country: For, they are very fertile, filled with fruit-bearing trees, *Ananas*'s, and all sorts of verdure, and interlaced with a thousand little channels, which you cannot see the end of, as if they were so many water-mails all covered with trees. The worst of it is, that many of these isles that are next the sea, are now abandoned, by reason of those *Corfsairs*, the *Franguis* of *Rakan*, elsewhere spoken of; and that they have at present no other inhabitants but tigers (which sometimes swim over from one isle to the other) and gazelles, and hoggs, and poultry grown wild. And 'tis upon the account of these tigers, that for people travelling between these little isles in small boats, as usually they do, 'tis dangerous in many places to land; besides, great care is to be had, that the boat, which in the night is fastened to trees, be not too near the bank; for there are now and then some men surprized; and I have heard it said, that tigers have been so bold as to come into the boats, and to carry away men that were asleep, chusing the biggest and fattest of them, if one may believe the water-men of the country.

I remember, I made once a voyage of ten days, from *Pipli* to *Ogouli*, between those

those isles and channels; which I cannot forbear to relate to you, because there passed not a day without some extraordinary accident. My chaloupe of seven oars was no sooner got out of the river *Pipli*, and advanced 3 or 4 leagues into the sea along the coast, to gain the isles and channels, but we saw the sea covered with fishes like huge carps, pursued by a shoal of dolphins. I made my men row that way, and saw that most of those fishes lay along the coast as if they were dead; that some advanced a little, others play'd and tumbled as if they were drunk. We all laboured to take some of them, and we caught 24 with our hands without any difficulty. Viewing them, I observed, that out of all their mouths there came out a bladder (like those that are in carps,) which was full of air, and reddish at the end. I imagined easily, that this must be the bladder which kept them from sinking; but I could not conceive, why it should thus come out of their mouth, unless it were that they had been long and close pursued by those dolphins, and had made so great an effort to fly away as to make this bladder thus swell, and colour, and to hang out of their mouth. I afterwards told this thing to an hundred seamen, but they could not believe it, and I never found but one *Dutch* pilot, who told me, that sailing once upon the coast of *China*, he had met with the like, and that presently they put out their boat to sea, and took, as I did, with their hands abundance of fishes.

The day after, about even, we came among those isles, and after we had look'd for a place where 'twas likely no tigers would come, we landed, made a fire, dressed a couple of pullets, and our fish, which was excellent. Presently after supper I made my men row until night, and for fear of losing our way between those channels in the dark, we retired out of the great channel, and found a good shelter in some small creek, where we fasten'd our boat to a thick branch of a tree, far enough from the land, for fear of tygers. In the night, when I was watching, there fell out a *philosophical* accident, of which kind two had happen'd to me before in *Debli*. I saw a *rainbow* of the moon, which I shew'd to all my company, and which very much surprised two *Portuguese* pilots I had taken into my boat at the desire of a friend, who had never seen nor heard of such a thing.

The third day we went a-stray between these channels, and if we had not met with some *Portugueses* making salt in one of the isles, that directed us in our way, I know not what would have become of us. But behold another philosophical accident.

In the night, being got again under shelter in a little channel, my *Portugueses* that still were concerned about the rainbow of the last night, and whom that observation had made more curious to behold the heavens, awaken'd me, and shew me another, as fair and as well form'd as that was, which I had shewed them. Mean time I would not have you think, that I mistook an *Iris* or rainbow for a *Corona*, or crown. There is no month almost but at *Debli* these lunar rainbows are seen in the season of the rains, when the moon is high above the horizon: And I found that it must be so; having seen of them three or four nights one after another, and sometimes double ones. They were not circles about the moon, but opposite to her, and in the like position with solar rainbows: And as often as I have seen them, the moon was westward, and the rainbow eastward. The moon was also near full; which, in my opinion, is necessary; because at other times she would not have light enough to form any. Lastly, these rainbows were not so white as the crowns use to be, but much more coloured, inso-much that there might be discerned in them some distinction of colours. And thus you see, how I have been more happy than the ancients, who, according to *Aristotle*, had observed none such before him.

The fourth day about evening we retired out of the great channel, as we used to do, into a very fair place of safety; but had one of the most extraordinary nights that ever I knew. There was not a breath of wind, and the air was so hot and stuffing that we could scarce breathe. The bushes round us were so full of those little shining worms, that they seem'd to be on fire; and there arose fires here and there, which were like flames, and frighten'd my seamen, who said, they were devils. Among the rest there arose two, that were very extraordinary; one was a great globe of fire, which in falling and spinning lasted above the time of saying a *Pater-noster*; and the other, which lasted about a quarter of an hour, was like a little tree all in a flame.

The night of the fifth day was terrible and dangerous. There arose so great a storm, that though we were under the shelter of trees, and that our small boat was well fastned, yet notwithstanding all that, the wind broke our cable, and was casting us into the great channel, where we had in infallibly perish'd, if I had not, together with my two *Portugueses*, presently laid hold on the branches of some trees, where we held fast for above two hours, whilst the storm lasted: For there

was

was no assistance to be expected from my *Indian* oar-men, whom fright had made incapable to help us in this occasion. But, what was most troublesome and amazing, there fell a rain as if it had been pour'd down with buckets, which fill'd our boat, and was accompanied with such lightning and thunder-claps, very near our head, that every moment we thought we should sink.

The remainder of our voyage unto the ninth day, when I arrived at *Ogouli*, we pass'd very well and with pleasure; for I could not be satisfied with beholding such beautiful countries: Mean time my trunk and all my baggage was wet, my pullets dead, my fish spoiled, and all my biscuit drunk with water.

Answer to the Fifth Question, about the increase of the Nile.

I do not know, whether I shall acquit myself, in respect of this *Fifth Question*, as it were to be wish'd: But I shall faithfully impart to you what I have set down of it, after I had twice observed the *Nile's* increase, and carefully examined the same, and taken notice withal of some things in the *Indies*, which have afforded me greater aids for it, than that learned man could have, that hath so ingeniously written of it, though he never saw *Egypt* but in his study.

I have already said in another place, that at the time when the two ambassadors of *Ethiopia* were at *Debli*, my *Agab Danecb-mend-kan*, who is extraordinarily curious, sent often for them, to inform himself, in my presence, of the condition and government of their country; and one day, amongst other things, we occasion'd them to discourse of the source of the *Nile*, which they call *Abbabile*; whereof they spake to us as a thing so known that no body doubted of it, and where one of these ambassadors, and a *Mogolian*, that was return'd with him out of *Ethiopia*, had been in person. They told us, that it taketh its origin in the country of the *Agas*, and issueth out of the earth at two big bubbling springs, near, one another, which form a small lake of about thirty or forty paces long; that at the coming out of this lake it is then already a pretty river, and that from place to place it receiveth other rivers which enlarge it. They added, that it runs bending, and forming a great Peninsula, and that after several *Cascata's* from steep rocks, it falls into a great lake, which is not above four or five days journey from its source, in the country of *Dumbia* or *Dembea*, three little days journey from *Gonder*, the metropolis of *Ethiopia*;

that having traversed that lake, it issueth thence swell'd with all the waters that fall there, passeth through *Sonnar*, the principal city of the king of *Fungés* or *Barbaris*, tributary to the king of *Ethiopia*, running on and making the cataracts, and so entering into the plains of *Messer*, which is *Egypt*.

After we had learned these particularities of the source and course of the *Nile*, I asked him, (to judge whereabouts the source of the *Nile* might be) towards which part of the world they believed the country of *Dumbia*, wherein is *Gonder*, to be, in respect of *Babel-mandel*? But they knew not what to answer to this, but only, that they went always westward; and especially the *Mahometan* ambassador (who was obliged to know better, and to take more notice of the position of the world, than the *Christian*, because the *Turks* are obliged, in saying their prayers to turn themselves towards *Mecca*) did assure me, that I was not at all to doubt thereof: Which did astonish me very much, because, according to their description, the source of the *Nile* should be much on this side of the equinoctial, whereas all our maps, with *Ptolemy*, place it a good way beyond it.

We also asked them, at what time it did use to rain in *Ethiopia*, and whether there were regular seasons of rain as in the *Indies*? To which they answered, that it rain'd almost never upon that coast of the *Red-Sea*, from *Suaken*, *Arkiko*, and the isle of *Masouva* to *Babel-mandel*, no more than it doth at *Moka*, which is on the other side, in the *Happy Arabia*; but that in the heart of the country, in the province of *Agas*, and in that of *Dumbia* and the circumjacent places it rained much for two of the hottest months of the summer, and at the same time when it rain'd in the *Indies*; which was also, according to my computation, the very time of the increase of the *Nile* in *Egypt*. They said further, that they knew very well, it was the rain of *Ethiopia*, which swelled the *Nile*, overflowed *Egypt*, and fertilized the ground of it by the slime it carried upon it; and that it was even therefore, that the kings of *Ethiopia* pretended a tribute to be due to them out of *Egypt*, and that, when the *Mahometans* made themselves masters of it, ill treating the christians of the country, they had a mind to turn the course of the *Nile* another way, viz. into the *Red-Sea*, thereby to ruin *Egypt* and to render it infertile; but that this design miscarried by reason of the great difficulties in effecting the thing.

All these particulars, which I had already learned, when I pass'd over to *Moka*, from a dozen merchants, that come there every year in the name of the king of

Ethiopia to attend the *Indian* trading vessels, are considerable to make us judge, that the *Nile* increaseth not but by the rains which fall *without Egypt* towards the source of that river: But the particular observations, I have made upon two increases of this river, make them yet more so; for, in reference to all those stories, that are made of it, as, *That 'tis on a determin'd day it begins to increase; that on the first day of its increase there falls a certain dew, which maketh the plague cease, so that no body dieth any more of it after that hath once fallen; and that there are peculiar and hidden causes of the overflowing of the Nile*: In reference, I say, to these stories, I have found during the said two inundations, that they are but tales fancied and amplified by the people of *Egypt*, naturally inclin'd to superstition, and amazed to see a river swell in summer in a country where it rains not: And I have found, that 'tis no otherwise with the *Nile* than 'tis with other rivers, that swell and overflow by plentiful rains, without any such fermentations of the nitrous soil of *Egypt*, which some have suggested as the cause thereof.

I have seen it swelled above a foot, and very turbid, near a whole month before that pretended determin'd day of its increase. I have observed during its increase, and before the channels were open'd, that when it had grown for some days a foot or two, it afterwards decreased little by little, and then began to increase a-new, and so went on to increase and decrease without any other measure but that of the rains that fall nigh the source, and, as is often seen in our river of *Loire*, according to the fall of more or less rain in the mountains whence it flows, and the days or half-days of fair weather there.

In my return from *Jerusalem*, going up from *Damietta* to *Cairo*, I chanced to be upon the *Nile* about a month before the pretended day of the dew-fall, and in the morning we were all wet of the dew fallen in the night.

I have been in *Rosette* at supper with Monsieur de *Bermon*, vice-consul of our nation, eight or ten days after this day of the dewfall, when three persons were struck with the plague, of whom there died two within eight days, and the third, which was *M. de Bermon* himself, had perhaps not escaped, if I had not pierc'd his plague-sore; which presently infected myself like others; so that, if I had not forthwith taken some *Butter of Antimony*, I might have been, as well as they, an example of the little certainty there is in the plague after the dew; but this *emetic* medicine in the beginning of the evil did wonders,

and I kept but three or four days within doors, during which, I remember, my *Bedouin* that serv'd me made no scruple to drink, in my presence, the remainder of my broth, to encourage me, and from his principle of predestination, to laugh at the fear we have of the plague. Yet experience shews, that after the day of the dew the plague is commonly not so dangerous as before, but the dew contributes nothing to that; 'tis only in my opinion, that then there is a greater opening of the pores, which gives a vent to the malign and pestiferous spirits, that were shut up in the body.

Moreover, I have carefully enquired of some masters of boats, that had gone up as far as the end of the plains of *Egypt*, that is, to the very rocks and cataracts; who assured me, that when the *Nile* did overflow in the plains of *Egypt*, where that pretended fermenting nitrous earth is, 'tis at the same time much swelled between those mountains of the cataracts, where, in all appearance, there is no such nitrous earth.

Besides, I have made diligent inquiry of those *Negroes* of *Sonnars*, that come to serve at *Cairo*, and whose country being tributary to the king of *Ethiopia*, as I have said, lies upon the *Nile* between the mountains above *Egypt*; and they have assured me, that at the same time when the *Nile* is high and overflowing in *Egypt*, 'tis so also with them by reason of the rains then falling in their mountains, and higher up in the country of *Habeche* or *Ethiopia*.

The observations I have made in the *Indies* concerning the regular rains that fell at the same time when the *Nile* swells in *Egypt*, are also very considerable in this matter, and may make you imagine, that the *Indus*, *Ganges*, and all the other rivers of those parts are so many *Niles*, and the land, that is near their fall into the sea, so many *Egypt*s. This was my thought of it in *Bengal*, and what follows are the very words I set down about it.

That great number of isles which are found in the gulf of *Bengala* at the mouth of the river *Ganges*, and which by lapse of time are join'd to one another, and at length with the continent, put me in mind of the mouths of the *Nile*, where I have observed almost the same thing; so that as 'tis said, after *Aristotle*, that *Egypt* is the workmanship of the *Nile*, so it may be said, that *Bengal* is the work of the *Ganges*, only with this difference, that as the *Ganges* is incomparably bigger than the *Nile*, so he carrieth with him towards the sea a far greater quantity of earth; and so forms greater and more islands than the *Nile*; and that the islands of the *Nile* are de-

destitute of trees, whereas those of *Ganges* are all covered with them, because of those four months of constant and plentiful rains that fall in the heart of the summer, and render it needless to cut channels in *Bengal*, to water and enrich the earth, as they do in *Egypt*. It is just so with *Ganges* and the other rivers of *Indostan*, as with the *Nile*; this and those increase in summer by the means of rain, which ordinarily fall at that time; except that then, and almost never, there are no rains in *Egypt*; but a little toward the sea, and that it rains not about the source of the *Nile*; whereas in the *Indies* it rains in all the countries, through which any rivers pass; except the kingdom of *Scymdi* towards the *Persian* gulf, where is the mouth of the

river *Indus*; it happening that in some years it doth not rain there at all, though for all that the *Indus* swells there, and the fields are water'd by the means of cut channels, just as in *Egypt*.

For the rest, concerning the desire of *M. Thevenot*, to impart to you my adventures of the *Red Sea*, of *Suez*, of *Tor*, of mount *Sinai*, of *Gidda* (that pretended holy land of *Mahomet*, half a days journey distant from *Mecca*;) as also of the isle of *Camarane* and *Loubaya*, and of whatever I could learn at *Moka* of the kingdom of *Ethiopia*, and of the most commodious way to enter into it; these particulars, I say, I shall in time draw fair out of my manuscripts, if God permit.

Some particulars forgotten to be inserted in my first Book, to perfect the map of Indostan, and to know the revenue of the Great Mogol.

TO understand the better what follows, 'tis requisite to know the signification of these terms, viz.

1. Soubah, *that is, Government and Province.*

2. Pragna, *that is, the principal town, borough or village that hath many others depending from it, where rents are paid to the king, who is absolute lord of all the land of his empire.*

3. Serkar, *that is, the exchequer of the king's treasure.*

4. Kazine, *that is, treasure.*

5. Roupie, *the money of the country, equivalent to 29 or 30 pence.*

6. Lecque, *that is, an hundred thousand Roupies.*

7. Courour, *that is, an hundred Lecques.*

1. *Jehan-Abad, or Debli, is the first Soubah; it hath sixteen Serkars in its dependance, and 230 Pragna's: It yields to the king nineteen millions and five hundred twenty five thousand Roupies.*

2. *Agra, otherwise called Akber-abad, is the second. It hath 14 Serkars, and 260 Pragna's; yielding to the king twenty five millions two hundred and twenty five thousand Roupies.*

3. *Labor hath 14 Serkars, and 314 Pragna's, bringing in to the king the rent of twenty four millions six hundred and ninety five thousand Roupies.*

4. *Hafner, which belongs to a Raja, yields to the king a tribute of twenty one millions nine hundred and seventy thousand Roupies.*

5. *Gusarate, the capital whereof is Amadavad, hath 9 Serkars, and 190 Pragna's; yielding to the king thirteen millions three hundred and ninety five thousand Roupies.*

6. *The kingdom of Candabar belongs to the king of Persia; but the Pragna's*

that remain united to the crown of the Great Mogol, are 15, and yield in rent 1992500 Roupies.

7. *Maloia hath 9 Serkars, 190 Pragna's; bringing in 9162500 Roupies.*

8. *Patna, or Beara, hath 8 Serkars, and payeth the rent of 9580000 Roupies.*

9. *Elabas hath seventeen Serkars, and 260 Pragna's; rendring 9470000 Roupies.*

10. *Haoud hath 5 Serkars, and 149 Pragna's: It yields 6430000 Roupies.*

11. *Moultan hath 4 Serkars and 96 Pragna's: Brings in 11840500 Roupies.*

12. *Jagannat, in which is comprehended Bengal, hath 11 Serkars, and 12 Pragna's: It yields 7270000 Roupies.*

13. *Kachemire hath 5 Serkars, and 45 Pragna's: Yields 350000 Roupies.*

14. *Caboul hath 35 Pragna's, and brings in 3272500 Roupies.*

15. *Tata hath 4 Serkars and 54 Pragna's, and giveth 2320000 Roupies.*

16. *Aureng-abad, formerly Daulet-abad, hath 8 Serkars, and 79 Pragna's: Yields 17227500 Roupies.*

17. *Varada hath 20 Serkars and 191 Pragna's; yelding 15875000 Roupies.*

18. *Candeys, whose principal town is Brampour, hath 3 Serkars, and 103 Pragna's: It brings in 18550000 Roupies.*

19. *Talengand, which borders upon the kingdom of Golkonda on the side of Massipatan, hath 43 Pragna's, and payeth in rent 6885000 Roupies.*

20. *Baganala, on the confines of the lands of the Portugueses, and the mountains of Seva-gi (that Raja which plunder'd Surat,) hath 2 Serkars, and 8 Pragna's; paying the rent of 500000 Roupies.*

According to these particulars, which I take not to be the most exact or the most true, the Great Mogol's yearly revenue of his lands alone would amount to above two Kourours of Roupies.

F I N I S.

A TRUE and ALMOST INCREDIBLE
REPORT
OF

AN ENGLISHMAN, that (being cast away in the good Ship called *The Ascension*, in *Cambaya*, the farthest Part of the *East-Indies*) travelled by Land through many Unknown KINGDOMS, and Great CITIES.

WITH

A particular DESCRIPTION of all those KINGDOMS, CITIES, and PEOPLE;

AS ALSO

A RELATION of their Commodities and Manner of Traffick, and what Seasons of the Year They are most in Use: Faithfully Related.

WITH

A DISCOVERY of a Great Emperor, called the GREAT MOGUL, a Prince not till now known to our *English* Nation.

By Captain ROBERT COVERTE.

The THIRD IMPRESSION.

To which is now newly prefixed, AN ACCOUNT of *INDIA PROPER*,

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
R O B E R T,
Earl of *SALISBURY*,

Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the GARTER,
Viscount *Cranborne*, Lord *Cecil* of *Estindon*, Lord High Treas-
urer of *England*, Chancellor of the University of *Cambridge*,
and One of His MAJESTY's Most Honourable PRIVY
COUNCIL.

AS the most noble Mecænas of all good arts, and the most worthy patron of all such as can any way merit of their country; I have elected you, right honourable Lord, to whom I have presumed (encouraged by your known grace and clemency) to dedicate these my tedious and dangerous travels; in which your Honour shall find, undoubtedly, all truth, and some novelty; if, after your more weighty and serious considerations, you will deign the perusal of this my rude and unpolished discourse. For, being shipwreck'd in *Cambaya*, the farthest part of the *East-Indies*; and not despairing in the power of the Almighty of my safe return to my country; leaving the rest, to the number of seventy-five, that would not hazard so desperate and unexpected an undertaking; I adventured to pass through many unknown kingdoms and

cities over land; of all which, I have, to my plain understanding, made a particular and faithful discovery; protesting to your Honour, that in all my travels, and almost incredible dangers, I have here expressed no more than I have directly seen, and to my great sufferance and difficulty proved. Pardon, I intreat your Lordship, this my presumption, in selecting you the noble and worthy patron to so rude a discourse, whose simpleness is only excused in the truth: that granted, I shall think myself most comforted, after all my precedent hazards, that your Honour will but deign to accept this report.

YOUR LORDSHIP'S

Humbly devoted,

ROBERT COVERTE.

To the READER.

REceive, courteous Reader, a true report of my dangerous travels, which will, I make no question, be as pleasing to thee in reading, as they were painful to me in suffering. Here thou mayst safely, and without danger, see that which hath cost me many a tedious and weary step, many a cold and comfortless lodging, and many a thin and hungry meal. I publish not these my adventures in any pride or arrogancy: but, I think, I should prove ingrateful to my Preserver, not to let the world know his

miraculous power, in safe-guarding me beyond mine own hope, or man's imagination. The report of these my perils is freely thine: mine have only been the dangers and sufferance. Be thou as well pleased with my faithful discovery, as I am contented with my hard and painful pilgrimage.

Thine,

ROBERT COVERTE.

A N
A C C O U N T
O F
I N D I A P R O P E R.

PROPER INDIA, or the empire of the great mogul, comprehendeth all those countries which lie between the kingdom of *Ava* on the east, and *Persia* on the west ; and between cape *Comorin* on the south, and *Usbeck Tartary* and *Thibet* on the north ; extending from the 7th to the 40th degree of northern latitude. The natives are a mixture of *Moors*, or *Mahometans*, and *Pagans*. The emperor is a *Mahometan*, but not a tenth part of his subjects of that persuasion. In the inland mountainous part of the country there is scarce a *Mahometan* to be found ; but that chain of hills, which runs through *India* from north to south, is possessed by the rajas or sovereign princes of the *Pagan* cast, many of whom yet maintain their independency ; and those whom the mogul has reduced, he still suffers to be governed by their own laws, paying only an annual tribute, and obliging them to march into the field, when he requires their service at the head of their own troops. The *Moors* are composed of *Tartars*, *Persians*, and *Arabs*, and almost every *Mahometan* nation, who behave themselves with great insolence towards the *Pagan Indians* under their power, as those in the open country, and on the sea-coasts, for the most parts are ; and the *Christians*, who are not a small number, are treated still with greater contempt by the haughty Mussulmen, notwithstanding they are forced to make use of them for engineers, and other services : and both *Moors* and *Pagans* look upon themselves to be defiled by the touch of a *Christian*. The *Pagans* are, however, a polite, ingenious people, peaceable, modest, and inoffensive in their behaviour, and extremely tender and compassionate, even to animals ; so benevolent to those of their own tribes, that we never see a beggar amongst them. They are such dextrous mechanics, that they will imitate any pattern at first sight. The fine chints, and painted calicoes, whose colours and shades surprise us, are drawn by the common people.

The complexions of most of the *Pagan*

Indians, who are the original inhabitants, are black as jet, others of them tawny ; but all of them have fine features, good shapes, long black hair, and black eyes. The *Moors* which come from other countries, or are born in the north of *India*, are not of near so dark a complexion as the *Pagan* inhabitants ; but the men, however, who are exposed to the weather, are tawny enough. The banian and bramîn tribes among the *Pagans* eat nothing which has or may have life ; and none of them will eat the flesh of oxen, these animals being the objects of their worship. The *Moors* abstain from the flesh of hogs on a very different account, namely, because they look upon them to be the most polluted of all other animals. The *Europeans* import, from *India*, silks, muslins, and calicoes painted and stained, pepper, diamonds, and other precious stones ; salt-petre, opium, and many physical drugs, which are purchased by the *English* with treasure, but by the *Dutch* with spices and other merchandize, which they exchange for the produce of this country ; and have this farther advantage of other *European* nations, that they deal with the *Indians* almost upon their own terms, paying no higher customs than they think fit ; and when the mogul has disputed the matter with them, they have blocked up his ports, till they have reduced him to a compliance.

Notwithstanding the extent of the sea-coast of *India*, the natives do not build many ships ; having no mariners to man them, at least none that would make a defence against the least *Arabian* pirate, if they should be attacked. Their merchants, therefore, who drive a very considerable trade to *Persia* and the *Red-sea*, chuse to load their effects on board *English* or *Dutch* bottoms ; the freight whereof is one considerable branch of the company's profit ; for they seldom dispatch a ship from *Persia* to *Surât*, but she is as deep laden as she can swim ; and, with the treasure and precious stones on board, may be worth between two and three hundred thousand pounds.

The soil produces wheat and barley, but rice is most cultivated and eaten quite through *India*; the annual rains being of great use to them in this kind of husbandry. Good fruit they have in abundance, as cocoa-nuts, mangoes, pine-apples, guavas, limes, lemons and oranges: as to their mulberries, they take care of these plants more for the sake of the leaves, with which they feed their silk-worms, than for the fruit: no plant is of that general use, as the cocoa, serving for food, building, cloathing, and many other conveniencies. The most beneficial plant after this is the cotton, of which all the fine calicoes are made, which come from thence. Their most useful animals are camels, elephants, oxen, and buffaloes; their breed of horses is very small, and therefore their troops are supplied with them from *Persia* and *Tartary*. Serpents and scorpions, and other venomous insects, abound here; and their gnats and bugs are so troublesome, that there is no sleeping for them. Their spiders and toads grow to such a magnitude, that a man would hazard his credit to describe their dimensions. The locust is another insect which frequently destroys the fruits of the earth, leaving nothing green where it happens to alight: and alligators, which I take to be a species of crocodiles, infest the mouths of the *Ganges*, and other streams. The *Ganges* annually overflows all the country within an hundred miles of the sea, and renders it as fruitful as the *Nile* does *Egypt*.

The mogul is an absolute monarch, restrained by no written laws; and as his ancestors first gained the country by conquest, so he maintains himself by a standing force, and for the greatest part of the year lives in the field in his camp, having other bodies in several parts of his dominions to keep the country in awe; for he hath nothing to fear from any neighbouring prince: the *Persians*, since shaw *Abbas*, have scarce ever molested his frontiers, and there is no other prince in that part of the world considerable enough to give him any disturbance. He permits the *Europeans* to build forts upon the coast, for the security of their trade; but then his troops visit them sometimes, and demand a present by way of tribute, or acknowledgment of his sovereignty. He permits them, however, to be governed by their own laws, and to exercise their jurisdiction over those who live within their settlements. They have also their mints, and coin both gold and silver, which he may very well connive at, when they bring such immense treasures into his dominions, for which they take the product and manufactures of this country in return. The principal forts the *English* have on the east coast of *India* are

fort *St. George* in the latitude of 13 north, and fort *St. David* to the southward of it: they have also fort *William* in the mouth of the *Ganges*, and several more on the coasts of *Coromandel* and *Malabar*; but the greatest *English* settlement in *India* is at the island of *Bombay*, thirty or forty leagues to the southward of *Surat*. The president of the *English* factory at *Surat* is usually governor of *Bombay*, and commander in chief of their forts and factories on that coast, and lives in great splendor there. *Swally Hole*, a little bay three or four leagues to the northward of *Surat*, is the place where most of the merchandize is laden and unladen; there are scarce any good harbours in *India*, though they have a sea-coast of two thousand miles extent. The mouth of the river *Ganges* seems to be the place of the greatest security for ships. The commanders of ships, therefore, take care, never to be upon the coast of *India* in the time of the monsoons, or the tempestuous seasons of the year, which happen about the vernal or autumnal equinox. There is very little danger in lying in an open road on the coast of *India*, during the fair weather, which they know when to expect, as certainly as we do summer or winter; and have this advantage, that their winds are constant and periodical, and never rise to a storm, but in the time of the monsoons or rains.

The mogul and his *Moorish* subjects, as has been observed, are all *Mahometans*, but the original inhabitants, who are much the most numerous, are *Pagans* divided into as many sects as there are trades or professions amongst them; and of these the bramins and banians adhere so strictly to the doctrine of transmigration, that they eat the flesh of no animal whatever, and pay a kind of divine worship to their favourite heifer. They build hospitals also for aged or impotent cattle, and charitably feed the very insects and vermin of the country, imagining that they may be animated by the souls of their ancestors, or some other near relations. The penances these people inflict on themselves are almost incredible, vowing to stand or lie in some painful posture all their lives.

They allow a plurality of wives and concubines, but never marry out of their own tribe or trade; and the women, being entirely in the power of the men, give them all imaginable respect: when the husband died, the surviving wife anciently burnt herself on his funeral pile; but the *Mahometans* have abolished this custom, where-ever they have the dominion. The *Indians*, however, still continue to burn their dead, and consume vast quantities of sweet wood and aromack drugs in the fire, which makes their funerals very chargeable.

T H E

Voyage and Travels

O F

Captain ROBERT COVERTE.

THE fourteenth day of *March* 1607, we came into the *Downs*, and there anchored against *Deal*, about three miles from *Sandwich*, where we staid until the twenty-fifth day of the same month, being, by computation, the first day of the year 1608; upon which day, about four of the clock in the morning, we weighed anchor, and passed by *Dover* between three and four of the clock in the afternoon, without any staying, but giving them notice with three pieces of ordnance of our passing by, and so passed forwards some three leagues; and then, by a contrary wind, we were driven back again into *Dover* road, where we anchored and staid till five of the clock in the morning, being the twenty-sixth day of *March*; and then, weighing anchor, we sailed some three leagues, when the wind, contrarying, constrained us again to cast anchor until the twenty-seventh day in the morning, about seven or eight of the clock; and then, having a fair gale of wind, we sailed to *Plymouth*, where we arrived the twenty-ninth day, between ten and eleven of the clock in the forenoon, where we staid till the thirty-first day of *March*. And then, having a fair gale of wind, we weighed anchor, and sailed until we came in sight of an island called the *Salvages*, on *Sunday*, being the tenth day of *April*, being about five hundred leagues from *Plymouth*; and still sailed forwards until the next morning, that we came within sight of the *Grand Canaries*, which belong to the *Spaniard*. And, upon the twelfth day of *April*, about eight or nine of the clock in the night, we anchored, and discharged a piece of ordnance, for a boat to come aboard, but to no effect: for, before our arrival in the road, there was a rumour of

twelve sail of *Flemings* that were coming that way, to no good intent (as the *Spaniards* afterward told us) to be some of those *Flemings* that had over-run the rest; whereupon they sent up into the country for one hundred and fifty horse and foot, or more, for their defence and safeguard (if need should be); nor would they be persuaded to the contrary, until two of our factors went on shore, and fully satisfied them in any thing they demanded or doubted, and that our intent was only to make provision for such things as we wanted; and the next morning (as the manner there is) we discharged another piece of ordnance. And then the governor of the town sent a boat to know what we craved; whereupon we certified them of our wants; and they told us, they would give the governor intelligence, and return us an answer, which was, that unless we came into the road, it was beyond his commission to relieve us: yet having first sworn and examined our factors, and so knowing the truth of our intended voyage, they gave them a warrant to take a boat, to come aboard at their pleasures, with licence to supply our wants, if they had any thing that might content us. Yet one thing above the rest made us much to marvel, which was, two *English* Ships (which we perceived and knew by their flags) being in the road, who had not so much kindness in them, as to give us notice of the custom or manners of these subtle and curriish people. And of this doubt we were also resolved, that no man whatsoever, being once within their dominions, may come aboard any ship that shall arrive there, and lie out of the road, although they be of their own nation, without their governor's and council's permittance or licence. At our being there, some of them

came

came aboard of us every day, for the space of five days that we staid there, and eat and drank with us, after an unsatiable manner, and very greedily. Also we sent the governor a present of two cheeses, a gammon of bacon, and five or six barrels of pickled oysters, which he accepted very thankfully, and returned us, in requital thereof, two or three goats, and a sheep or two, and good store of onions. And there we took in fresh water, *Canary* wine, marmelad of quinces at twelve-pence the pound, little barrels of suckets at three shillings the barrel, oranges, lemons, pomcitrons, and excellent fair white bread, made with aniseeds, and is by them called nuns bread.

The eighteenth day of *April*, about seven of the clock in the morning, we weighed anchor, and set sail, having a fair gale of wind for some three hours; and, being then becalmed, we hovered to-and-fro till the twenty-first day; and, having then again a fair gale of wind, we sailed until the twenty-seventh day, about two or three of the clock in the afternoon, that we arrived and anchored at *Mayo*, being about three hundred leagues from the *Canaries*; and, coming from thence, we were determined to take in fresh water at a place called *Bonavista*; but, having anchored, we found the water to be two or three miles up in the land, neither was it clear water, so that we took the smaller quantity. But there were other good commodities; for, at our first coming, we were told by two *Negroes*, that there we might have as many goats as we would, gratis; and I well remember, we had to the number of two hundred, or thereabouts, in both our ships. Also they told us, that there were but twelve men in the island; and that there was very great store of salt growing out of the ground, so that (if we pleased) we might lade both our ships therewith: it is excellent good white salt, and as clear as ever I saw any in *England*.

Over-against the isle of *Mayo*, some eight leagues distance, is an island called *S. Deago*. We staid at *Mayo*, from the twenty-seventh of *April* in the afternoon, until the fourth day of *May* at six of the clock in the morning, when we set sail, and sailed until the twentieth day of *May*, that we were past the equinoctial line, about four or six of the clock in the morning, being distant from the isle of *Mayo* about three hundred forty-eight leagues, or thereabouts, as our master *Philip de Grove* noted it down in his own book of the description of the whole voyage. And thence we still sailed forwards until the fourth of *July*, that we came to a part of *Souldania* with

all our men in health, God's name be praised, but two which were touched a little with the scurvy, which soon after recovered themselves on shore to their former health.

Also, the same day, we espied land, which is called *Cape bona Speranse*, being some fifteen or sixteen leagues off *Souldania*, and standeth in some thirty-five degrees, or thereabouts.

At *Souldania* we refreshed ourselves excellently well so long as we were there; and had, and took in for our provision, about four hundred head of cattle, as oxen, steers, sheep and lambs, and fowls, and fish of sundry sorts very plentiful, and fresh water, great store. Also in that place is an island, called *Pengwin*, some five or six leagues from the main land, where are great store of fowls, called also *Pengwins*, an infinite number of seals: and to fetch some of those seals, we went twice thither, and filled our boat each time, and made train-oil thereof for lamps. Also in this island we found twenty fat sheep, being left there by the *Hollanders*, for a pinace which we met some two hundred leagues from *Cape bona Speranse*, which sheep we took with us, and left six beasts, or bullocks, in their steads.

At our first coming to *Souldania*, we began to build or set up our pinace; and launched her the fifth day of *September* next following; and, in seven or eight days after, she was rigged, and ready, in all points, to have gone away, if any such necessity had been.

Souldania is within the kingdom of *Ethiopia*. Now the *Ethiopians* are by nature very brutish or beastly people, especially in their feeding: for I have seen them eat the guts and garbage, yea even the very paunch where the dung and filth lieth. Also when we have cast off those seal-fishes into the river near adjoining, where they have lain the space of fourteen days, and that they have been putrefied, and stunk so vehemently, that it could almost have stifled one of us to come by them, these people have taken them up, and eaten them, when they have swarmed with crawling maggots.

Also, in this country, are sundry sorts of wild beasts, which myself, and others of our company (going on shore of purpose), have seen, and perceived some of them to be very fierce and cruel: so that afterwards, when we found their dens, we durst not enter them, nor come very near them, lest they should be in them.

The *Ethiopians* brought down to the shore-side, to sell, ostridges eggs, and some empty shells with a small hole in one end, with ostridges feathers, and porpentines quills;

quills; and, for all their traffick and commodities, they chiefly desire iron, esteeming it more than either gold or silver: for with our old iron we bought all our cattle, and any thing else that we had of them.

In this country we remained from the fourteenth day of *July*, until the twentieth day of *September* then next following.

The twentieth day of *September*, early in the morning, we weighed anchor; and that night we lost the good ship called the *Union*, and our pinace called by the name of the *Good Hope*, the night being very dark and windy: now, the evening before we lost them, the *Union*, about five of the clock, put out her ensign, but to what intent we knew not, nor could imagine; but all that night we lay at hull.

The next day, being the twenty-first day, having a fair and strong gale of wind, and afterwards sundry contrary winds, and many calms; yet, at length, we attained to the height of *S. Laurence* on the twenty-seventh day of *October*, standing in the height of twenty-six degrees; from whence we sailed with many cros and contrary winds, and calms. Yet, at length, on the twenty-second day of *November*, in the morning, we descried two or three small islands; and, in the afternoon, we espied an island called *Gomora*, lying between *St. Laurence's* and the main, a very high land: and on the twenty-fourth day, we sent our boat to the shore-side, and there came to the shore-side five or six men of that country, and sold us plantains, and nothing else at that time.

The next day, we sent our boat again; but a little before they came to the shore, they espied a canoe, and two men in it a fishing; we went between them and the shore, but would not violently take them; then we shewed them a knife or two, and they came both into our boat; and we brought them aboard our ship, and used them very kindly, and gave one of them a turbant to put on his head, and to the other a little glass, of a quarter of a pint, full of *aqua vitæ*, and sent them ashore. From the twenty-second day, that we espied the island *Gomora*, and came among the islands, we could have no steady gale of wind to carry us forward until the twenty-fifth day; that with the wind, and aid of our pinace, which towed our ship between the two islands adjoining to the shore, we came to an anchor that night, between four and five of the clock, in some seventeen or twenty fathom water.

The twenty-sixth day we sent our boat to the shore with a present to the king, by Mr. *Jordan*, who went himself alone with the present, leaving only a pledge or two in the boat till his return: the present was

a pair of knives, a shash or turbant, and a looking-glass with a comb in it, to the value of some fifteen shillings in all; which the king received somewhat scornfully, not scarce looking on it, or, at the least, thinking it to be but of small value; and gave it to one of his noblemen, and told Mr. *Jordan* our factor, that if our general would come on shore, he should have any thing that they had: and with this answer he departed; and at his coming from the king, the king bowed himself towards him in a very courteous manner; and after his departure (as it may seem) he better perused the present. For in the afternoon he sent our general, in requital, a very fat young bullock, which we received, and gratified the messengers with a couple of peny knives, wherewith they thought themselves very royally contented. The twenty-seventh day our general went on shore, and some twelve with him, and carried with him a small banquet; as, a box of marmelad, a barrel of suckets, and wine, which they did eat before the king, but he would neither eat nor drink, but his nobles did both eat and drink. And after the banquet, having some conference with the king, by his interpreter, concerning our wants, by whom we understood, that they had some dealings with the *Portugals*, of which language he could speak a little, which was sufficient to satisfy us with what they had.

The twenty-eighth day the king had determined to come aboard our ship; but his interpreter told us, that his council, and the common people, would not suffer him so to do. Also that day, towards night, I went ashore where our people were cutting down wood, and came aboard again with the boat.

The twenty-ninth day I went ashore again, with our master, Mr. *Tindall*, Mr. *Jordan*, and our whole noise of trumpeters, and at the shore five were very kindly entertained by the interpreter, who brought us to the king, being then by his palace-side, who, at our approach, bowed himself unto us very courteously. He hath for his guard, when he walketh abroad, six or eight men with knives of a foot long, and as broad as hatchets, and very sharp, who go next to his person, and more go before him, and many behind him, to keep and defend him from what injury or wrong soever may come or happen.

These people seem to be civil, kind, and true-hearted to strangers: for in going to-and-fro, ashore and aboard, one of our men carelessly left his sword behind him at night when he came aboard, which being found by one of the people of *Gomora*,

mora, he brought it to the king, who, perceiving it to be some of ours, demanded how he came by it; who answered, he found it; and the king again told him, that if he proved the contrary, it should cost his best blood: the next day at our coming on shore, the king's interpreter brought us the sword, and told us the king's pleasure therein.

Also they seem to have a very civil government amongst them: for at their meeting in the morning, they will shake hands with each other, and speak one to another, which to us seemed to be their kind and friendly salutations one to another. They are very modest, strait, biglimbed, and very comely in gesture, both men and women. Their religion mahometical, and go almost naked; only their privities are covered with linen-cloth, and turbants on their heads.

The women have a linen-cloth that covereth their breasts before, and reacheth to the middle, and from the middle to the knee, and somewhat lower; they are covered round about with linen, next to their skin, and sedges tied round about them, like a roll, at their waist, and hung down, which doth become them very well.

They go all barefoot except the king, who hath a pair of soles on his feet; and for his apparel, when I saw him, he had a white wrought network cap, a scarlet waistcoat loose about him, and open before, with sleeves, and a linen-cloth about his middle, and another which hanged down from his shoulders to his feet.

Also, at our being there at the town, they brought us cocoa-nuts to sell, as big as a man's head, and round, and some bigger, and some lesser, with water in them according to the proportion or bigness of the shell, and as much meat in one shell as would suffice for a man's dinner.

Also they brought us goats, hens, chickens, lemons, rice, milk, fish, and suchlike, which we bought for commodities; as two hens for a penny knife, lemons and cocoa-nuts for old iron, as nails, broken pikes, and such like: but for fresh water, there is small store, and that they have is gotten out of the sands; viz. first, they make a hole in the sands, and when the water cometh into the hole, they lade it out into their cocoa-shells, and so drink it: they brought us of that water, but none of our company would drink thereof, it looked so thick and muddy.

In this island of *Gomora* we staid from the twenty-fifth day of *November* until the twenty-ninth of the same; and then we weighed anchor, and departed.

The tenth day of *December*, about two or three of the clock in the morning, and

the moon shining, we espied, on a sudden, a low land with high trees growing by the shore-side, we being not a league from the shore, so that, if we had not espied the trees, we should have thought the land to have been but the shadow of the moon, and so might have run ourselves on shore, and cast ourselves away, with ship and goods: but it was God's good providence thus to defend us from so great and imminent danger, whose name be blessed and praised now and evermore.

This was the island of *Pemba*, which we took to be *Zinzabar*, until, by one of the people of the country, we found it to be *Pemba*, in six deg. S. Lat. At the sight of this low island, after we plainly perceived it, we presently tack'd about, and set from the shore till day, and then we tack'd about again to the shore-side; and, nearing along the shore-side for a harbour to anchor in, we sent our pinace in the mean time to the shore, with the gang only and Mr. *Elmore*, to seek for a convenient watering-place, we keeping our course till our pinace came to the shore-side. Then two or three of the people of the island demanded, in the *Portugal* language, what we were; and one of our men made answer, that we were *Englishmen*. Then they demanded again what we had to do there, in regard the king of *Portugal* was king of that island. We replied, that we knew not so much, neither came we thither for any evil intent whatsoever, but only to water, and would give them satisfaction for any other thing that we should have of them. Then it drew towards night, and our men came aboard, and acquainted the whole company with this their parly on shore.

The eleventh day our boat went ashore to the same place, but found it void of people, and returned; and presently we came to an anchor, about five or six of the clock in the afternoon, near unto two or three broken islands there, adjoining near to the main island of *Pemba*. This place of our then anchoring standeth in the height of five degrees, and twenty minutes.

The twelfth day our pinace went on shore to the same place with Mr. *Jordan*, one of our merchants. At whose coming on shore, after some conference with some that could speak *Portugal*, but not with those (as it seemed) with whom we spake the day before (for these told Mr. *Jordan* the king was a *Malabar*), and after some other conference, Mr. *Jordan* told them, that although our ship were an *English* ship, yet he was a *Portugal* merchant, and the goods in the ship were *Portugal* goods. Then they told us, we should not want for any thing they had; and, hereupon, they sent

sent a *Moor* into our boat, to make search for a convenient watering-place, who, after some small search, brought us to a little hole at the bottom of a hill, being hemmed in with a hill on the one side, and a ditch on the other side; there we filled our barrecoes; and, being ready to go aboard, we desired the *Moor* to go aboard with us, who willingly agreed thereto; and we used him very kindly, till the next morning that we went to water again, and carried him on shore with us; by whose report of his kind usage aboard, there came down with him another that could speak a little *Portugal*, who, as he said, was one of the king's gentlemen: him we also brought aboard, and used him very kindly, and set him ashore the next day; who promised at his departure to bring us hens, cocoa-nuts, and oranges, which he did accordingly; and then our master, with Mr. *Revet*, and myself, went ashore with some others of our company, where we dined; and after dinner came two cavaliers, and a *Moor*, being one of their slaves, to the watering-place, where our men were filling of the cask, and asked whether there were any of the chief of our ship or company there; to whom *Edward Churchman*, one of our company, made answer, and said, there was our master, and one of the merchants, whom, if it pleased them, he would bring to parly with them: and at their meeting, they saluted each other after the *Portugal* manner. And, after some conference, demanding what we were, we told them we were *Englisbmen*; and they replied, that we were very welcome, and all that they had, or the island could afford, was at our command and disposing; to whom we gave hearty thanks,

But these sugar'd words of theirs were only in outward shew, to cloke their treacherous practices, as afterward we found it true.

Then we demanded what they were; and it was answered, that one of them was the king's brother, who instantly shewed us a silver ring, whereon was ingraven the number of villages, and houses or cottages, in the island; and said he was ruler and governor of all those places. Then we asked them, if there were any *Portugals* in the island; they said, no; for they had banished them all, because they would have relief there by force, and would make slaves of the people of the island; which being not able to endure, they made continual wars with them at their coming thither.

In the mean time our pinnace came on shore, which had been at another place of the island for cattle, according to appoint-

ment, but were deferred off till they might get fitter opportunity for their intended treachery.

Then our men told us, that they had heard of that side of the island where they were for cattle, that fifteen sail of *Hollanders* had lately taken *Mosembege*, and put all the *Portugals* to the sword; which news they had heard from *Zinzibar* to be true, whereat these cavaliers seemed outwardly to rejoice; which was also another subtle train to bring us within compass of their intended treachery. And when night drew on, we intreated them to go aboard with us, which then they refused to do; but promised to come aboard the next day, being the seventeenth day of *December*, which the king's brother (as he named himself) did with two others; but before they came aboard, they craved pledges, which they had, viz. *Thomas Cave*, *Gabriel Brooke*, and *Laurence Pigot* our surgeon. The other three being then aboard, we used them very kindly until they went on shore, on the eighteenth day in the morning: and our general gave the chief of them two goats, a paper cartridge of gun-powder, and some other small trifles to the other two, and so went on shore; and Mr. *Revet*, Mr. *Jordan*, M. *Glasco*t, and myself, went with them for our pledges; and at our coming on shore, and fearing no treachery, we went six or eight, unadvisedly, up to the houses for our pledges, whom we found guarded with fifty or sixty men armed with several weapons, as bows and arrows, swords and bucklers, darts and cutlasses; yet, at our coming thither, we received our pledges, and, without longer stay, departed to the sea-side, accompanied with the king's brother; and immediately most of these *Moors* came also after us, and six or eight of them came to our pinnace-side, and viewed her, and so departed again to the rest of their fellows.

And we instantly entered our boat, and intreated the king's brother to go aboard with us, which he willingly did; and we entertained him with all kindness that we could, until towards night that he was to depart, when our master offered him a knife, with some other odd trifles, which he scornfully refused, and presently went ashore in our boat. Upon this we mistrusted some treachery intended against us, and therefore thought to be better armed at our next coming ashore.

The nineteenth day our long-boat went ashore, in the morning very early, to fill our cask with water; and, having filled the same within a little, they espied our sails out, being let down to dry; but they imagined we were going away: whereupon

the companion to the king's brother came to our boatswain, and asked him if we were going away. The boatswain, as well as he could, both by signs and otherwise, told him, it was only to dry our sails: and as they were thus talking, they spied our pinnace coming, being then very well armed, and left off making any further inquiry; which pinnace had they not then espied, it was likely they had intended to have cut off our men, and taken our boat; for there were two of these rogues, at the least, lying in ambush about the watering-place, ready to have given the onset, if the watch-word had been given. By this time our pinnace was come to the shore, and our men standing on their guard upon the sands, not far from her: then our master sent *Nicolas White*, one of our gang, to tell them of the island that our merchants were come ashore, who, passing by one of their houses, might perceive the same to be full of people, and, amongst the rest, six *Portugals*, in long branched damask coats, lined with blue taffata, and under the same, white calico breeches. This *Nicolas White*, at his return, told us; and presently came down the companion to the king's brother, and told Mr. *Revet*, the merchants were weary, and intreated them to go up to them to see the cattle, which was only one bullock, which *Nicolas White* saw at his going up, and no more. But Mr. *Revet* craved pardon, desiring him to send down the bullock, and there were commodities in the boat to make satisfaction for the same: with this answer, and seeing us better armed than we were wont to be, he went away. The king's brother, being then on the sands, commanded a *Negro* to gather cocoa-nuts to send to our general, and made choice of *Edward Churchman*, one of our men, to fetch the same, whom we never saw after, nor could ever know what became of him: but when they saw, that none of us would come ashore, but stood upon our guard, they gave the watch-word, and sounded a horn, and presently set upon our men at the watering-place, and slew *John Harrington* the boatswain's man, and wounded *Robert Buckler* Mr. *Ellanor*'s man very sore, with eight or ten several wounds; and had killed him, but that we discharged a musquet or two, which (as it seemed) hurt some of them; for then they retired, and cried out: and so, though weak and faint, he did at length recover our boat. Also two or three more of our men, by creeping and lying close in the ditch, until they espied our boat,

got also safe aboard; and then, counting our men, we only missed *Edward Churchman*, and *John Harrington*, that was slain: and so coming aboard, we certified the company of all our proceedings on shore; and our surgeon dressed *Robert Buckler*, and after did his best for his cure, and recovery of his health.

The twentieth day, in the morning, we went on shore with our pinnace and long-boat, very well armed, to fetch in our davis (which is a piece of wood or timber wherewith we hale up our anchor); and a little beyond the same we found *John Harrington* dead, and stark-naked, whom we buried at another island hard by the main island.

The natural people of the island *Pemba* seem to be loving and kind: for they made signs to me and others, at our first coming, to beware of our throats cutting; which then we took no heed or notice of, until this their treachery put us in mind thereof again.

The same day, being the twentieth day, we weighed anchor; and about twelve of the clock at night, our ship was on ground on the shoals of *Melvidee*, or *Pemba*, which we certainly knew not: yet God, of his mercy (as formerly in the late pretended treachery, so), in that extremity did mightily defend and preserve us, whose Name be praised and glorified now and evermore.

The twenty-first day in the morning, we espied three sail, being small boats, slightly wrought together, called *Panguaias**, which we made after and took; which they, on shore, espying, they sent out an advisor, being also a *Pangaia*, which perceived that we had taken the other, and returned to the shore.

Now, of those which we had taken, there were some six or eight of the chiefest, that were thought by our company to be *Portugals*, the rest being certainly known to be *Moors*, and were in all some forty and odd persons; and those six or eight were pale and white, much differing from the colour of the *Moors*: yet, being asked, what they were, they said, they were *Moors*, and shewed us their backs all written with characters; and when we affirmed them to be *Portugals*, they then told us, the *Portugals* were not circumcised,

But to conclude; our company would not be persuaded but that they were *Portugals*: then some of our company told them of all the intended treacheries, with the loss of two of our men, and wounding of the third, which made them fearful of

* *Panguayes*, says *Lydiard*, or barks belonging to the *Moors* of *Melinda*. In which, as well as in other circumstances of this relation, he seems to have been wrong informed; as appears by this account. See his *Naval Hist.* p. 417.

our revenge, as it seemed ; and then they talked together in their own language, which made us also suspect some villainous and desperate attempt to be pretended by them ; and therefore I kept myself still upon the poop, and looked carefully to the swords, which stood nakedly in the master's cabin, which they also knew and noted, and marked Mr. *Glascock*, and myself, where we set our swords, still expecting to have the place voided ; which I perceiving, kept good watch, lest greater hurt should ensue thereby ; and, being thus alone on the poop, they beckoned me three or four several times to come to them upon the spare deck ; which I denied, lest they should so recover the swords, whereby far more harm might have been done, than afterwards was done.

Then our master came upon the spare deck, and demanded, which was their pilot ; whom he took down into his cabin, and shewed him his plat, which he, at his coming down, did very earnestly behold.

But, at his going from the rest with our master, he spake in the *Moors* language, warning them (as we thought) to look to themselves, and do their best amongst us, and to give ear when he gave the watch-word, and then to give the onset.

Also there were speeches used, that the pilot had a knife about him ; and, being searched for it, he nimbly conveyed the same from the one side to the other, and therewith suddenly stabbed the master into the belly, and then cried out, which (belike) was the watch-word : for then they began the onset on the spare deck, where Mr. *Glascock*, Mr. *Tindal*, our general, and one or two more with them, chanced to kill four or five of the white rogues, and made such havock among the rest, that at length they had slain almost forty of them, and brought the rest in subjection.

Now, a little before our master thus called the pilot, he intreated our general, that, if they had any garvances or peason (being their country food), they would let us have some, which they should be paid for, and what was taken from them should be re-delivered, with free liberty to go where they would : whereto the general consented ; and hereupon our master called the pilot, to see if he had any skill in the plat, and so to let him depart, and all the rest. But when thus treacherously they offered us the first abuse, we could do no less than we did, being in our own defence, and for the safeguard of our lives.

Yet did some five or six of these villains recover a *Pangaia* by their excellent swiftness in swimming, and escaped to the shore, they swimming to windward faster than our pinnace could row *.

In this skirmish were hurt but three of our company ; namely, Mr. *Glascock*, with two wounds, whereof one was a deep wound in his back ; Mr. *Tindal*'s was aimed at his breast, he having nothing in his hand to defend himself : yet, by the assistance of the Almighty, he turned himself about, and received the stab in his arm ; and our master's was in his belly, as is formerly said ; which (God be thanked) they all recovered, and were well cured †.

The nineteenth day of *January* we espied many islands, which the *Portugals* call by the name of *Almaisant*, being to the number of nine islands ‡, all unpeopled, as the *Portugals* write and affirm.

The twentieth day we sent our pinnace in the morning to one of those islands, to seek fresh water, but could find none : yet they found there great store of land-turtles, and brought some six aboard ; then we sailed to another island, which seemed more likely for fresh water, than the first, where we cast anchor.

The twenty-first day, about ten of the clock in the forenoon, riding there at 12 or thirteen fathom water, and a reasonable good harbour, we stayed there until the first day of *February*, and then weighed anchor, and departed. Here we refreshed ourselves very well with fresh water, coconuts, fish, palmitoes, and doves, great plenty.

The first day of *February* we set sail, and sailed with a fair wind until the nineteenth day, that we passed the equinoctial line ; and on the fifteenth day in the morning betime we came within ken of land, which was the coast of *Melvidee* upon the main.

The sixteenth day we came to an anchor, about nine of the clock in the morning, at 12 fathom water, and some two leagues from the shore ; and presently we sent our pinnace to the shore, to seek some refreshing, but they could by no means get on shore ; nor would the people of the country (being fearful) come within parly ; which, at their return, they certified our master of ; and so in the afternoon we set sail again, and departed.

Now about this time it pleased God (by the confession of *William Aeton*, one of our ship-boys) to reveal a foul and detestable sin committed among us ; which being proved against him by a jury, he was

* *Lydiard* says, that the *English* sent the surviving *Moors* on shore, page 418.

† *Lydiard* says, they stabbed their minister, one of their merchants, and two mates, *ib.*

‡ *Lydiard* says 13, which they called the desolate Islands, *ib.*

condemned to die, and was executed for the same on the third day of *March* (being *Friday*) in the morning.

The twenty-first day, betimes in the morning, we espied an island standing in the height of 12 degrees, and 17 minutes, being barren and unpeopled, over-against which island, some three leagues distant, stood four hillocks, or rocks; and for this island we bore up a whole day and a night; and, finding it to be barren and unpeopled, by sending our skiff on shore, we passed by it: and the same day we espied three islands more about sun-setting standing in the height of 12 degrees and 29 minutes, to which islands we came the 29th day of *March* 1609. two of which islands were within a league one of another, and the third we found to be *Sacatora*, and standeth in 12 degrees and 24 minutes, where we anchored in a fine bay the thirtieth day in the morning, about ten of the clock.

At sight of us, the islanders made a fire, and we sent our skiff on shore; but the people fled with great fear and trembling, having (as it seemed) been formerly injured by some that had passed that way: but our men, looking about, found no likelihood of any relief there, and so came aboard, and certified the general thereof; so that about five of the clock in the afternoon we weighed anchor, and sailed along to find out the chief harbour.

The thirty-first day we stood off into the main sea, where we met with a *Guzarat* ship, laden with cotton, wools, calicoes, and pentathoes, being bound for *Adden*, whither we kept her company, in regard they told us it was a town of great trading: but we found it quite contrary; for it was only a town of garison, and many foldiers in it: and at the very entering into the town, is a castle cut out of the main, and encompassed round with the sea, wherein are thirty-two pieces of ordnance, and fifty pieces in the town*.

The tenth day of *April* we arrived there, and the *Guzarat* ship went into the town, and told the governor, there was an *English* ship come to trade there: who presently sent his admiral to us, and our general unadvisedly went on shore, where he and his fellows were received with four great horses, and were carried before the governor; but the governor, finding him to be a plain and simple man, put him in

a house with a chouse, or keeper, with many janizaries or soldiers to guard him; and so kept him prisoner six weeks, myself being prisoner with him.

And then the governor caused him to send aboard for iron, tin, and cloth, to the value of 2500 dollars, with promise to buy the same; which when he had on shore, he claimed, and made stay thereof, for the custom of the ship only: and when he saw he had gotten as much as he could, he sent him aboard the twenty-seventh day of *May*, and kept two of our merchants†, for 2000 dollars, which he said was for anchorage: but the general voice of the company was, that he should have none; whereupon he sent the merchants up into the country some eight days journey, to a place called *Siany*, where the bashaw then lay.

The twenty-eighth day our pinnace came to us, who told us, their master was dead; and, inquiring where, and how, the company told us, he was knocked on the head with a mallet-hammer by one *Thomas Clarke*, with the consent of *Francis Driver* his mate, *Andrew Evans*, and *Edward Hilles*, being four murderous and bad-minded men; who being asked why, and upon what occasion, they did it, they could make no excuse, nor allege any cause, save only, that he had some small quantity of *aqua-vitæ* and *rosa-solis*, for his own store, and for the good of them, or any one aboard, that should stand in need thereof; and was provident to keep the same, till great need should be; and therefore, out of mere malice, and chiefly by the instigation of *Francis Driver* his mate, they thus murdered an innocent man, who thought them no harm, nor suspected any such danger.

The thirty-first day of *May* a jury was called; and, upon just and due proof, according to our *English* laws, they were convicted; and *Francis Driver* and *Thomas Clarke* were condemned and judged to die, and were hanged in the pinnace where they did the fact: and on the other two God shewed his just judgment afterwards; for *Edward Hilles* was eaten with *caribs*, or man-eaters, and the other died and rotted where he lay.

The third day of *June* we weighed anchor, and sailed into the *Red-sea*, thro' the streights of *Mockoo*; which are some leagues over from shore to shore, and 18

* A place under the sovereignty of the *Great Turk*; and the key which lets him into all the treasures and sweetneses of *Arabia Felix*.

† The natural account may serve to correct Mr. *Lydiard*'s mistake; who, on the contrary, says, that they were civilly treated by the bashaw; and had leave to settle there; and that they left these two merchants for that purpose. See *Naval Hist.* p. 418.

fathom water, close aboard the island-shore, and about 3 leagues in length.

When you are within the streights, there lieth a great shole, some two leagues off into the sea ; and, to shun it, you must take a good breadth off, and so you shall come in no danger ; and then you have to *Mockoo* some six leagues, where is a good road to anchor in, and fair ground, and you may ride at 14 fathom water. It is a place that is never without shipping : for it is a town of great trade of merchandize, and hath caravans, or convoys, that come from *Seena*, from *Mecca*, from *Grand Cairo*, and *Alexandria*, and all those places.

Moha six leagues within the streights.

It is a city of great trading for our commodities, as tin, iron, lead, cloth, sword-blades, and all *English* commodities. It hath a great bazar, or market, every day in the week. There is great store of fruit, as apricocks, quinces, dates, grapes, abundance ; peaches, lemons, and plantains, great store ; which I much marvelled at, in regard the people of the country told us, they had no rain in seven years before, and yet there was very good corn, and good store, for eighteen pence a bushel.

There are oxen, sheep, and goats, abundance ; as an ox for three dollars, a goat for half a dollar, and a sheep for half a dollar : as much fish for three pence as will suffice ten men to a meal ; as dolphins, more-fish, bafs, mullets, and other good fish.

The town is *Arabian*, and governed by the *Turk* : and if an *Arabian* offend, he is severely punished by their law. For they have galleys and chains on purpose, which offenders are put into, else were they not able to keep them in awe and subjection.

Their abode at Moha.

At *Mockoo* we stayed from the thirteenth of *June* till the eighteenth of *July* ; and then weighed anchor, and went out to the mouth of *Mockoo*, where we lost two anchors, and from thence we set sail to *Sacatora* : and about the fifth of *August* we cast anchor over-against the town of *Sawb*, where the king lieth ; and one of our merchants went on shore, and gave the king a present, and desired, that we might buy water, goats, and other provision, which he would not grant ; because the women of the country were much afraid : yet he told him, if he would go to a road some five leagues off, we should have any thing his country would afford ; where we bought goats, water, aloe socotrina, dragons-blood, and what else the country would afford.

Here at *Sawb* we remained from the fifth day of *August* till the eighteenth day, and set sail, with an anchor and an half,

for *Cambaia*. And on the twenty-eighth day of *August* we came to *Moa*, where one of the country-people told us, that, for the value of twenty dollars, we might have a pilot to bring us to the bar of *Surat* ; but our wilful master refused it, and said, he would have none.

The twenty-ninth day we set sail from thence, thinking to hit the chanel to go to the bar ; but we came out of ten fathom water into seven fathom, and into six fathom and an half. Then we tacked about to the westward, and came into 15 fathom ; and then we tacked about again to the eastward ; and came into five fathom water. Then some of the company asked, whither our master would go ; who answered, Let her go over the height. And instantly the ship struck, which I presently went up and told him of : who, turning about, asked, Who durst say she struck ? Then presently she struck again, and struck off her rudder, and lost it in the sea. Then we came to an anchor, and rode there two days ; then our skiff split in-pieces, and we had no more but our long-boat to help ourselves withal : yet we made such shift, that we got the pieces of our skiff into the ship, and the carpenter went so roundly to work, that they had bound her up together with woldings, so that, when our greatest need was, she brought sixteen men on shore.

The second day of *September*, about six The ship of the clock at night, our ship struck, and foundered. began to founder, and, having struck twice, we had presently twenty-four inches of water in the well ; then we plied the pump some four hours, viz. from seven of the clock to eleven of the clock at night ; then the water increased so fast, that we were able to keep her no longer, but were forced to take our boats.

The merchants had some 10,000 *l.* lying between the main-mast and the steerage, whereof the general bade the company take what they would ; and I think they took amongst them some 3000 pounds, some having 100 pounds, some 50 pounds, some 40 pounds, some more, and some less ; and so we left the ship, and took neither meat nor drink with us. And between twelve and one of the clock we set sail to come ashore, which was at the least twenty leagues to the eastward ; and so we sailed all that night, and the next day, without any sustenance at all, till five or six of the clock at night, being the third day of *September*, that we made the land, being a little island standing upon the bar ; and then a gust came down upon us, and broke the midship thought of our long-boat, wherein were fifty-five persons ; yet it pleased

pleased God, that we recovered our mast, and (the gulf ceasing) we went over the *Gandevée* bar, and got into the river of *Gandevée* river.

But when the country-people saw so many men in two boats, they struck up their drums, and were in arms, taking us to be *Portugals*, and that we came to take some of their towns; which we perceiving, and having, by chance, a *Guzarat* aboard, we sent him ashore to tell them truly what we were: and when they knew we were *Englishmen*, they directed us to the city of *Gandevée*, where was a great governor; who, at our coming thither, and understanding we were *Englishmen*, seemed to be very sorry for our misfortunes, and welcomed us very kindly: and there ended our travels by sea, for that time.

1609. The fourth day of *September* 1609, we came to the city of *Gandevée*, which is a very fair haven, and great store of shipping built there, whereof some are of four or five hundred tuns; it standeth in a good soil, and is governed by the *Gentiles*.

The twenty-fifth day of *September* we took our journey towards *Surat*, to a town called *Sabay*, which is a town only consisting of spinners and weavers, and there is much calico made; and from thence we came to *Surat*, where we found one *William Finch* an *English* merchant, and servant to Mr. *Johnson* in *Cheapside*, who very courteously went to the governor, and acquainted him with our distress; who (as hereafter we found it to be true) was bribed by the *Portugals*, who told him we were a kind of turbulent people, that would make mutinies, and sow civil dissension in the town, and so adventure to surprise the town; whereupon we were put into a monastery, where we lived three days: nor could this suffice, but we were removed to a great house, being a *Gentile's* house, where we lay fourteen days; in which time, by the good advice of the said *William Finch*, we made provision of coaches, horses, and other things, to travel to the *great mogul*, and certify him of our great distress and misfortunes. This is a city of great fame and antiquity, being walled about with free-stone, and a strong garison lying therein, and a city of great trading for merchandize, and great store of shipping, whereof some are of five hundred tuns, which they cannot lade at the town, but carry them over the bar with their balance only; and there lade them; but, for their smaller shipping, they lade them at the town, and so go over the bar, where, at an high-water, they have sixteen feet water.

The travel to *Agra*.

The twenty-third of *September* we took our journey from *Surat* to *Agra*, with

our general and fifty-two men, with twenty-one coaches of our own, and some others being hired, and nineteen horses, to a great city called *Bramport*; and the first two nights we lay in the fields.

The twenty-sixth day we came to *Nawbon*, where sugar groweth in abundance, with cotton, and all manner of grain, as rice, wheat, beans, peas, cheecore lanteechoes, motte, &c. for the country is so plentiful, that you may have a gallon of milk for a halfpeny, an hen for three halfpence, and sixteen eggs for a penny.

From *Gandevée* to *Sabay* is twelve course, and from *Sabay* to *Surat* is twelve course, and every two course is three *English* miles.

The twenty-seventh day we travelled twelve course, and came to a city of the *Bannians* called *Daytaotote*; and there Mr. *Revet*, one of our merchants, died.

This city could never be conquered by the *great mogul*, but yielded upon composition, and still holdeth his title of king of the *Bannians*, and at this city we staid two days.

This city yields great store of drugs, fine pentathose, and calico lawns.

The first of *October* we travelled twelve course, and lay in the fields.

The second day we travelled fourteen course, to a great city of the *Bannians* called *Netherberry*, where is a great *busar*, or market, and all manner of brazen wares to be sold, as pots, kettles, candlesticks, and caldrons of four feet long, shirts of mail, swords and bucklers, lances, horses in armour of arrow-proof, camels, and all manner of beasts.

There is also great store of cotton wools, cotton yarn, pentathoes, calico lawns, shashes for turbants for their heads, lemons, potatoes three pound for a penny, and all manner of drugs.

And surely cloth would be a very vendible commodity there; for coarse felt is there extreme dear. Also gold and silver is there very plentiful, and these are very good people to deal withal.

The third day we travelled ten course, to a small town of husbandry called *Sailote*; where is also great store of sugar, and fruits of all sorts.

The next day we travelled eighteen course, to a garison-town called *Saddisee*; and there is the river of *Tyndee*, which runneth to *Surat*, wherein is great store of fish of all sorts; and this river divideth the confines of the *Bannians* and the *Guzarats*.

The *Bannians* are a strange people in their belief, and honour God in a strange fashion; viz. in pictures of stones, hanging their beads on the heads of the pictures; and then, with their faces towards the

the sun, do worship it, saying, that all their comforts proceed from it. And yet I saw more than this, which was a cow adorned with a vest of gold, and many jewels, her head bedecked with garlands and flowers; and then, being brought to a burial-place, where they do use to make sermons, they kiss her feet and teats, and worship her; that it grieved me to see their fond superstition, and abominable idolatry. And, asking why they did it, they answered, that she was the mother of beasts, and brought them milk, butter, cheese, and the ox to till the ground; and, lastly, her hide did make leather to make them shoes: moreover, they say, she is blessed by the mother of God, to be honoured above all beasts. And so leaving the *Bannians*, we crossed the river of *Tyndee*, into the *Gentiles* country.

Now at *Saddisee* we being many, some in coaches, some on horseback, they thought we had come to take their town, and did shut their gates, and vent their ordnance upon us. But our general sent our linguist, or interpreter, to certify them what we were; and then the governor opened the gates, and came himself to entertain us with great courtesy and state. Yet that night we lay by the river-side; and the next day, being the fifth of *October*, we came into the town, where we lay that night: and the next day we travelled some twelve course, and lay at a monastery: and the seventh day we went to the great city of *Bramport*, where the great general, called the *Can Canawe*, liveth; this being his garison, or resting-place, when he is out of the wars: and on the twelfth of *October*, he came from the wars with 1500 elephants, 30000 horses, 10000 camels, 3000 dromedaries.

The elephant serveth in the field, with a small tower of wood or timber upon his back, whereon are placed four pieces of brass as big as rabbits, and ten men, very artificially placed in the said tower, with bows and arrows, and to discharge those pieces.

The elephant's skin is musquet-proof, unless it be on his face and belly; and he is a beast of so great understanding, that he is ruled and governed by word of mouth, understanding what his keeper commandeth him to do.

This country beareth towards the north-west, and in height of 28 degrees, or thereabouts. And here musquets, snap-hances, pistols, petronels, and swords, are good commodities, but no fire-locks in any wise.

Also cloth is an excellent commodity, to my knowlege; for I was offered three pounds for an old cloak, which here is not worth twenty shillings at the uttermost.

And in *Bramport* we staid from the seventh of *October* until the eleventh of *November* following: then I and *John Frenchman*, one of our company, went to crave the general's pass, to go to the *great mogul*; but he asked us, if we would serve him in his wars, and he would give us what means we would desire: but we told him, we were poor distressed merchants, that had been shipwreck'd: and he again replied, that there was no *Englishman*, merchant, nor other, but he was a soldier: but we told him, that we had wives and children in our country, to whom we must of necessity go; to which he said, it was very well spoken, and that it was against their laws to keep any man against his will. Then he asked us, If we had any jewels for his ladies. I answered, I had one stone, and one jewel; which I sold him for forty pounds sterling: and then he commanded his secretary to make us a pass, and seal it with his great seal, for our safe-conduct to *Agra*. Also for the nature and strength of the elephant, I can say thus much of my own knowlege, because I saw it:

An elephant royal being brought to remove a piece of ordnance of one-and-twenty feet long, which carried a shot of seven inches high, and lay upon the carriage on the side of a hill, and to carry the same some half-furlong off; which he did (as it seemed) to the great dislike of his keeper, who told him, he was a lazy villain, and deserved not his meat. Now the nature of the elephant is, not to be disparaged in any thing, and standeth much upon his reputation and valour: so that, upon these speeches of his keeper, he came to it again, and with main strength tore the carriage in pieces, and left the piece lying on the ground. Then were carpenters set on work to make a new carriage; which being done, the same elephant was brought, who clapt his trunk about the wheels, and brought the ordnance where his keeper commanded him.

This city is far bigger than *London*, and great trade of all sorts of merchandize therein: it is one of the most famous heathen cities that ever I came in, and the citizens are very good and kind people, and very many gallants in the city; also fine rivers, ponds, orchards, gardens, pleasant walks, and excellent fair prospects as ever I saw. Here any gentleman may have pastime to hunt or hawk; and if he will not go far, he may buy a deer in the *busar*, or market, for a dollar, being but four shillings sterling, and hunt him where and when he will.

Now, in my judgment, our *English* cloth of gold and silver, velvets, broad-cloth,

cloth, bays, and cottons, would be very vendible, in regard there are so many gallants. And thus much for the great city of *Bramport*.

The eleventh of *November* we took our journey towards *Agra*, I, and *Joseph Salebancke* our purser, and one *Jo. Frenchman*, with one of the country-people for our guide, taking leave of the general, who was extreme sick of an ague, and no hope of any speedy recovery. Also we had thought to have gone along with a caravan of four hundred and fifty strong, which were bound for *Agra*: but the captain told us, that they were to stay seven days longer; but said, if we would travel some two days journey (which we might safely do, without any danger of thieves), we should meet with a greater caravan than they were.

So, on the twelfth day, we travelled to a town called *Caddor*, some fifteen course from thence, where we lay that night.

Here the governor, hearing that we were strangers, or *Christians*, demanded what we should have, and whither we travelled? We answered, to *Agra*, to the king, and that we came from *Surat*. Then he asked us, What we would do with the king? And when I heard him so inquisitive, I peremptorily answered, that my business was too great for him to know; but he said, he would know it ere we went out of the town; and I again replied, that my business was such, that I would go out of the town, and ask him no leave: and so, making us ready to depart, we said, we would see who would stay us, without a very lawful occasion. Then the governor sent his cotwall, or the mayor of the town, who asked us, Why we used such peremptory speeches to the governor? We told him, we answered him in no worse manner than his place and calling deserved; and that it was not for him to force us to acquaint him with our business to the king: and then we shewed him the *Can Canawe's* pass to the king. Whereupon the governor came to us again, with twenty gentlemen of the town, and, by all means, intreated us to stay all night; and whatsoever we wanted, that the country could afford, should be at our service: and withal told us, the way was dangerous, and very bad to travel.

The next day we gave him half a pound of tobacco for a present, which we brought out of *England*, which he accepted very thankfully.

The thirteenth day we came to a town called *Sawbon*, some fourteen course from *Caddor*; but before we were half a course out of the town, the governor sent twelve horsemen with lances, bows and arrows,

to conduct us some part of the way that was most dangerous, which was some ten or twelve *English* miles.

And when we came to *Sawbon*, we found the caravan, being five hundred camels bound for *Agra*; and were laden with taffaties, wrought silks, cloth, sugar, and other commodities; some from *Bramport*, some from *Bengal*, and some from *Cambaia*.

The fourteenth day we set forwards with the caravan, and travelled some twelve course to a monastery called *Tindey*.

The fifteenth day we travelled some ten course, and lay in the woods.

The next day we came to a great city, called *Cannowe*, where is much trading for cloth, swords, shashes, pieces, and armour tied on with strings, being but only arrow-proof.

There is great store of fruit, and colours for dyers, of all sorts: and I think our *English* cloth would be an excellent commodity there; for it is very cold, especially in *January*, *February*, and *March*, for it beareth to the northwards.

The sixteenth day we travelled some fourteen course to a great river, called the river of *Andee*, which is as broad as the *Thames* at *Woolwich*, and runneth into the bay of *Bengal*, and this is the utmost part or border of the *Gentiles*; and on the seventeenth day we passed over the river, and went out of the *Gentiles* country.

The *Gentiles* will eat nothing that bleedeth, and the sun is their great god: for, should they eat any thing that bleedeth, they believe that they may eat the souls of their father, mother, sister, brother, or friends, that are deceased. For, they say, that when any one dieth, their breath presently goeth into one beast or other; and so, in eating that beast, a man may eat the soul of some friend, together with the flesh of that beast: such is their great blindness and ignorance. Nay more; they make every living thing their idols; as, the first living they meet in the morning is their god or saint for that day, to worship that. And so leaving the *Gentiles*, we come to the *Bulloits*, or *Pythagoreans*.

The seventeenth day we came to the city of *Gorra*, where are many *surroyes*, or inns, where travellers may set their camels, horses, or cattle, and cost nothing.

Also there are four great schools for learning, like to an university. In this country were two brothers, being king's sons, who warred for this city, being eight miles in compass, and in the middle a great wall, and there they laid their siege a long time: and at the last the king of the east-part got the victory, and held the same for seven years; and then the great
mogul

mogol Tamberlaine the sixth overcame the whole country, and took it into his hands.

The eighteenth day we went ten course, to a great tank, or pool of water, like unto the *Bath*, the water boiling out of the earth, and is very warm.

The nineteenth day we travelled some fifteen course to a town called *Sanday*, where is great store of wool, like *Spanish* wool: here are made great store of caps to cover turbants, felt-gowns to ride in, both fine and coarse; there are great store of sheep, and so much sugar, that they feed horses therewith as we do with provender; also there are goodly furroys, or inns, for horsemen and footmen.

The twentieth day we travelled some fifteen course to a great *furroy*, near unto a monastery, where we had great store of fruit called *mangees*, being like an apple, and have a stone as big as an apricock, of like scent or taste, and is excellent good for the flux, and there much esteemed of.

The twenty-first day we travelled twelve course to a small village, called *Lee*.

The twenty-second day we travelled some sixteen course to a city called *Eaf-man*, where is a great busar, or market for the country-people, for wool, cotton, cotton-yarn, swords, javelins, and other weapons, for the wars.

The twenty-third day we came to a little town called *Zingreene*, some fourteen course; where is great store of woad, and abundance of drugs for dyers.

The twenty-fourth day we travelled sixteen course to a city called *Barrandon*, where are great store of merchants of the *Banians* and *Mesulipatanians*.

It is a city where the great caravans meet, and there is great trade of merchandize for cloth, shafes, armour for men and horses, coats of mail, armour of arrow-proof, bombast headpieces, and elephants teeth; also many wild elephants in the country: here we staid two days, and left our caravan in the city,

The twenty-seventh day we took our journey forwards; and, by the way, we met with a can, or knight of that country, with forty horse, being bound for *Agra*, and fifty shot, with whom we also kept company, being about one hundred and forty strong, and travelled in the desert some six days, where are great store of wild elephants, lions, tygers, cat-of-mountains, porpentine, and other wild beasts innumerable, but those we saw. These desarts are an hundred course long, where every night we made great fires round about our tents, to shun the dangers of the wild beasts: this can, or knight, told us the nature or wit of the elephant; who, knowing he is hunted to death for

his teeth, will go to a tree, and there, by main force, will wring or wrest his teeth out of his head, knowing that so he shall live secure and free from that danger; and this he protested to be true.

The third of *December* we passed those deserts, and came to a town called *Tranado*.

The fourth day we travelled some sixteen course, to a town called *Zaioberdee*, where is hay, corn, and grain, great plenty.

The fifth day we travelled some eighteen course to a city called *Handee*, where the king hath a castle and house cut out of the main rock, and wrought with carved work round about: this castle is invincible, and hath fifty pieces of ordnance in it.

There lay in this castle, when we were there, two hundred knights, captains, and other gallants, that had transgressed the law, or the king's commandment, as in treason, rebellion, and such-like matters. Also, in this city are two houses much like *St. John's-gate*, where captains and cavaliers, that have been maimed and hurt in the wars, do live, and have each one a mammothee a day, being nine-pence *English*, and meat and drink at the king's allowance.

The sixth day we came to the river of *Tamluo*, which runneth into the river *Indus*, which parteth the countries of the *Pythagoreans* and the *Indostants*.

The *Pythagoreans* in former times have been a vile and treacherous kind of people, and had a law, that when the husband died, the wife should be also burnt, which is holden till this day, though not in so strict a manner; for now she may refuse it, but then her head is shaved, and she clad in a black vesture, or garment, which among them is reputed most vile and hateful; that the basest slave in the country will not succour nor relieve her, though she should starve.

Now the cause why this law was first made, was, for that the women there were so fickle and inconstant, that, upon any slight occasion of dislike or spleen, they would poison their husbands: whereas now the establishing and executing of this law is the cause that moveth the wife to love and cherish her husband, and wisheth not to survive him.

As for example, I saw a young woman, the wife of a doctor, whose husband being dead, she made choice to be carried in a pageant by four men, she being cloathed in lawn, and her head decked with jewels, and rich ornaments; and before her went musick of all sorts that the country afforded, as hautboys, drums, fifes, and trumpets; and next unto her, all her kindred; and so she was brought to the place of execution,

ecution, where was a stake, and an hole to set her feet in; and so, being tied to the stake, all her kindred kneeling round about her, and praying to the sun, and their other idols, the fire was set to her, she having under each arm a bag of gunpowder, and a bag betwixt her legs, and so burnt to death, the fire being made of benjamin, storax, lignomalloes, and other sweet woods. Thus much for the *Bulloites*, and so to the *Indostants*; and the next day we travelled some ten course to a town called *Addar*.

The eighth day we travelled some twenty-six course, and came to the great city of *Agra*, where the *great mogul* keepeth his court and residence.

The ninth day captain *Hawkins* came to us, and brought us before the king, as it is the custom and manner of the country; for no stranger may stay above twenty-four hours, before he be brought before the king, to know what he is, and wherefore he cometh. Also every stranger must present the king with some present, be it ever so small, which he will not refuse. And I gave him, for a present, a small whistle of gold, weighing almost an ounce, set with sparks of rubies, which he took, and whistled therewith almost an hour. Also I gave him the picture of St. *John's* head cut in amber and gold, which he also received very graciously.

The whistle he gave to one of his great women, and the picture to sultan *Caroone* his youngest son. His eldest son rebelled, and is in prison with his eyes sealed up; and it is noised amongst the common-people, that his eyes are put out: but it was told me by a great man, that they were but sealed up: his name is *Patteshaw Shelham*, which, in our language, is heir apparent to the crown: his second son liveth with him, and is called sultan *Nawbree*, and him he thinketh to make his heir apparent: his third son is called sultan *Lawlle*, and is viceroy of *Liborne*: his fourth son is called sultan *Lill*, and is viceroy of the *Gentiles*, and these are his five sons. Also he hath ten viceroys more under him, that govern ten several provinces, or countries; viz. *Can Canawe*, viceroy of the *Guzarats*; *Can John*, viceroy of the *Bulloites*; *Michael Can*, viceroy of the *Banians*; *Howsower Can*, viceroy of *Cambaia*; *Hodge John*, viceroy of *Bengala*; *Michael Can*, viceroy of the *Hendouns*; *Sawder Can*, viceroy of the *Puttans*, and he lieth in the city of *Candabar*; *Allee Can*, viceroy of the *Bullochies*, and lieth in the city of *Buckera*; *Sawber Can*, viceroy of the *Multans*; and *Can Bullard*, viceroy of the *Indostants*.

These are the names of his ten viceroys, being all heathens, but very worthy men, and expert in the wars. He hath a great number of noblemen to attend on him. An earl is called a *nawbob*, and they are the chief men that attend on him, when he goeth abroad: for at home none attend him but eunuchs, or gelded men.

His lord chief justice is an eunuch, and is called *Awlee nawbob*; he is thought to be worth twenty *Englisch* millions: he keepeth twenty elephants, one hundred and fifty camels and dromedaries, and five hundred horse to attend on him.

The lord treasurer is a mighty man, called sultan *Carowdon*; he hath forty elephants to attend him, two hundred camels and dromedaries, and one thousand horse, at his service. And when he cometh to sit in his place of justice, he is brought upon an elephant, clad in cloth of gold or silver, and sometimes in a pollankan, carried by four slaves, he lying in it as if he lay in a cradle, in as great pomp and ease as may be, and hath four maces of silver and gilt carried before him, and ten banners, and as great attendance as if he were a king; yet on *Tuesdays* and *Thursdays* the king himself sits in judgment of all causes: he custometh all strangers goods himself, the custom being but small, at his pleasure, as sometimes the value of ten shillings custometh goods worth two hundred pound. Also if a merchant stranger bring wares or merchandize from a far country, as from *China*, *Bengala*, and thinketh he shall make a bad voyage, or lose thereby, if he acquaint the king therewith, and that the merchandize be fit for kings, princes, and noblemen, the king himself will take part thereof, and cause his nobles to take the rest, at such rates as the merchant shall not only be a saver, but a great gainer thereby.

The *mogul* liveth in as great state and pomp as may be devised, both for majesty and princely pleasure; for he had brought before him every day, during our abode there, fifty elephants royal, clad in cloth of gold and silver, with drums, fifes, and trumpets, whereof some fight one with another, wounding one another very deadly, and cannot be parted but with rackets of wild-fire, made round like hoops, and so run the same in their faces; and some of them fight with wild horses, as one elephant with six horses, whereof he hath killed two instantly, by clasping his trunk about their necks, and so, pulling them to him, with his teeth breaketh their necks.

Also there are tame elephants that will take the viceroy's sons, being the king's pages, with their trunks, gaping as they would

would eat them, and yet very gently will set them upon their own heads, and, having sitten there a good space, will set them down again on their feet as tenderly as a mother would set down her own child, doing them no harm at all.

The elephant will not go out of the sight of his female, nor will he be ruled, if he do: this I can speak by experience, having seen trial made hereof. Also every he elephant hath three or four females, and I saw one that had four females, and twelve young ones of his own begetting.

Their ingendering together is strange; for the female lieth down on her back, and he cometh upon her, and so ingender. But if he perceive any man to behold or see him thus ingendering, he will kill him, if he can.

Also the king hath deer, rams, verna-thoes or beazors, lions, leopards, and wolves, that fight before him. Also, if a cavalier be condemned for any offence, and judged to die, he may, by the custom of the country, crave combat with a lion for his life, which the king denieth to none that crave it; as for example, I saw one that, at the first encounter, struck the lion with his fist that he felled him; but the lion, recovering, returned with great fury and violence, and caught such hold on him, that he rent out his guts, with the heart and liver, and so tore him in-pieces; and this was performed before the king.

Also there are horses that fight with alligators or crocodiles in tanks or ponds of water, where I also saw one alligator kill two stonehorses at one time. There is also a fair river called *Indawe*, running from thence to *Mesopotamia*, and carrieth boats or lighters of forty ton, and is replenished with fish of all sorts.

Also there are four busars or markets every day in the week, and great store of all things to be bought and sold there, and at a very reasonable rate; as an hen for two-pence, a turkey for six-pence, a live deer for a dollar, a sheep for two shillings, a goat for two shillings, a couple of oxen for four dollars, being sixteen shillings sterling, a good hog for two shillings; but none buy them but Christians, and none sell them but the *Banians*, who breed them, and as much fish for three-pence as will serve five reasonable men at a meal.

Also great store of fruit, as limons, oranges, apricocks, grapes, pears, apples, and plums; but with their grapes they make no wines, because their laws forbid it: also raisins as great and fair as raisins of *Damasko*, with great store of cloth of gold, velvets and silks out of *Persia*, and

silks and cloth of gold from *China*; but those are coarse, and low-prized; but abundance are there vended: and captain *Hawkins* thinketh, that our richer silks, velvets, and such-like, would be excellent good commodities there:

But especially our cloth of light colours; for there is no cloth, but a kind of coarse cloth like cotton, which is made at *Libore*, and at a town called *Esmeeere*: and their finest and best is a kind of coarse red cloth, like a *Venice* red; and this is the usual wearing for the chieftest cavaliers; and these are all the places of clothing that I could by any means hear of in all that country.

The word *mogul*, in their language, is as much as to say, *the great white king*; for he is a white man, and of the race of the *Tartars*. He is king of many kingdoms, and writeth himself, in his stile, *patte-shaw shelham shogh*, that is, the king of all the great coins. For there is a several coin at *Labore*, another at *Bramport*, another at *Surat*, another at *Cambaia*, another at *Sabbarton*, and another at *Agra*. And for his several kingdoms, he is king of the *Guzarats*, of the *Banians*, of the *Bulloites* of *Callicot* and *Bengala*, which are *Gentiles*, of the *Indostants*, of the *Mogolles*, of the *Hendouns*, of the *Moltans*, of the *Puttans*, of the *Bullockies*, and of the *Alkeyfors*, with some others, which I cannot particularly name. Also he writeth himself the ninth king from *Tamberlaine*. And to this his great stile, he is also of as great power, wealth, and command: yet will he urge none of what nation soever to forsake their religions; but esteemeth any man so much the better, by how much the more he is firm and constant in his religion; and of all other he maketh most account of Christians, and will allow them double the means that he giveth to any other nation, and keepeth continually two Christian friers, to converse with them in the Christian religion, and manners of Christendom. He hath also the picture of our lady in the place of his prayer or religious proceedings; and hath oftentimes said, that he could find in his heart to be a Christian, if they had not so many gods*. There was, at my being there, an *Armenian* Christian, that, in hope of gain and preferment, turned *Moor*; which being told the king, he said, if he thought to save his soul thereby, that was a sufficient recompence for him; but he would rather have given him preferment, if he had kept himself still a Christian.

The *mogul* is also very bountiful; for to one that gave him a little deer, he gave a thousand ruckees, being an hundred pounds

* Saints, which they pray to, in the manner that the heathens pray to their gods.

sterling ; also to another, that gave him a couple of land spaniels, he gave the like reward ; and to another, that gave him two cocks, he gave two thousand ruckees.

Also there are excellent fair hawks of all sorts, from the gos-hawk to the spar-hawk, and great store of game, as pheasants, partridges, plovers, quails, mallard, and of all other sorts of fowl in great plenty.

There are no great dogs, but a kind of mongrels, whereof two will hardly kill a deer in a whole day ; and yet they are so choice over them, that they make them coats to keep them warm and clean. Nor have they any parks, but forests and commons, wherein any man may hunt that will, save only within six miles of *Agra* round about, which is limited and reserved for the king's private pleasure only.

The king hath there begun a goodly monument for his father, which hath been already nine years in building, and will hardly be finished in five years more, and yet there are continually five thousand workmen at work thereon.

The substance thereof is a very fine marble, curiously wrought.

It is in form nine square, being two *English* miles and about nine stories in height.

Also it was credibly reported unto me by a Christian frier, who solemnly protested he heard the king speak it, that he intended to bestow an hundred millions of treasure on that monument.

And, having viewed and seen this great and rich city of *Agra*, with the pleasures and commodities thereof, on the eighteenth day of *January* myself, with *Joseph Salebancke*, and *John Frenchman*, went to the king, and craved his pass for *England*; who very courteously demanded of us, if we would serve him in his wars, offering us what maintenance we would ask of him ; which we humbly excused, both in regard of this our voyage, wherein divers others besides ourselves were partners, as also in regard we had wives and children in our own country, to whom, both by law and nature, we were bound to make return, if it were possible : whereupon most graciously he granted us his pass, under his hand and great seal, for our safe conduct through all his kingdoms and dominions. Then his chief secretary went with us to his third queen (for it is said, that he hath ten queens, one thousand concubines, and two hundred eunuchs) ; and this queen is keeper of his great seal, where it was sealed and delivered unto us. Then I also went to the chief frier, and craved his letters, as well to the kings and princes, whose kingdoms and dominions we were to pass through, as also to the clergy, and places of religion ; which he most willingly

granted, being a man of great credit there, and greatly esteemed, and well known, in other kingdoms.

Also he gave me his letters of commendations to one *John Midnall* an *English* merchant or factor, who had lain in *Agra* three years : but, before I came into *England*, *John Midnall* was gone again for the *East Indies* ; and I delivered his letter to Mr. *Greenaway*, deputy-governor in *London* for the company of the *East Indian* merchants.

The one-and-twentieth day we took our leave of captain *Hawkins*, whom we left there in great credit with the king, being allowed one hundred ruckees a day, which is ten pound sterling, and is intituled by the name of a *can*, which is a knight, and keepeth company with the greatest noblemen belonging to the king ; and he seemeth very willing to do his country good. And this is as much as I can say concerning him.

The twenty-second day we took our journey towards *England*, being five *Englishmen*, viz. myself, *Joseph Salebancke*, *John Frenchman*, *Richard Martin*, and *Richard Fox*, and *Guilliam Asblee*, a *Moor*, our guide ; and travelled towards *Ispahan* in *Persia* ; and so with five horses and two camels we took the way to *Biany*, because *John Midnall* had gone the way by *Lahore* before ; also this way was but two months journey, though very dangerous, and that by *Lahore* was four months journey, and without danger ; viz.

From *Agra* we came to *Fetterbarre*, being twelve course ; and from thence to *Biany*, being twelve course more ; and this is the chiefest place for indico in all the *East Indies*, where are twelve indico-mills.

The indico groweth in small bushes like goosberry-bushes, and carrieth a seed like cabbage-feed ; and, being cut down, is laid on heaps, for half a year, to rot ; and then brought into a vault, to be trodden with oxen, to tread the indico from the stalks, and so to the mills, to be ground very fine : and, lastly, is boiled in furnaces, and very well refined, and sorted into several sorts.

A seer of indico in *Biany* is worth tenpence, which seer doth contain twenty ounces at the least. This I know to be true, and brought a sample of the indico home with me. And for this indico, and the anneel that is made thereof, there is much trading of merchants from *Agra* and *Lahore*.

The twenty-fifth day we came to *Hendoun*, being twenty-five course : this is an antient fair city, where is also good store of coarse indico.

The twenty-sixth day we came to *Mogoll*, being fourteen course. This is a small market-

market-town, where are also coarse indico and calicoes.

The twenty-seventh day we went some twelve course, to a small village called *Halstot*.

The twenty-eighth day we travelled twelve course, to a small village called *Chatsoe*, where are sheep and goats great store, and very cheap.

The twenty-ninth day we went twelve course, to a small town called *Laddanna*; and there are great store of cotton-wools.

The thirtieth day we went eight course, to a small town called *Mosabad*; where is great store of corn.

The thirty-first day we went twelve course, to *Bandafon*, a small village.

The first day of *February* we came to a fair river, called *Paddar*, that runneth to *Guzarat*; and this river parteth the dominions of the *Indostants* and *Hendouns*, and falleth into the gulph of *Persia*. And from thence we went to the city of *Esmeere*, being twelve course from *Bandafon*.

Here the great mogul hath a stately house, where are continually kept six hundred elephants, and one thousand horses, for the wars, to be ready at the king's command.

There is great store of wools, and much cloathing for coarse cloth and cottons, also javelins, bows, and arrows, armour, swords, and other weapons, for the wars, and two busars or markets every week.

The *Indostants* are very gallant people, and merchants into most parts of the world.

The second day we went into the *Hendouns* country, some twelve course; and came to *Richmall*, where is great store of game, and a pleasant place for hawking and hunting.

The fourth day we went twelve course, to *Meartha*, a fair city, where I saw three fair and antient tombs or monuments of the *Hendouns*; there are three busars or markets every week; also great store of indico, cotton-wool, yarn, and cloth.

This city, in my judgment, is as big as the city of *Exeter*.

The sixth day we went some twelve course to *Hursallo*, a small village.

The seventh day we went fourteen course to *Lavara*, a small village, where is great store of corn, cattle, and sheep, and very good, cheap.

The eighth day we went twelve course, to *Towry*, a town of garison of the *Hendouns*.

The ninth day we went eleven course, to *Chummo*, a small village.

The tenth day we went thirteen course, to *Moulto*, a village.

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The eleventh day we went ten course, to *Pucker*, a small village.

The twelfth day we went twelve course, to *Senawra*, a little town.

The thirteenth day we went but five course, to *Bafonpee*, a small village.

The fourteenth day we went five course more, to *Gislemeere*, a fair city, and hath in it a strong castle, where lieth a grand cavalier. Also there is great trading of merchandize by land, and in the castle are thirty pieces of ordnance.

The eighteenth day we went from thence some fourteen course, over the sands, that part the *Hendouns* and *Multans*, and lie in the fields.

The *Hendouns* are naturally descended from the *Gentiles*, yet refuse no manner of meat, flesh, nor fish, and are many of them very notable thieves; they pray naked, dress and eat their meat naked; and where they dress and eat their meat, they make a circle, within which circle none must enter, during the time of their dressing and eating their meat.

Their women are brought up of children with shackles, some of silver, some of brass, and some of iron, on their legs, and rings in their ears; all which are still increased, or made bigger, as they grow in years and bigness, so that in time they have holes in their ears so great, that a man may thrust his hand through. Also they wear bracelets of elephants teeth about their arms from the wrist to the elbow.

The nineteenth day we went eight course, and lay in the fields.

The twentieth day we went twelve course more, and lay in the fields.

The twenty-first day we went twelve course, and lay by a well some sixty fathom deep, where water was very scarce.

The twenty-second day we travelled sixteen course, where we could get no better water than was almost half cow-piss.

The thirtieth day we went some fifteen course, and lay in the fields.

The twenty-fourth day we went some five course, and came to three towns, *viz.* *Roree*, *Buckar*, and *Sucker*, where is a gallant fresh river, and small ships that may go to *Armoose*, as the townsmen report. Now the shipping belongeth to *Roree*, being some fifty or sixty sail, and are of the burden of forty, fifty, and sixty tun, whereby there is trade of merchandize as far as the coast of *Molindee*, and as far as *Mosembique*, and this river falleth into the gulph of *Persia*.

Buckar standeth in the middle of the island, which maketh it in form of an island, and is besides very strongly built.

The *Indians* call this river the river of *Damiadee*. And in this town of *Buckar* lieth

lieth *Alle Can*, the *mogul's* viceroy of the *Bullockies*, who are such a stubborn and rebellious people, that he keepeth that strong-hold of purpose to retire unto, and to gather an head, and renew his forces, at all assays, to subdue and keep them in awe and obedience, which notwithstanding he can hardly do. Also this *Allee Can* is a very worthy and bountiful prince, who gave us very gallant and kind entertainment, and commanded us to come daily to his court, where we had both costly and plentiful diet at all times; and here we left *John Frenchman* (one of our company) sick.

Sucker is a town consisting most of weavers and dyers, and live by cloathing, and serve the country round about; and this is the first town of the *Bullockies*. And *Roree* the last confine town of the *Multans*, who are good husbandmen, and painful people, and deal much in merchandize, as cloth, indico, and other commodities; and are very good people to deal withal, yet their religion is *Mahometical*.

At *Sucker* we staid twenty-four days, and more, for a coffelo, or convoy; for the captain of the castle would not suffer us to go without one, because the way was dangerous, and full of thieves, which afterwards we found true; for had we not, by the great Providence of God, escaped their hands, it had cost us our lives, and yet cost us some money besides.

The twenty-fifth day of *March* 1610. we came from *Sucker*, and travelled over the plains some three course, or thereabouts. The twenty-sixth day we travelled through the woods or deserts some three course more.

The twenty-seventh day we went three course more through the deserts, and there we took in water for two days, which was but bad water neither; but there was no better to be had, nor any town to come to, until we came to *Gorra*, some eight course distant from thence, which was on the twenty-eighth day at night, where we rested two days, and were very well used: yet, being a town of the *Bullockies* and rebels, we were in great fear; but we found no such cause, God be praised.

The *Bullockies* are man-eaters, being men of huge limbs and proportion, even giant-like; nor are they of any religion at all, save only that they worship the sun.

The twenty-first day we came to *Norry*, being about ten course; and this is the last town of the *Bullockies*, and so to the *Puttans*.

The first day of *April* we took our journey over the plains early in the morning, and about break of day we met with ten or twelve men playing on fiddles, as if they had come in friendly manner to

welcome us, but indeed they were no better than thieves, that intended to rob and pillage us; for by the sun's rising we were beset round with them, and their companions, whose certain number we could not discern nor know.

And though we had a coffelo, or convoy, of two hundred strong, yet we were glad to intreat the captain of that unruly crew to stand our friend, and both to bribe him privately, and to pay openly, besides, in the name of a custom, twenty checkeenoes in gold; nor would all this have served the turn, but for the *Mogul's* pass under his hand and great seal, which they much feared, but that all our throats had been cut, as others, in greater number, had formerly been: yet at last, upon this friendly composition, they guarded and conducted us through their country, until we were past all danger, and so departed; and that day we travelled some nine course over the plains, and took up our lodging in the plain fields.

The second day we travelled some eight course, to a town called *Daddor*, where we rested two days.

The fifth day we travelled eight course, over the mountains.

The sixth day we went ten course, over the mountains.

The seventh day we went eight course, over the mountains.

The eighth day we went eight course, to *Vackesto*, a town of civil and quiet government, where we rested that night.

The ninth day we went 3 or 4 course over the mountains, and lay in the fields.

The tenth day we went some eight course in the mountains.

The eleventh day we went nine or ten course in the mountains.

The twelfth day we went some nine or ten course in the mountains.

The thirteenth day we went nine or ten course in the mountains.

The fourteenth day we went some fourteen course over the mountains.

The fifteenth day we came to *Candabar*, being but two course from thence, where we staid twenty or twenty-one days.

This is a great and gallant city of the *Puttans*, where *Sawadder Can* viceroy of the *Puttans* keepeth his court and residence.

There is great and continual traffick by land, from *Persia*, *Indostan*, *Mesopotamia*, and from all parts between that and *China*, with all sorts of merchandize and commodities which those countries yield; for there are continually seven or eight thousand camels, about the city, which trade to-and-fro with merchandize.

Also the viceroy hath continually forty thousand horses for the wars, in readinets,

for

for fear of rebellion, because the *Puttans* are a strong and warlike people, and inclined to rebellion, by reason they came under the *mogul's* government and subjection, by force and conquest; and therefore love him not in their hearts, but obey him for fear.

The sixth day of *May* we took our journey for *Ispahan* in *Persia*, and travelled some eight course that day, and came to a gallant river, where were two towns, on each side of the river one; and at one of those towns, called *Langor*, we rested that night.

The seventh day we went some six or seven course over the plains.

The eighth day we went, in like manner, some seven course more, and lay in the fields.

The ninth day we went over the plains some twelve course, and came to a great river, which divideth the land of the *Puttans* from *Persia*; and there we paid custom for our owts, or camels, and rested two days by the river-side.

The twelfth day we were ferried over the river, which is called *Sabbaa*, to a castle a course from thence, and near to a town called *Grees*.

This river divideth the confines of the *great mogul* and the king.

The *Puttans* are a warlike and goodly people, and wear their beards long, which the *Moguls* hate; also they worship the Great God of Heaven, and despise *Mahomet*.

Their priests go in sackcloth, with great chains about their middles: and fall down and pray continually in sackcloth and ashes.

And so passing out of the *great mogul's* kingdoms and dominions, we came to the town of *Grees*, being the first town of *Persia*, where we rested a day and a night.

Grees, the first town of *Persia*.

The town of *Grees* is a frontier town, and therefore the king, or, as they call him, the *shabash* of *Persia*, keepeth here a garison of ten thousand men, and a governor to command them.

The fourteenth day we went over the plains six furlongs, every furlong being a league, and every league two course, and rested in the fields.

The fifteenth day we travelled over the plains some six furlongs more, and came to a castle, where we refreshed ourselves and our cattle, and there we rested ourselves two days, to stay for a coffelo or convoy, which came to us the fourteenth day at night.

The eighteenth day we went five furlongs over the fields, or plains, and lay in the fields.

The nineteenth day, at night, we travelled some four furlongs, to a town called *Doctoreham*, where we staid all the next day and night.

The twenty-first day we travelled some five or six furlongs, in the night, to a town called *Scharwe*; and thus for certain days we travelled all by night, by reason of the extreme heat in the day-time.

The twenty-second day, at night, we travelled some six furlongs over the plains.

The twenty-third day, at night, we went five furlongs, to a town called *Vea*, where are great store of feltmakers, which also make felt-carpets, and weavers of *Turky* carpets; there are also great store of dates, and all sorts of fruits.

The twenty-fourth day we travelled some six furlongs, to a fair city called *Parra*, where we staid twenty-two days for a coffelo or convoy, myself being also sick there; there is great trade of merchandize, and great store of raw silk, which, in the *Persian* tongue, is called *averisham*.

The sixth day we went some two furlongs over the mountains.

The seventh day we went four or five furlongs over the mountains.

The eighth day we went seven furlongs.

The ninth day we went some five furlongs.

The tenth day we went ten furlongs all in the mountains.

The eleventh day we travelled some three furlongs, to a town called *Banda*, being but an harbour or lodging-place.

The twelfth day we went some three furlongs over the plains.

The thirteenth day we travelled some five furlongs over the plains, and rested till the fourteenth day at night, and then travelled some seven furlongs and an half.

The fifteenth day we came to a town called *Sunday*, where we rested that night, and all the next day and night.

The seventeenth day we travelled some seven furlongs and an half over the plains.

The eighteenth day we went, in like manner, some nine furlongs.

The nineteenth day we went five furlongs, to a town called *Beasta*.

The twentieth day we went some four furlongs.

The twenty-first day we travelled some six furlongs, to a town called *Gusta*, where we rested a day and a night.

The twenty-third day we travelled four furlongs, to a watering-place.

The twenty-fourth day we travelled ten furlongs, and rested in the fields.

The twenty-fifth day we travelled seven furlongs to a town called *Dattee*, where

was

was great store of muskmelons ; and there we had good relief.

The twenty-sixth day we travelled some four furlongs, to a place where was a gallant vault with water.

The twenty-seventh day we went some five furlongs, to a town called *Yesday*.

The twenty-eighth day we went some five furlongs, to a town called *Pabana-vens*, where we rested two days and two nights.

There is great store of raw silk, or averisbam, as they call it.

The second day of *July* we went five furlongs over the plains.

The third day we went eight furlongs over the barren and wild plains, where we had no water but salt water, and the ground all covered over with salt.

The fourth day we travelled seven furlongs in salt ground, and none but salt water.

The fifth day we went fifteen furlongs, for want of water, in a most barren and dry country ; and came to a town called *Bibe*, where we rested two days and two nights.

The eighth day we travelled some fourteen furlongs, to a town called *Godanna*, where we rested that night, and the next day and night ; and here is also great store of raw silk.

The tenth day we travelled some ten furlongs, to a town called *Hemda*, where are great store of grapes and muskmelons.

The twelfth day we travelled some fifteen furlongs, to a town called *Cornetta*.

The thirteenth day we went six or seven furlongs, to a town called *Orrinkca*, a lodging town.

The fourteenth day we went but four furlongs, to a little village.

The fifteenth day we went five furlongs, to a town called *Gowra*, being a fair great town, where is great store of raw silks, bed-coverings, silk carpets, cotton carpets, and such-like commodities ; and there we staid that night, and the next day and night.

The seventeenth day we went nine furlongs, before we could find any water.

The eighteenth day we travelled five furlongs, to a little village.

The nineteenth day we went seven furlongs over the plains.

The twentieth day we went some five furlongs over the plains.

The twenty-first day we travelled some six furlongs over the plains.

The twenty-second day we went two furlongs and an half.

The twenty-third day we came to *Ispahan*.

The twenty-fourth day we entered into the city, where we staid eleven or twelve days.

This city of *Ispahan* is a gallant city, and one of the principal cities of *Persia*, and aboundeth in traffick of all sorts of merchandize. There are many great furroys, where are houses made on purpose for the laying-in and keeping of merchants goods, and to harbour and lodge themselves and their camels, horses, or other cattle and provision ; the profits of which furroys redound to the king only.

The whole country, above an hundred miles round about, wholly and generally trade to this city with their chiefeft and best commodities. There is also a place, in form like the *Exchange*, of an inestimable wealth ; where is nothing to be sold but things of great value and worth : as cloth of gold, silver, and tiffue, sattins, velvets, jewels, and pearls. In one end are nothing but raw silks, in another end are twitted and wrought silks ; in another, none but merchant-taylors, who sell all sorts of apparel ready-made, as it is in *Birchin-lane*, but far more rich, and all of the *Persian* fashion, as suits of cloth of gold and silver, velvet, sattin, taffeta, calico, and none almost of any worser sorts.

Also there is great store of indico, aneel, and of all manner of drugs, which are sold by *Jews*, and other strangers, that send them thither, and have continual trading there.

Also there are camels, the best and strongest that are to be found, with gallant horses and mules, abundance ; for whereas an ordinary camel's load is five hundred weight, the *Persian* camel's load is usually eight hundred weight.

The *shabash*, or, as we call him, the king, hath there divers gallant and stately houses and banquetting-houses, with orchards, gardens, springs, ponds of water, walks, and galleries, as pleasantly seated, and artificially contrived, as can be thought or devised ; but the king himself, before my coming thither, was removed to a place called *Tobrin*, as it was told me by the Christian friers.

And at his chiefeft house, standing over-against the busar or market-place, there are good store of brass ordnance orderly planted before the gate thereof, for defence, if need be ; as namely, two demi-cannons, two whole culverins, two cannon pedrars, and thirty other field-pieces.

Also here I made inquiry of Mr. *Robert Sherley*, thinking to have had some assistance, and better directions, from him, or by his procurement, in my journey ; but it was told me directly, that he was departed

parted some seven months before for *England*, and had his way by the *Caspian* seas, being two months journey from *Ispahan*; that is to say, himself, and his wife, being a woman of great worth and esteem in that country, with camels and horses to carry his treasure, stuff, and provision, and many attendants, both men and women; and in his company one captain, and six or seven *Englishmen* more.

Also there are great store of grapes and wines, and of all sorts of fruits; their stronger wines like *Canary* sack, their red-wines like high country claret, and their smaller wines like to island wines. Also victuals good store, and good, cheap.

A Portuguese ambassador, and five *Portugal* friers, who have a church, and a house to entertain Roman-catholicks, and other Christians, at their pleasures, and have means sufficient to maintain the same.

Also there are great store of *Armenian* Christians, and some *Greeks*, who live all at free liberty, without restraint or controul for their religion. And so much for the great and rich city of *Ispahan*.

The sixth day of *August* we departed from thence, and travelled some six furlongs, and lay in the fields, close by a river-side.

The seventh day we travelled ten furlongs in the deserts, and on the eighth day six furlongs more, to the town of *Corron-day*.

The ninth day to *Miskereon*, and so directly to *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, being a month's journey; that is to say, six furlongs to *Miskereon*.

The tenth day we went ten furlongs in the deserts.

The eleventh day, eleven furlongs in the deserts.

The twelfth day, nine furlongs more in the deserts.

The thirteenth day we went fourteen furlongs, to a little village called *Corryn*.

The fourteenth day, ten furlongs in the deserts.

The fifteenth day, nine furlongs in the deserts.

The sixteenth day we travelled nine or ten furlongs, to a little town called *Lackeree*.

The seventeenth day we travelled eight furlongs in the deserts.

The eighteenth day we travelled twelve furlongs in the deserts, to a water-mill, where we lay all night.

The nineteenth day we went fourteen furlongs through the deserts, to a little town called *Corbet*.

The twentieth day we travelled twelve furlongs, to a cloth town, that is to say,

where all the houses were made of hairy cloth like tents; and there we rested two days.

The three-and-twentieth day we travelled some eight furlongs in the deserts.

The four-and-twentieth day we travelled some nine or ten furlongs over the deserts, to another cloth town.

The twenty-fifth day we went through a mighty great wood, being fifteen furlongs in length, where we went down such an extreme steep hill, that we broke two of our camels necks, and had much-to-do to go down the same ourselves without harm, and there we rested all night.

The six-and-twentieth day we went some two furlongs, to another cloth town, where we rested three days and three nights, and there we paid custom for our camels, to a great city, being but a furlong from thence, and is called *Nezzeret*, where, on the top of a mighty great mountain, was a monument of a great sultan, or gentleman: and when we asked, why he was buried there, it was directly answered, Because he was so much the nearer to heaven.

The thirtieth day we travelled ten furlongs, to the river of *Synnee*, which runneth into the river *Euphrates*, and divideth the confines of *Persia* and *Arabia*; and, by the river-side, were remaining some old walls of a ruined town of *Persia*, which was razed and destroyed by the *Turks* and *Arabians*.

The one-and-thirtieth day we travelled eight furlongs in a waste country, where we lay by a well all night.

Amongst the *Persians*, the sultans or gentlemen, and men of better sort, are gallant men, and of civil and courteous behaviour; but the baser sort are fullen, uncivil, and men of very bad conditions: and generally they worship *Mahomet*, and are common buggerers, as the *Turks* are: yet they are people that labour extremely, as in digging, planting, and sowing, and in picking of cotton-wool, and other wool, in spinning, and making coats, and other things of felt. Nor have they almost any rain there, but, by extreme labour, let the water out of the rivers into their pastures and corn-grounds.

There are good sheep and goats, plenty, but kine and oxen are very scarce: also turkeys and hens, and other sorts of fowls, plenty.

And there a man may travel, without danger of robbing; for there it is a strange thing to hear of a thief. And so much for *Persia* and *Persians*.

The first of *September* we travelled twelve furlongs, to a great town called *Sabbercam*, being the first town that we came to in *Arabia*, where are growing great store

of pomgranates, which the *Arabians* call *Anarres*. This is a town of garison of the *Arabians*; and here we staid a day and a night.

The third day we travelled fourteen furlongs, to a town called *Buldad*, where we also paid custom, and here we staid a day and a night. This is also a town of garison, and full of thieves; and, at our coming out of the town, *Josepb Salebancke*, one of my companions, staid but a little behind the coffelo or convoy, was by the *Arabians* robbed, stripped, and extremely beaten and hurt. So that if, by chance, I had not reserved some 100 chickeenoes, we had then been both quite destitute of money to bring us home into our country.

The sixth day we travelled eighteen furlongs, to the great city of *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, where we staid until the two-and-twentieth day of *October* following.

This city standeth upon the great river *Euphrates*, and is a great, rich, and strong city, with mighty strong walls, whereon are planted an hundred and twenty pieces of brass ordnance.

Also there are ships small and great, to the number of three hundred sail, belonging to this city, and great trade of merchandize both by water and land.

It is not past four years since the *Turk* won this city from the *Persians*.

Also there is a floating bridge built upon thirty-three great lighters strongly chained and fastened together, from *Bagdat* over *Euphrates* to old *Babylon*, standing over-against *Bagdat*, on the other side of the river. And within a league from thence standeth the remainder of the ruined town of *Babel*, being one of the wonders of the world.

In *Bagdat* lieth one of the *Turks* grand bashaws, called by the name of *Mahomet pottesbogh*, who is esteemed as a viceroy, and is governor of the city under the great *Turk*.

There are only two *Venetian* factors, who trade for inestimable wealth, in merchandize of all sorts, also some small number of *Armenians*, which are all the Christians that are there resident.

The *Turk* is a valiant and resolute soldier, as by their proceedings may appear, both in winning the city of *Bagdat*, and another great city, of as great strength as that, called *Towras*, and belonged also to the *Persian*, whereof the *Mahomet pottesbogh* had certain intelligence on the twelfth day of *October*, whilst we were there;

And that the great *Turk*, or, as they call him, the grand gushell bashe, assuredly thinketh and intendeth, in short space, to

approach to the walls of *Ispahan*, being a great and gallant city, and standeth far within the kingdom of *Persia*.

The tenth day of *October* there came John unto us an *Englishman* called *John White*, ^{White sent into East India over land} who said he was sent for a discovery to the *East Indies*, and was bound for *Ispahan* to meet with *John Midnall*, whom we assured him not to be there, but at *Armoose*.

Then did I and *Josepb Salebancke* persuade him to travel to the *Red Sea*, or *Cambaia*, whither, he told us, *Sir Henry Middleton* was bound from *England*, with a good ship called *The Trade's Increase*, of the burden of one thousand, or one thousand one hundred ton, with another ship called *The Clove*, and a pinnace called *The Pepper-corn*: and the cause, why we thus advised him, was, for that he, having the *Turkish* language, might accompany my friend *Josepb Salebancke* to *Sir Henry Middleton*, to acquaint him with the true discourse of our whole voyage and travels, whereby he might beware of and avoid the like dangers that we sustained, and were in; as also how and where to take his best opportunity for lading, as time and occasion should serve.

And, upon the eighteenth day, *Josepb Salebancke* and *John White* took their journey accordingly, to a great city called *Balsara*, standing upon the river *Euphrates*, and is eighteen days journey from *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, where they were to meet with a caravan, or convoy, to conduct them to the city of *Judaia*, near unto the *Red Sea*.

And although *Josepb Salebancke* was then very poor (having been formerly robbed), yet was he very willing to take this long and dangerous journey upon him for the good of his country.

And all the good that I could do for him, was to procure him a camel, and to lend him some part of my small store, being in all not above six pounds sterling; and so I left them to the protection of the Almighty.

The 22d day of *October* we took our journey from *Bagdat* or *Babylon* to the city of *Aleppo*. And, having travelled sixty leagues, at the least, all thro' the deserts, which we did in some eight days, we came to a town called *Mussaw Cosam*.

The thirty-first day we travelled some four days journey through the deserts, to the town of *Ruseele*, being only a thoroughfare, or lodging-place, and some thirty leagues from *Mussaw Cosam*.

The fourth day of *November* we travelled some eight leagues, to a small village called *Deesh*.

The fifth day we set forwards towards *Mussell*, otherwise called *Nineveh*, being some

some thirty leagues, or more, from *Deesh*; and travelled thither in five days.

This city is now much ruined, and yet the remainder thereof is as spacious and great as most cities that I have seen in all my travels; within the city is a great bashaw, or governor, under the great *Turk*.

Also without the city there standeth a fair and strong castle upon the banks of the river *Tygris*, where is also another bashaw or governor for the castle and suburbs of the city.

There is no trade of merchandize in this city, but it is only kept by the *Turk* as a town of garison; yet there are *Armenian* Christians, who have their churches and friers, and freely use their religion without check or controul.

Also there are yet remaining many antient monuments, which make relation and shew, that it hath been a city of great antiquity, and famous memory; and in this city we staid four days.

The fourteenth day we went four leagues, to a castle called *Nussebarw*, and rested that night; and the next day we travelled twelve leagues more, and at night came to *Nussebarw*, where the prophet *Jonas* preached to all the country round about; and there remaineth his picture in stone, tho' much defaced by the wars, yet it is kept and maintained by the Christians, whereof there are many dispersed amongst the *Turks* ever since the destruction or overthrow of *Nineveh* by the *Turks*; and are now called by the name of *Curgees*.

From thence we travelled some twenty-five leagues in three days; and on the eighteenth day at night came to *Hamadaine*, an antient town of the *Armenians*, but much ruined by the *Turks*. Here we saw many antient monuments, which shewed, that it had been a town of great antiquity and worth; and at this town we staid one day and one night.

The twentieth day we took our journey towards a town called *Goubba*, being twenty-five leagues and three days journey; and came thither the twenty-second day at night, where we met with a consul of *Venice*, and five *Venetians* more, travelling to *Bagdat* or *Babylon*, and there we staid one day and a night.

The twenty-fourth day we travelled towards the great city of *Ulfawe*, being twenty-five leagues, and three days journey, and came thither the twenty-sixth day at night; and there all travellers pay great custom.

This is a mighty strong city, and a continual garison kept there by the *Turk*.

Nor can any caravan, or convoy, or any passenger, be suffered to lodge within the city; but in the day-time they may come

into it, to the busar, or market, to buy necessities, and so depart again: and here we staid five days.

The second of *December* we took our journey to *Beere*, a great town upon the river *Euphrates*, being three days journey, and twenty-five leagues distant, whither we came the fourth day at night, and staid there one day.

This is also a strong town of garison.

The sixth day we were ferried over the river, and went two days journey, being some fifteen leagues, to the town of *Lumman*, and came thither on the seventh day at night.

The eighth day we travelled ten leagues, to the city of *Aleppo*, and came thither that night; and, by the way, we travelled two leagues through the plains, where was nothing but figs, or, as I may term it, a forest of fig-trees; and another place of as great length, being all vine-trees, full of grapes.

And, being come to the great and worthy city of *Aleppo*, we went to the *Engliss* house, where I found Mr. *Paul Pinder* to be consul, a very worthy gentleman, and well deserving a place of so great credit and esteem, at whose hands we found very courteous and kind entertainment; for, at my coming to him, I was destitute both of money and cloaths, and so was my companion *Richard Martin*.

But he relieved us, first with meat, drink, and lodging, during our abode there, being some twelve days; also he furnished us with apparel, and, at our departure, with money for our journey.

Also there was one Mr. *Spike*, who was both kind and bountiful unto us; and so were all the rest of the *Engliss* merchants (whom I cannot particularly name) both kind and courteous unto us, which was unto us a great refreshing and comfort in our journey.

Aleppo is a city of wonderful great trading, and as well known to *England* (or, at least, to our *Engliss* merchants) as *Kingston* upon *Thames*. And thus much I can say more of it, that, within four days after our coming thither, there came above two thousand camels laden with silks, and all sorts of merchandize; all or most whereof I overwent in my travels, being in several caravans, some from *Mesopotamia*, some from *Agra*, some from the *Indostans*, and some from *Persia*; and so at other times continually they come from thence, and other places, whence any trading can come by land.

The one-and-twentieth day I took my leave of Mr. *Paul Pinder*, Mr. *Spike*, and the rest of the merchants, and took my journey, together with my companion *Richard*

chard Martin, for *Tripoly*; and that day we travelled some seven leagues over the deserts, and rested two hours, and then travelled some 15 leagues farther, to an old town called *Asheewe*, where we rested half a day, and 'bated, and then travelled some ten leagues more, and 'bated; and then travelled ten leagues more, to a town called *Hamam*. And the reason why we travelled thus hard, was to keep company with a caravan or convoy of a thousand strong, who were bound for *Mecca*, where their great *Mabomet* was then resident; whereas else we should have travelled in great danger and hazard of our lives, by reason the country is so full of thieves.

In this town are many weavers, that make great store of dimmaty, and schamatree, and cottons; also it is a great thorough-fare, and there is a great osty, or inn, which they call a *Caan*, and there we rested two days.

The six-and-twentieth day we travelled some eight leagues, to a little town called *Roma*, where we lay all night.

The seven-and-twentieth day we travelled some eight leagues more, to a monastery called *Huddrealins*, which was built by an *Armenian* Christian, who gave sufficient maintenance to provide olives, bread, and oil for lamps, for the harbour and relief of all Christian travellers; and there is the picture of *St. George* on horseback, fighting with the dragon, and his picture on foot, and his cross, and mention, in old *Roman* print, of his noble and memorable acts; which relick is much honoured by many Christians, as they travel by the same; and to that end there is a chapel, and lamps burning therein continually.

The twenty-eighth day we went some ten leagues, to a little town called *Hone*, and lay there that night.

The twenty-ninth day we travelled to *Tripoly*, being ten leagues from thence, where we found the good ship *The Great Exchange of London*, whereof *Mr. Robert Bradshawe of Ratcliff* was both captain and master; who, not above ten days before, was in great danger of shipwreck, breaking their cables and anchors, so that the ship drove, and was in great distress; so that they were fain to cut the main mast overboard, being within twice the ship's length of the rocks; yet, by God's good providence, one cable and anchor held, and so both ship and men were saved, all the men having stripped themselves to save their lives by swimming, or otherwise, as it would please God to assist and permit them.

In this storm there was a great *Venetian* ship of eleven hundred ton cast away; yet

the ship was so set amongst the rocks, that all her men were saved by the great and merciful providence of Almighty God.

Also there were *Frenchmen* in the harbour, that cut their masts overboard, and were in great danger; yet all escaped, thanks be given to God.

Also afterwards, by great good fortune, the *Exchange's* mast was found by the company between two rocks, and was got on shore; and, having an excellent good carpenter, he did workmanlike and strongly scarf the same with a piece of another mast, which the master got from on board a *Fleming*, that it brought her well home into *England*, God be praised.

At our coming to *Tripoly* we went to the *English* house, where we found one *Mr. Lucas*, the viceconsul of *Aleppo*, and his man, he being factor for the lading of the *Exchange*, where we staid two days, and were by him very kindly used: and here we ended our long and tedious land travels.

The first day of *January*, being *New-year's-day*, we took our leave of *Mr. Lucas*, and went aboard, myself and *Richard Martin*, where captain *Bradshawe* also used us very kindly; and, in regard I was very weak with long and extreme travel, he allowed me a good cabin, and caused the surgeon to do me what good he could.

Tripoly is a town of no great traffick; but only a place whither ships come to take in such trading as is brought from other places, and chiefly from *Aleppo*.

The cause, I think, is, by reason of the dangerous harbour there; for if there come easterly winds that overblow, there is no safe riding for ships in that harbour: for that no reasonable ground-tackle will hold them.

The third day of *January* we set sail for *England*, and the one-and-twentieth day following we came to the island of *Zante*, where they took in three months victuals, which they left there when they were outward-bound.

Also they took in oils and currans, being all the commodities which the island affords; for of itself it is poor and barren, that it yieldeth not victuals to maintain itself, but is, for the most part, maintained from the main.

The four-and-twentieth day we set sail again; and, about the four-and-twentieth day of *February*, the wind took us short; and our master, thinking it not good to beat the ship at sea with a contrary wind, put into harbour at *Malta*, where is a gallant harbour, and many gallies, and pretty fine shipping belonging to the same,

same, which go out upon service against the *Turk*.

Malta is a goodly city, of an invincible strength, with gallant walls, being built upon a main rock; and upon the walls of the old and new town, are pieces of excellent good brass ordnance.

And in this city the antient order of the knights of *Malta* have their continual residence, who are gallant soldiers, and have fair houses, not much unlike to our inns of court: they are all Christians, and so are all the inhabitants; viz.

Armenians, Spaniards, Italians, Dutchmen, and very many *Frenchmen*, the grand master of the whole order being a *Frenchman*: but I could not hear of any *English* amongst them; yet do they all shew themselves very kind and courteous to *Englishmen*.

All the knights wear white and black crosses on the shoulders of their cloaks; and any gentleman that cometh thither doth put in a stock of an hundred pound, or thereabouts, for his maintenance; but is not allowed for a knight, until, by service against the *Turk*, or elsewhere, he shall deserve the same; and here we staid five days.

The tenth day of *March* we set sail again, and about the twenty-second day we came to a watch-house, where were two pieces of ordnance, and came to an anchor; but, because we came not presently ashore with our boat, they shot at us: whereupon our captain sent our boat on shore, with our boatswain, who was very kindly used, when they knew what we were; and the captain of the watch-house came aboard our ship, and gave our captain a live hog for a present, which he accepted very thankfully, and requited him with other things of three times the value.

And so, as we thought, he rested very well contented.

Then our purser and myself, with a knight of *Malta*, being a passenger for *France*, were, by our boatswain and his gang, set on shore, together with the captain of the watch-house, we thinking to go to the town of *Callar*, to buy such provision as we wanted; but the captain took our purser and the knight of *Malta*, prisoners, and kept them there: so that our master, not knowing how to come by the purser, weighed anchor, and brought the ship up to *Calary*, and went himself, and made complaint to the *grand signior's*, who presently granted a discharge for them both, and withal promised, that the captain should be punished for so abusing of his

place; and so, after four days imprisonment, the purser and knight were both set at liberty, and came aboard.

Calary is a great town, where a number of cavaliers live, and hath some small shipping belonging to it. Calary is a town of Sardinia.

It standeth in the island of *Sardinia*, which is a great and fruitful island of corn and fruit, where we lay some six days, and five or six days more, off and on, about the island; in which time we descry'd two small men of war, which we imagined to be some of captain *Ward's* crew, who, at the first, chased us, and then we had them in chace; but, when they perceived we were not for their turn, they made away as fast as they could, and so we left them.

Then it pleased God to send us a wind that brought us through the *Levant*, and put us out of the mouth of the *streights of Gibraltar*, from whence we also had a fair wind that carried us to the height of the *Burlans**, which is off the rock going to *Lisbon* in *Portugal*, where the wind took us short; so that our captain thought it best to put into *Cast-Cales*: for, beating the ship in the sea, which he did for three or four days, until it pleased God to send us a fair wind, and so putting to sea again, we arrived safe in *England* at the town and port of *Dover* in *Kent*, about the latter-end of *April* 1611. Dover. 1611.

For which I gave God thanks; and, setting my foot on *English* ground, I thought all my miseries to be at an end.

For to me, all the nations and kingdoms, that, in these my travels, I passed by and saw, both by sea and land, seemed nothing comparable to it.

But that, in respect of them all, it may be called the only paradise, and blessed country of the world.

And so, desiring God, of his mercy to bless every good man from so great miseries as we endured, by the follies and oversight of a lewd and indiscreet master, being both unfit and unworthy to be employed in so great affairs, and for so worshipful and worthy men as were masters, owners, and adventurers therein.

For *Philip de Groove* our master, being a *Fleming*, and an arch-villain, who was not only accused, but it was (by the boy with whom he committed the fact) confessed to myself, that he was a detestable buggerer: so that, had not God's mercy been the greater, it was a wonder, that, in regard thereof, and of others being offenders in the like, that our ship had not sunk in the ocean.

* *Berelenga's* are three very small uninhabited rocky islands in the western ocean.

Lastly, praying to the Almighty for the long and prosperous reign of our most gracious sovereign king *James*, with the health and prosperity of the queen's most excellent majesty, and all their royal issue; as also for the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy-council, and for all the

honourable, worshipful, and others, the masters, owners, and adventurers, of the company of the *Indian* merchants, their factors, friends, and well-willers, I cease; and humbly commit myself, and this small relation of my travels, to their kind and favourable censures.

[825]
NOT A L I E R
NEWS from the *EAST INDIES*:
OR, A

VOYAGE to *BENGALLA*,

ONE OF THE

Greatest KINGDOMS under the High and
Mighty Prince *PEDESHA SHAS-*
SALLEM, usually called the *GREAT*
MOGUL.

WITH THE

STATE and MAGNIFICENCE

OF THE

COURT of *MALCANDY*,

KEPT BY THE

NABOB, Viceroy or Vice-King under the
aforesaid MONARCH:

ALSO THEIR

Detestable RELIGION, mad and foppish RITES and CÉ-
REMONIES, wicked SACRIFICES, and impious CUSTOMS,
used in those Parts.

WRITTEN BY

WILLIAM BRUTON, now Resident in the Parish of *St. Saviour's South-*
mark; who was an Eye and Ear-witness of these following Descriptions;
and published as he collected them, being Resident there divers Years; and
now lately come Home in the good Ship called *The Hoperwel* of *London*,
with divers Merchants of good Account, which are able to testify the
same for Truth.

A RARE and Most STRANGE

RELATION

FROM

BENGALLA*

IN THE

EAST INDIES;

Being One of the Greatest

KINGDOMS

UNDER THE

GREAT MOGUL;

AND OF THEIR

LAWS, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, &c.

Although divers learned, painful, and skilful mathematicians and geographers have, with great industry, spent much profitable time in finding out the circumference of the terrestrial globe, in describing empires, kingdoms, principalities, lordships, regions, provinces, territories, variations of climates and situations, with the diversities of dispositions, of tongues, religions, habits, manners, laws, and customs of sundry nations: though much labour, peril, and

* *Bengalla* is the most easterly province of the *mogul's* dominions. It is bounded by the provinces of *Patna* and *Jesnat* towards the north, the kingdom of *Aracan* and *Tipra* towards the east, the bay of *Bengal* and the province of *Oriza* towards the south, and with the province of *Malwa* towards the west; it is in length, from east to west, upwards of four hundred miles, and near three hundred in breadth from north to south; and is usually compared to *Egypt* for its fruitfulness, the river *Ganges* dividing itself into several branches in this province, and annually overflowing it, as the *Nile* does *Egypt*.

The chief towns are; 1. *Dacca*, which lies upon one of the eastern branches of the *Ganges* in the latitude of twenty-four degrees; it is four or five miles in length, but very narrow, winding with the river. This may properly be called the capital, being the seat of the viceroy, and here the *English*, and other *Europeans*, have their agents to take care of their trade, which is very considerable in this province. 2. *Ragemahal*, situated higher up the *Ganges*, and is between two or three hundred miles from the mouth of it, in the latitude of twenty-five degrees. Below *Ragemahal* lies the city of *Cassimbazar*, latitude twenty-four, where the *Europeans* have their factors, the country affording great quantities of silk and muslins.

and cost, have been worthily employed by *Pliny* the second, *Ortelius*, *Jodoco Hondius*; or, to come nearer to our *English* worthies, such as are described in the book of *Hacklewick's* voyages; namely, *Windam*, *Chancelour*, *Grinwill*, *Willoughby*, *Drake*, *Carvendish*, *Gilbert*, *Chidly*, *Frobusher*, *Clifford*, *Sidney*, *Devoreux*, *Wingfield*: as also the exceeding pains taken by Mr. *Samuel Purchase*; and the learned and renowned knight, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in their descriptions of the whole world; nor forgetting the perils that Mr. *Sands* passed in his tedious travels, with his exact relations and descriptions; with *Atlas* newly imprinted (a rare work): and, lastly, *William Lithgow* deserves a kind remembrance of his nineteen years fore and dangerous travels of his feet and pen, worthy your observation and reading.

But all these authors and actors, both of history and travel, did never discover all, but still (out of their plentiful harvests of observations) they left some gleanings for those that came after them to gather; for the manifestation whereof, in this following discourse, I have tied and bound myself to speak only truth, though it seem incredible or hyperbolical; and, if I should any way swerve or stray from the truth, there are living men of good fame, worth, and estimation, who are able and ready to disprove me.

Therefore briefly to the matter in hand: I *William Bruton* was shipped, as a quarter-master, from the port of *London*, to serve in the good ship called *The Hopenwel*, of the burthen of two hundred and forty tons. To relate our long and tedious passage by sea, and our arrival at every port and haven, were but little to the purpose, and would more tire than delight my reader: therefore to begin, that after my arrival in those parts, and in my services and passages there for the space of seven years, I observed many things, and put them in writing, but afterwards I came to know, that the same things had been discovered and described formerly by more sufficient and able men of capacity than myself, I thought good to keep them to myself, and discover nothing but that which before was not so fully or scarce

known, as I shall now decypher them.

The twenty-second of *March* 1632. I being in the country of *Cormandell* with six *Englishmen* more, at a place called *Massalupatam*, a great town of merchandize, Mr. *John Norris*, the agent there, was resolved to send two merchants into *Bengalla* for the settling of a factory there: and these six *Englishmen* (of the which I was one) were to go with the merchants, and withal to carry a present from the agent to the *nabob*, or king, of that country, to obtain the promises that formerly he had granted to the *English* for traffick, and to be custom-free in those of his dominions and ports. Wherefore a *junk* was hired at *Massalupatam*, to be our convoy; the said *junk* did belong unto those parts, and the names of the *Englishmen*, that were appointed for that voyage, were Mr. *Ralph Cartwright* merchant, Mr. *Thomas Colley* second, *William Bruton*, *John Dobson*, *Edward Petesford*, *John Basseley*, *John Ward*, and *William Withall*.

Though we hired the aforesaid *junk* *March* 22. yet it was the sixth of *April* following, before we could be fitted to depart from *Massalupatam*, and in much various weather, with many difficulties and dangers (which to relate here, would be tedious, and impertinent to my intended discourse); the twenty-first of *April*, being then *Easter-day*, we were at anchor in a bay before a town called *Harssapoore*: it is a place of good strength, with whom our merchants hold commerce with correspondence. This twenty-first day in the morning Mr. *Ralph Cartwright* sent the money ashore, to the governor of *Harssapoore*, to take it into his safe keeping and protection till such time as he came ashore himself. So presently there came a *Portugal* frigate fiercely in hostility towards us, but we made ready for their entertainment, and fitted ourselves and the vessel for our best defences; but at last they steered off from us, and, upon our command, she came to an anchor somewhere near us, and the master of her came aboard of us, who being examined whence he came, and whither he was bound, to which demands he answered nothing worthy of belief, as the sequel shewed: for he seemed

muslins. To the southward of *Cassimbazar* stands the city of, 4. *Huegly*, upon an island made by the *Ganges*, in the latitude of twenty-three degrees, about an hundred miles from the mouth of the river: it is a large town, and, besides *Moors* and other *Indians*, has several thousand *Portuguese* Christians in it: most *European* nations, who trade to *India*, had their factories here, and particularly the *English*; but the unhealthiness of the situation induced them to remove, and the *English* have since built them a fort a little below, near *Calcutta*, which they named fort *William*, from the prince of *Orange*, who mounted the throne of *England* about that time. 5. The city of *Chatigan* lies near the mouth of the most easterly branch of the *Ganges*. Here the *Portuguese* set up for a kind of sovereignty formerly, and, associating with pirates and banditti of all nations, owned no subjection to their own prince, or the prince of the country, but committed daily robberies by sea and land, and so interrupted all commerce, that the late *mogul* found it necessary to send an army against them, and extirpate them. 6. *Malda*, which stands a little to the eastward of *Ragemahal*, where the *Europeans* also have their factors.

a friendly trader, but was indeed a false invader (where opportunity and power might help and prevail); for, on the 22d day, Mr. *Cartwright* went ashore to the governor of *Harffapoore*; and, on the twenty-fourth day, the said master of the frigate (with the assistance of some of the ribble-rabble rascals of the town) did set upon Mr. *Cartwright* and Mr. *Colley*, where our men (being oppressed by multitudes) had like to have been all slain or spoiled, but that (*Lucklip*) the *rogger* (or vice-king there) rescued them with two hundred men.

In this fray Mr. *Thomas Colley* was sore hurt in one of his hands, and one of our men much wounded in the leg and head; their *nockada*, or *India* pilot, was stabbed in the groin twice, and much mischief was done, and more intended: but by God's help all was pacified.

The twenty-seventh day of *April* we took leave of the governor and town of *Harffapoore* (I mean three of us); namely, Mr. *Cartwright*, *William Bruton*, and *John Dobson*, leaving Mr. *Colley*, and the four men with him, till news could be sent back to them from the *nabob's* court, at *Cutteke* or *Malcander*, of our success and proceedings there with our other goods; for he is no wise merchant, that ventures too much in one bottom, or that is too credulous to trust *Mahometans* or *Infidels*.

And having laden our small boats with the goods, which were gold, silver, cloth, and spices (of which spices those parts of *India* are wanting), and they almost are as dear there as in *England*, we passed some two leagues and an half by water; and after that the said goods were carried by land in carts, till we came to a great town called *Balkkada*, but it was more than three hours after sun-setting, or late, before we came thither.

The twenty-eighth day of *April* in the morning, the governor of this town came and saluted our merchant, and promised him, that whatsoever was in his power to do him any friendly courtesy, he should command it: and indeed he was every way as good as his word; for he lent us horses to ride on, and cowers (which are porters) to carry our goods; for at this town the carts did leave us, and our goods were carried on mens shoulders: then we set forwards, being accompanied with the governor, with his musick, which were shalms, and pipes of sundry forms, much after the forms of waits or hautboys, on which they play most delicately out of tune, time, and measure. In this manner the governor, with a great number of people, did bring us about half an *English*

mile out of the town, where he courteously took his leave of us; but yet he sent his servants with us as guides, and that they might bring his horses back unto him, that he lent us.

This town of *Balkkada* is a strong and spacious thing, very populous: there are many weavers in it, and it yieldeth much of that country-fashion cloth. This day, at the hours of between eleven and twelve of the clock, it was so excessively hot, that we could not travel; and the wind blew with such a sultry scalding heat, as if it had come forth of an oven or furnace; such a suffocating fume did I never feel before or since: and here we were forced to stay near three hours, till the sun was declined, we having happily got under the shadow of the branches of a great tree all that time. Then we set forward for the town of *Harbarrapoore*: which, in the space of two hours, or a little more, we drew near unto: so we staid awhile, till our carriages were come up together unto us; which done, there met us a man, who told us, that his master staid our coming: then we speedily prepared ourselves for the meeting of so high-esteemed a person: and, when we came to the town's end, there met us, at a great *pagoda* or *pagod*, which is a famous and sumptuous temple or church for their idolatrous service and worship there used: and, just-against that stately and magnificent building, we were entertained and welcomed by one of the king's greatest noblemen, and his most dear and chiefest favourite, who had a letter from the king his master, and was sent from him to meet us, and conduct us to his court. The nobleman's name was *Merfymoineine*; he received us very kindly, and made us a very great feast, or costly collation, before supper; which being done, we departed for our *surroy*, or inn, where we lay all night with our goods: but *Merfymoineine* staid with his followers and servants in his and their tents at the *pagod*.

The twenty-ninth day of *April* we staid at *Harbarrapoore*, and visited this great man; but the greatest cause of our staying was, by reason that the *nockada*, or pilot, of the frigate, whose men affronted and hurt some of our men at *Harffapoore*; for which cause the frigate was staid there, and the pilot of her came to this great man, thinking by gifts to win him to clear his vessel (the which he thought to make prize of); but he would not be allured by such rewards or promises; but told him, that he must appear before the *nabob*, and seek to clear himself there.

The thirtieth day of *April* we set forward in the morning in our way to the city of

of *Coteke* (it is a city of several miles in compass, and it standeth a mile from *Malcandy*, where the court is kept): but Mr. *Cartwright* staid behind, and came after us, accompanied with the said noblemen: we went all the day on our journey, till the sun went down; and then we staid for our merchant, being eight *Englisb* miles from *Coteke*: and about twelve or one of clock at night they came where we were: so we hasted, and suddenly got all our things in readines, and went along with them; and about the time of three or four of clock in the morning we came to the house of this *Merfymomeine* at *Coteke*, being *May-day*.

Here we were very well entertained, and had great variety of sundry sorts of

meats, drinks, and fruits, such as the country yields, even what we could or would desire fitting for our use. About eight of the clock *Merfymomeine* went to the court, and made known to the king, that the *Englisb* merchant was come to his house: then the king caused a great banquet to be speedily prepared, and to be sent to the house of *Merfymomeine*, which banquet was very good and costly. Then, about three or four of the clock in the afternoon we were sent for to the court of *Malcandy*, which is not half a mile from *Coteke*. The magnificence of which court, with the stately structure and situation of the place, as well as my weak apprehension can enable, I describe as followeth.

The COURT of MALCANDY in BEN-GALLA.

GOING from the house of *Merfymomeine*, we passed over a long stone causeway, of some two feet in breadth; and at the end thereof we entered in at a great gate; and, being conducted along further, we came into a busar, or very fair market-place, where was sold a great number of all sorts of fruits, herbs, flesh, fish, fowl, rice, and such-like needful commodities and necessaries as the country yielded (which is very fertile). Having passed this place, we entered in at a second gate, where was a guard of some fifty armed men; and so we came into a place all paved with great stones, or, as it may fitter be called, a fair and spacious street, where merchants, seated on both sides the way, were buying and selling all kind of their own and foreign wares and merchandizes, that were very rich and costly.

Passing this place, we entered in at a third gate, where was another guard of one hundred men armed; by this gate was a great *pogodo* or *pagod*, which joined to the southermost part of the king's house. In this street there were houses but one side of the way; for, on that side that the king's house was on, there was no other house but that. Then we came to a fourth gate, which was very spacious and high, and had two lofty stories one above the other, and upheld by mighty pillars of grey marble, most curiously carved and polished: at this gate was a great guard of an hundred and fifty men, or more, all armed.

Going through this gate, we entered

into a very great broad place, or street, much of the breadth of the street between *Charing-cross* and *Whitehall*, or broader, and no dwelling in it; here we passed the wall of the king's house, or palace, till we came to the court gate.

In this broad street are every day one thousand horses in readiness for the king's use; for he hath always three thousand at an hour's warning, in the two towns of *Coteke* and *Malcandy*, whereof one thousand always wait at the king's gate, and so by turns all the rest attend as their places and services require.

Over-against the gate of the house is a very great house of timber, whose chambers are made with galleries, built and adorned with great arches to uphold the roof: in these galleries there were men that played on all kinds of loud instruments: every morning they began to play at four of the clock, and gave-over at eight.

On the north side of the gate is a small tower built with two hollow arches, wherein are placed two mighty images of stone, with great pipes of iron placed in their breasts; and, by devices in the lower rooms, they make fire and water to flash and spout out of those pipes on festival days. On the south side of the gate there standeth a great elephant, artificially wrought of grey marble, but for what use, I know not.

At the entrance into the palace-gate, we passed through a guard of an hundred and fifty men armed: the pillars within were all of grey marble, carved three stories one above

above the other. The outward court was paved all with rough-hewn marble. On the south side of the palace were houses wherein were men, cunning workers in rich works, employed only for the king's use and service.

On the north side, in the palace, a fair fabrick built, wherein were erected two stately tombs, which were founded by one *Backarcaune* — he was *nabob*, and predecessor to this *nabob* now governing: and at the east end of the palace there was a fair place made and paved with broad grey marble, and curiously railed about, the rails being four foot and an half high from the ground, and a very fair *tank*, which is a square pit paved with grey marble, with a pipe in the midst of it, whose water descended between two walls, with the forms of fishes of different kinds carved in stone very artificially, as if they had been swimming or gliding up the wall against the stream.

At this east end there was also a second gate, where was a guard of an hundred men armed; here stood also men that did keep the time of the day by observations of measures of water, in this manner following: first, they take a great pot of water, of the quantity of three gallons, and, putting therein a little pot, of somewhat more than half a pint (this lesser pot having a small hole in the bottom of it), the water issuing into it having filled it, then they strike on a great plate of brass, or very fine metal, which stroke maketh a very great sound: this stroke, or parcel of time, they call a *goome*; the small pot being full, they call a *gree*; eight *grees* make a *par*, which *par* is three hours by our account.

They likewise begin the day at the hour of six in the morning, and it is ended with them at six at night: here we entered into the second palace, which had in the midst thereof a fair and sumptuous theatre built, and about it were made small banks, whereon were planted great varieties of fruits and flowers, very sweet to the scent, and pleasing to the sight; this place was also curiously railed in round: then we entered into a narrow passage between two high stone walls, where there was another guard of two hundred and fifty men armed: this passage brought us to a third gate, wherein we entered into a third palace, or pleasant prospect; for in the midst of it there was a very fair pavement of marble, — square, of the largeness of — yards every way, and railed some three foot and a half higher than the ground, that was on the outsides of it: it was likewise delicately railed about, and in the midst of it there was a fair arched place roofed, into whose entrance was an ascent

of four steps high; and all the rooms in it were spread or overlaid on the floor with rich carpets, exceeding costly.

The space between the outward rails and these rooms was about thirty feet, and the length eighty feet, on the one side; but on the other side was a fair tank of water.

This place they called the *derbar* (or place of council), where law and justice were administered according to the custom of the country; and it was likewise adorned and beautified with very pleasant trees and flowers, and banks about them, with gutters between the banks, in which gutters water passed for the cooling and watering of them, and the water proceeded from the tank afore-mentioned. Here we staid the space of two hours, or thereabouts, looking up and down, and being looked upon by soldiers, and such-fashioned gentlemen as the court yielded; for there were more than an hundred men armed, which were of the *nabob's* or king's privy guard: at last the word came forth, that the king was coming; then they hastened and overlaid the great large pavement with rich carpets; and placed in the midst, against the rails, one fairer and richer carpet than the rest, wrought in *Bengalla* work: they likewise placed a great round pillow of red velvet on this carpet; they placed also six small pillars of gold on the ends and sides of the rich carpet, to hold it fast, or press it to the ground, lest it should be raised with the wind. They also placed upon the rails a panel of velvet to lean on: at the last his majesty came, accompanied with the number of forty or fifty of his courtiers, the most part of them were very grave men to see to: also the *nabob's* own brother (a comely personage) did bear the sword before him. Then the nobleman (*Merfymomeine*) presented our merchant (*Mr. Ralph Cartwright*) to the king, who did obedience to him, and the king very affably bended forward, in manner of a court'sy or respect, and withal leaned his arms on two mens shoulders, and slipped off his sandal from his foot (for he was bare-legged), and presented his foot to our merchant to kiss, which he twice refused to do, but at the last he was fain to do it: then the king sat down, and caused our merchant to be placed by his brother; his council sat all along by the foot-place of the rooms before-mentioned; his brother and his favourites sat 'thwart the place or pavement, every one sitting in the fashion of a taylor, cross-legged.

The assembly being set, our present was presented to the king, which was some twenty pounds of cloves, twenty pounds of mace, twenty pounds of nutmegs, two bolts of damask, half a bale, or fourteen yards,

yards of stammel-cloth, one fair looking-glass, whose frame was gilt, one fowling-piece with two locks, and one double pistol; this was the present which the king received with much acceptation and content, and withal demanded the cause of our coming, and our request: to whom our merchant answered, that he was come to desire his majesty's favour and licence for free trade in his country, and not to pay any *junken*, or custom. At this request he seemed to make a stand, and, pausing a little, he conferred privately with his council, but gave us no answer.

Our merchant likewise requested, that the *English* merchants trading for the *East Indies* might have free licence to come with their shipping, small and great, into the roads and harbours of his sea-port towns, or to any havens or navigable rivers, or any such place or places as shall be found fitting for the safeguard, building, or repairing of the said vessels belonging to the honourable company; and likewise to transport their goods, either off or on the shore, without the lett or hindrance of the natives of the country; likewise to have his licence to coin moneys, gold or silver, country-money, and such as is current with the merchant.

By this time that our merchant had ended the relation of his suits, and cause of his coming, the king's minister, with a loud voice, called to prayer. Then the king speedily arose from his seat, and all his company went with him, and we were dismissed till prayer was ended. When the minister came, there was a large covering spread over with rich carpets; the covering was of black and white cloths: on this they all stood, and, when they kneeled, they did kneel with their faces towards the going down of the sun (which is to the west). Prayer being ended, the assembly sat again concerning our propositions; all other businesses were laid aside; being now the shutting in of the evening, there came a very brave shew of lights in before the king. The foremost that came were six silver lanterns, ushered in by a very grave man, holding a staff overlaid with silver; and when he came to the steps of the pavement, he put off his shoes, and came to the carpets, making obedience: so likewise did those that bore the six lanterns; but all the other lights, being 130, stood round about the rails. Then the usher took the lantern that had two lights in it, and, making obedience, lifted his arms aloft, and made an ample oration, which being ended, they all gave a great *salame*, or kind of reverence, with a loud voice; and departed every one, and placed the lights according as their several offices and places did

require. Here we staid till it was between eight and nine of the clock at night, but nothing accomplished; only we had some fair promises of furtherance by some of the courtiers: thus we were dismissed for that time, and we returned for our lodging at *Merfymomeine's* house at *Coteke*, accompanied with a great multitude of people, and many lights, who much admired our kind of habit and fashion.

The second day we came in the afternoon again to the court before the *nabob*, which being set, there met us at the *derbar* (or council-house) our old enemy the *nockada* of the frigate, who made a great complaint against us, that we had sought to make prize of his vessel, and to take his goods by force: he had likewise given a great gift to a nobleman, to stand his friend, and speak in his behalf.

Our merchant pleaded likewise, that all such vessels as did trade on the coast, and had not a pass either from the *English*, *Danes*, or *Dutch*, were lawful prize. He answered, that he had a pass. Our merchant bid him produce the same before the *nabob*, and he would clear him; to which the *nabob* and the whole council agreed; but he could shew no pass from any of the afore-named three nations, but he shewed two passes from or of the *Portugals*, which they call by the name of *fringes*; and thus was he cast, and we had the better of him before the king and council.

But then stood up the nobleman, to whom he had given a reward (who had also a little knowlege or insight in sea-affairs), and said, What stranger, seeking a free trade, could make prize of any vessel within any of the sounds, seas, roads, or harbours, of his majesty's dominions? This he spake not so much for the good of the king, but thinking and hoping, that the vessel, by his means, should have been clear'd with all her goods, and the *nockada* (or pilot) acquitted; that so, by those means, he might have gained the more and greater rewards: but he was quite deceived in his vain expectation; for the *nabob* perceiving, that she belonged to *Pipely*, a port-town of the *Portugals*, whom the *nabob* affects not, where the *Portugals* were resident, and that she was not bound for any of his ports, he made short work with the matter, and put us all out of strife presently; for he confiscated both vessel and goods all to himself; whereby the nobleman was put by his hopes, who was indeed a governor of a great sea-town, whereto much shipping belonged, and many ships and other vessels were built. Our merchant, seeing that he could not make prize of the vessel or the goods,

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nor have any satisfaction for the wrongs which he and our men had received, he rose up in great anger, and departed, saying, that if he could not have right here, he would have it in another place; and so went his way, not taking his leave of the *nabob*, nor of any other: at which abrupt departure they all admired.

The third day in the morning the king sent for our merchant by the lord comptroller of his court, who went with him accompanied with *Merfymomeine* and others to the *derbar*, where there was a very grave assembly set: then came the king, who being set, he smiled upon our merchant, and (by an interpreter) demanded the cause why he went away the last evening (or over-night) in such an anger? To whom he answered boldly, and with a stern undaunted countenance, that he had done his masters of the honourable company wrong, and, by his might and power, had taken their rights from them, which would not be so endured or put up. The king, hearing this, demanded of the assembly, which were as well merchants as nobles, in the *Persian* tongue, of what strength and force our shipping were, their number, burthen, and force; where our chief place of residence was for trading: he likewise sent for *Persian* merchants, and diligently inquired of them the same demands and questions: who answered, that we had great trading on the coast of *Cor-mandel*, *India*, and *Persia*; and likewise in the south seas, as *Bantam*, *Japaro*, *Jan-bee*, and *Macassar*. They further told the *nabob*, that our shipping was great, and of great force withal; and likewise, if his pleasure was such as to be at odds with us, there neither could, would, or should any vessel, great or small, that did belong to these parts, stir out of any havens, ports, or harbours, of his majesty's dominions, but they would take them, and make prize of them; for they were not able to withstand their force. At these words the king said but little, but what he thought is beyond my knowledge to tell you.

Then the king turned to our merchant, and told him, in *Moors* language (the which he could very well understand), that he should grant the *English* free trade upon these conditions following:

That if the *English* ship or ships should at any time see any ship or ships, *junk* or *junks*, or any other vessel of the *nabob's*, or any of his subjects, in distress, either by foul weather, or in danger of enemies; or in any other extremity, that we (the *English*) should help, aid, and assist them, to our powers; or, if it happened they were in want of cables, anchors, water, victuals, or any other necessities whatsoever, that

did belong to them, that we the said *English* should help them as we were able; likewise that we the said *English* should not make prize of any vessel belonging to any of the dominions of the said *nabob*; and that we the said *English* should not make prize of any ship, vessel, or vessels, within the ports, rivers, roads, or havens of the *nabob*, though they were our enemies; but at the sea we might make prize of them, if we could. To this all our merchants agreed. Then the king caused articles on his part to be drawn, and published in this manner following:

“ Here I the said *nabob*, vice-king and governor of the country of *Woodia*, under the great and mighty prince *Pedessa Shassallem*, do give and grant free licence to the aforesaid *Ralph Cartwright*, merchant, to trade, buy, sell, export, and transport by shipping, either off or upon the shore, not paying any *junken* or custom, nor any under me to cause them to pay any: likewise, that if they do convey goods by shore between factory and factory, or any other place, for their better advantage of gain, within these his dominions, I strictly charge and command, that no governor, custom-gatherer, or other officer whatsoever, shall make or cause them to pay any *junken* or customs; but shall suffer them to pass free, without lett, hindrance, molestation, or interruption of stayage, but shall (I say) help and further them in any thing that shall be the furtherance of their business. Moreover, I do grant to the *English* merchants to take ground, and to build houses fitting for their employments, and where they shall see convenient for their best utility and profits, without lett or hindrance of any of my loving subjects.

“ And further, I do give and grant to the *English* merchants free licence to build shipping, small or great, or any other vessel which they shall think best and fittest for their occasions and uses; they paying no more than the custom of the country to the workmen; and likewise to repair shipping, if any such occasion be to require it.

“ Likewise I the *nabob* do command, that no governor or officer whatsoever under me shall do the *English* any wrong, or cause any to be done unto them, as they shall answer it at their perils, wheresoever they are resident: neither shall any wrong be done to any servant of theirs, that doth belong unto them.

“ And again, if any controversy should be betwixt the *English* and the people of the country, if the matter be of any

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“ moment, then the said cause shall be brought before me the *nabob*, at the court at *Malcandy*, and at the *derbar* I will decide the matter, because the *English* may have no wrong (behaving themselves as merchants ought to do).”

This licence formed and given at the royal court of *Malcandy*, the third day of *May* 1633. but not sealed till the fifth day of *May* following, at night.

The fourth day of *May* the king sent a great banquet to the house of *Merfymomeine*, to our merchant ; and there came to this feast the great man that spake on the *nockada*'s side against us, at the *derbar*, about the frigate aforesaid : he brought with him, to our merchant, for a present, a bale of sugar, a bottle of wine, and some sweetmeats, saying, he was sorry for the things before done and past, but if any thing lay in him to do the company and him any good, he and they should be sure of it. This man was governor of a town called *Bollafarye*, a sea-town where shipping was built, as is aforesaid ; his name was *Mercossom* : and understanding, that the merchant was minded to travel that way, he promised him to do him all the courtesies that could be.

The fifth day of *May*, in the afternoon, we were before the king again at the *derbar* ; at our coming he called for our *perwan* (which was our warrant or licence), and then he added to it the free leave of coining of moneys, and sealed it with his own signet himself, and so all things were strongly confirmed and ratified for our free trade in his territories and dominions.

The sixth day of *May* the king made a great feast at the court, where were assembled the most and chiefeft of all his nobles and governors that were under his command ; and, being set, he sent the lord comptroller of his house for the *English* merchant, Mr. *Ralph Cartwright*, to come unto him, who came with all speed ; and when he was in the presence of the king, he caused him to sit down by him, and take part of the feast (for the king was exceeding merry and pleasant) ; then the king caused a vest or robe to be brought, and with his own hands put it upon our merchant ; and thus was he invested and entertained in the presence of this royal, noble, and great assembly,

This day the king was in magnificent state and majesty, on rich *Persian* carpets (as is before-mentioned) : but over this great company was a large canopy of branched velvet of four colours, and in the seams between the joinings of it was yellow taffeta, which hung down like unto the valence of a bed : it was about eighty

feet in length, and forty feet in breadth ; and it was upheld with four small pillars, overlaid with silver, whose height was 12 feet, and in thickness one foot. Here we staid till about the hour of five in the afternoon, and then we took our leaves of the king, and the rest ; and departed to *Coteke*, to the house of *Merfymomeine*.

Thus have I plainly and truly related the occurrences that happened at the court of *Malcandy* : but although the palace of the *nabob* be so large in extent, and so magnificent in structure, yet he himself will not lodge in it, but every night he lodgeth in tents, with his most trusty servants and guards about him ; for it is an abomination to the *moguls* (which are white men) to rest or sleep under the roof of an house that another man hath built for his own honour. And therefore he was building a palace, which he purposed should be a fabrick of a rest, and future remembrance of his renown : he likewise keepeth three hundred women, who are all of them the daughters of the best and ablest subjects that he hath.

The seventh day of *May* we went up and down the town of *Coteke* ; it is very populous of people, and hath daily a great market in it of all sorts of necessaries which the country affordeth ; it is seven miles in compass, and hath but two great gates belonging to it ; it is three miles between the one gate and the other.

Upon the eighth day of *May* we went to the court at *Malcandy*, again to desire of the king a warrant, or free pass, for safe convoy of letters, or any other such occasion, through his countries.

Here we found his majesty sitting, in the outward palace of the court, on the pavement, by the *tank* before-named, with a very fair canopy over him, made of damask, and upheld by four small pillars overlaid with silver, with his nobles by him, for this effect and purpose following :

He was by the great *mogul* commanded to wage war with all expedition against the king of *Culcandouch* (a great prince neighbouring upon his confines), who had wrongfully, with hostility, entered on the south-west part of his country, and had made some spoil and havock on the same. The king, I say, had here called all his commanders, leaders, and captains together, giving them a great charge concerning the good usage of his men, and their best endeavours in the management and performance of their services in those wars. He likewise gave gifts to the leaders, and money to the soldiers, to encourage them. The army consisted of thirty thousand men, which was ten thousand horse,

horse, and twenty thousand foot, armed, for the most part, with bows and arrows; and some again with darts, like our javelins, but far more sharp; and some again with a kind of fauchion, scymitar, or like a bended sword by their side: some of which weapons have cut insunder two malefactors, which have been condemned to die, being bound back to back, at one blow given backwards by the executioner. But, our commission being granted, and our business ended finally, our merchant reverently took his leave of the king, and the king, with his nobles, did the same to him, wishing him all good success in his affairs in his country; and so we departed.

The ninth of *May* we gathered together all our things, and at night we departed from *Coteke*.

The tenth, at the hour of two in the afternoon, we came to the town of *Harbarrapoore*, and hosted in the house of our interpreter.

The eleventh day we went to the governor of the town, and shewed him our *fermand*, or commission from the king: the governor made a great *salame*, or court'sy, in reverence unto it, and promised his best assistance and help in any thing that he could do; and there the said governor had a small present given to him.

The twelfth day of *May* Mr. *Thomas Colley* came to us at *Harbarrapoore*, and the rest of the *Englishmen* with him, with all the goods; then we hired a house for the present, till such time as ours might be built, for our further occasions to the company's use.

This town of *Harbarrapoore* is very full of people, and it is in bounds six or seven miles in compass; there are many merchants in it, and great plenty of all things: here is also cloth of all sorts, great store, for there do belong to this town at the least three thousand weavers, that are housekeepers, besides all other that do work, being bound or hired.

The fourteenth day the two merchants went abroad, and found out a plat of ground, fitting to build upon; then they laid the king's *deroy* on it, and seized upon it for the company's use; and there was no man that did or durst gainsay them for doing the same.

The fifteenth day they hired workmen and labourers to measure the ground, and

to square out the foundation of the house, and likewise for the wall, which was one hundred conets square, which is fifty yards, every conet being half a yard, or a foot and half: and it behoved us to make haste, for the time of the great rains was at hand.

The sixteenth day they laid the foundation of the walls, being nine feet thick: much haste was made, and many workmen about it; but this our first work was but labour lost and cast away, for it came to nothing.

For on the eighteenth day the rains began with such force and violence, that it beat down all our work to the ground, and washed it away, as if there had not been any thing done: this storm continued without ceasing (day and night), more or less, three weeks complete.

The sixteenth day of *June* Mr. *Ralph Cartwright* took his journey for *Ballazary*, and two *Englishmen* with him, who were *Edward Peteford* and *William Withal*, and from thence he was minded to travel further into the country of *Bengalla*; and the eighth of *July* following we received a letter from Mr. *Cartwright* concerning his proceedings and troublesome passage; for he found not the country according as was reported, by reason of the time of the great rains that fell: yet he was safely arrived in *Pipely*.

The three-and-twentieth day of *July*, in the morning, we had news, that there was an *English* ship arrived at *Harssapoore*, and had shot off three pieces of ordnance; and staid all night; and the next day in the morning, she having not a boat to come from her, she weighed anchor, and set sail for *Ballazary*.

The twenty-fifth of *August*, in the morning, Mr. *Thomas Colley* died of a fever at *Harbarrapoore*.

The seventh day of *September* I received letters from Mr. *Cartwright* from *Ballazary*; and withal he sent me the name of the ship, to wit, the good ship *Swan*, and Mr. *Edward Austin* (or *Ostin*) commander.

The nineteenth day of *September* there came two merchants from *Ballazary* to *Harbarrapoore*: the one of them his name was Mr. *Robert Littler*, the other Mr. *John Powlle*, purser of the ship *Swan*.

The fourth day of *October* our merchant Mr. *Robert Littler* took a journey for *Jaggernat*, and he returned the sixteenth day to the factory at *Harbarrapoore*.

A brief RELATION of the Great City of JAGGARNAT.

THE fifth day of *November* I was sent about the company's business, to the great city of *Jaggarnat*; and I travelled this day to a town called *Madew*, and I lodged all night in a *pagod*, or *pagodo*.

The sixth day I *William Bruton* travelled eight course, which is thirty-two miles *English*, and came to a town named *Amudpoore*, where I found, met together, of men, women, and children, more than three thousand; and all of them were travellers and rangers of the country, having no residence, but are called *Ashmen* (because they cast ashes upon themselves); also they are called *Fackeires*, which are religious names given to them for their supposed holiness, but indeed they are very rogues, such as our gypsies are here in *England*, when they see their time and opportunity to put roguery and villainy in practice: at this town I made no great stay, for I had a good charge about me of the company's.

The seventh day of *November* in the morning, about two of the clock, I hastened from *Amudpoore*, over a passage, and so for *Jaggarnat*, which was ten course between, that is, forty miles *English*: so about the hour of four in the afternoon I drew near to this great city of *Jaggarnat*, to which I passed over a great stone causeway, on either side whereof was a very goodly tank to wash in; this causeway was about half a mile in length: then, as I came to the west end of this city, I entered into a very fair place for situation, furnished with exceeding store of pleasant trees and groves, and on either side of the way tanks of water, and *pagods* in the midst of them. From thence I passed up into the high street, where I was entertained by a *bramin* (which is one of their religious men, or idolatrous priests); but let his religion be what it would, into his house I went, and there I lodged all the time of my stay there.

The eighth day of *November*, in the morning, after I had gone about the affairs that I was sent to do, I went to view the city in some part, but especially that mighty *pagodo* or *pagod*, the mirror of all wickedness and idolatry: unto this *pagod*, or house of *Satan* (as it may rightly be called), belong nine thousand *bramins* or priests, which daily offer sacrifices unto their great god *Jaggarnat*, from which idol the city is so called; and when he is but

named, then all the people in the town and country bow and bend their knees to the ground, as the *Moabites* did to their idol *Baal-peor*: here they also offer their children to this idol, and make them to pass through the fire; and also they have an abominable custom, to cause or make them pass through the water, as sacrifices unto the said ungodly god.

This idol is in shape like a serpent, with seven heads, and on the cheeks of each head it hath the form of a wing upon each cheek, which wings open and shut, and flap, as it is carried in a stately chariot, and the idol in the midst of it; and one of the *moguls* sitting behind it in the chariot, upon a convenient place, with a canopy, to keep the sun from injuring of it.

When I (with horror) beheld these strange things, I called to mind the xiiiith chapter of the *Revelat.* and 1st verse, and likewise the 16th and 17th verses of the said chapter, in which places there is a beast, and such idolatrous worship, mentioned; and those sayings in that text are herein truly accomplished in the 16th ver. for the *bramins* are all marked in the forehead, and likewise all that come to worship the idol, are marked also in their foreheads; but those that buy and sell, are all marked in the left shoulder; and all such as dare or presume to buy and sell, not being marked, are most severely and grievously punished.

They have built a great chariot, that goeth on sixteen wheels of a side, and every wheel is five feet in height, and the chariot itself is about thirty feet high. In this chariot, on their great festival days at night, they place their wicked god *Jaggarnat*, and all the *bramins*; being in number nine thousand, then attend this great idol, besides of *ashmen* and *fackeires* some thousands, or more than a good many. The chariot is most richly adorned with most rich and costly ornaments; and the aforesaid wheels are placed very complete in a round circle so artificially, that every wheel doth its proper office without any impediment: for the chariot is aloft, and in the centre betwixt the wheels; they have also more than two thousand lights with them: and this chariot, with the idol, is also drawn with the greatest and best men of the town; and they are so eager and greedy to draw it, that whosoever, by shouldering, crouding, shoving, heaving, thrusting,

ing, or any violent way, can but come to lay a hand upon the ropes, they think themselves blessed and happy. And when it is going along the city, there are many that will offer themselves as a sacrifice to this idol, and desperately lie down on the ground, that the chariot-wheels may run over them, whereby they are killed outright; some get broken arms, some broken legs, so that many of them are so destroyed, and by this means they think to merit heaven.

There is also another chariot, which hath but twelve wheels, and that is for an idol or a devil of an inferior rank, or lower degree, and he goes not abroad or in progress, but when the *bramins* please. This *pagodo* is situated by the sea-side, and is to be seen into the sea, at the least, ten or twelve leagues; for the air and sky is clear and pure in those parts, that it may be seen far: it is inclosed with a wall of stone, much about twenty-two feet in height, and the inclosure is four-square, and every square is 150 geometrical paces; so the four squares in the total are six hundred paces or yards about: it standeth due east, west, north, and south; and every square hath a great gate for the entrance into it, but the south and west gates are barred up till the festival times, and none commonly used but the north and east gates, but especially the north gate; for it hath all its prospect into the high or chief street of this city.

Now, in some other parts of this country the people adore and worship other creatures for their gods: some worship the celestial, as the sun, moon, and stars; some again terrestrial, and they of the mountains, valleys, and woods; some aquatical, and those of the seas, rivers, and fountains; some running after a beast like an ox, the dog, and the cat; some after the hawk, some after the sheep; and some so foolish, that they doted upon the very herbs and flowers in their gardens. For indeed they have very rare flowers for colour, such as I never saw in *England*, or elsewhere. Some of this nation have erected to themselves a god, in the likeness of *Jupiter*, and chain him by the leg in their *pagod*, to the intent that he might not leave them, nor forsake them; and keep continual watch and guard night and day, lest any of their enemies should come and entice him away by bribery, and so to prevail with him to come forth of it, and by that means their city come to ruin and destruction: so much for their idolatry.

This city of *Bengalla* is very great and populous; it hath many merchants in it, and yieldeth very rich commodities, as good cloth in abundance, sugars, silks, taffetas, stuffs, wax, gumlack, butter, oil, rice, and wheat, with many other good

commodities vendible. It is likewise famous for its multitude of rhinoceroses; it hath a beast much like unto an unicorn, and because it hath but one horn, some believe and take it for the unicorn's horn, for the virtue it hath in it. This city was once free from taxations, till *Ehebar* the great mogul caused it to be united to his empire. The chiefest cities which join nearest to it, are *Catigan* and *Satagan* on the banks of *Ganges* eastward: it was once the seat of the great *Bengallian* king *Malchiram*, as Mr. *Purchase* relates in his pilgrimage. This city lies westward toward *Pegu*, and near to *Cosmin* and *Aracam*, two famous cities for traffick and situation; lying upon the river, and within some few leagues of the gulf called the *Bengallian* gulf, which is a very dangerous one; for at some certain times of the year it is very hazardable for vessels to pass without shipwreck: there are many other lakes and rivers which I could mention, but for brevity-sake I omit them. But there is no strong drink suffered to be drank within the city, except a stranger bring it in privately, and so it is not known: and thus much shall suffice for the impious religion of *Jaggarnat*, and the stately court of *Malcandy*.

The most of these people have no learning, but do all things by memory: they wear commonly long hair, and are very strict in their time of fasting; but when the ceremony is over, they freely commit all kind of wickedness again. In some places they have their edicts or laws written, and in other places unwritten: they know not what belongs to bonds or bills, and they lend without witnesses, or any sealing of writings, even upon their own words; and he that is found to deny his promise, hath the tops of his fingers cut off. Their habit is various and different; some of them go in linen and woollen; some are cloathed with beasts skins, or birds feathers; others go naked, and cover only their secret parts: their bodies are, for the most part, black, which is not accidental, but naturally arising from the quality of the seed they are begotten: most of them are of a large stature; they have many wives, which they purchase and buy of their parents; some they keep to be their vassals, to do their drudgery; others, which are handsomer, for issue-sake and pleasure.

Here are greater store of beasts than in any other part of the *Indies*: as oxen, camels, lions, dogs, elephants: they have dogs which are as fierce as lions, with which they usually hunt and pursue those wild beasts, as we do our bucks, for their delight and pleasure. They ride on goodly horses,

horses, booted and spurred; so likewise do their women.

These people are notable ingenious men, let it be in what art or science soever, and will imitate any workmanship that shall be brought before them; for the most part of them hate idleness, and those that do not study in some art or other, are counted drones, and stand for cyphers and dead men amongst the best and chiefest sort of people: they have a custom, that always before dinner they call their children and young people in their houses together, and examine how they had spent their time from the sun-rising; and if they could not give a good account of it, they were not to be admitted to the table; and so every day: and, if they did not the next time improve themselves in some knowledge of laudable things, they are most severely punished and chastized.

These barbarous and idolatrous people, although they be so ignorant in the true worship of God, cannot endure a perjured person, nor a common swearer, nor a common drunkard, but will punish them very severely by stripes, or else by forfeiture of their commodities: a perjured person, say they, is an arch-enemy to their God and them; and it is so hateful, that if it be committed by their father, brother, or kindred, they presently condemn him, according to the nature of the offence: for though they love the perjury, by reason of the benefit that cometh unto them

by it, yet they hate the person, even to death; for, say they, he who was sometimes perjured in their behalf, may undo what he hath done, and speak the truth when time serves. They instance a story of *Solyman* the great *Turk*, who loathed and abhor'd the traitor that betray'd *Rhodes* unto him; and, instead of his daughter, whom he expected to be given him in marriage for a reward, he caused him to be flayed and salted, and told him in derision, that it was not fit for a Christian to marry with a *Turk*, unless he put off his old skin. Likewise they instance *Charles* the fourth, who rewarded the soldiers (that betrayed their lord and master *Krantius*) with counterfeit coin; and, being desired to deliver them current money, answered, that counterfeit coin was the proper wages for counterfeit service. Thus, a liar, or perjured person amongst these idolatrous people, they will not believe, though he had spoken or sworn the truth: for he that hath been once false, is ever to be suspected in the same kind of falshood: wherefore just and upright dealing is aptly compared to a glass, which, being once broken, can never be repaired; or to opportunity, which, once omitted, can never be recovered. And so I conclude this relation, wishing all men to prefer knowledge and honesty before wealth and riches; the one soon fadeth, the other abideth for ever: for, amongst all the goods of this life, only wisdom is immortal.

A TRUE
RELATION
OF THE
UNJUST, CRUEL, and BARBAROUS
PROCEEDINGS
AGAINST THE
ENGLISH,
AT
Amboyna, in the East-Indies,
BY THE
Netherlandish GOVERNOR and COUNCIL there.

The FOURTH EDITION.

T O T H E

R E A D E R.

GEntle Reader, Thou mayest, perhaps, wonder why this relation of the business of Amboyna, so many years since taken upon the oaths and depositions of our people that came thence, and presented to his then majesty, king James of blessed memory, and the lords of his privy council, cometh now again to the press. The truth is, the English East-India company have ever been very tender of the ancient amity, and good correspondence, held between this realm and the Netherlands; and have been very loth, by divulging of the private injuries done them by the Netherlands East-India company, to give the least occasion of any distaste or disaffection, which might happily grow between these two nations, for the sake, and on the behalf, of the two companies respectively. For which cause, although the wrongs and injuries, or rather contumelies, done unto the English, by the Dutch, in the Indies, have been as intolerable as manifold; as, to say nothing of those great heaps of them buried in the amnesty of the treaty of the year 1619, and only to point at the general heads of those committed since that treaty, and grossly contrary to the main intent, and express words and disposition, of the same: first, in the point of hostility; the invasion of the islands of Lantore and Polarooone, then and before in the quiet possession of the English, in the name of the crown of England; the taking of the same islands by force; the rasing and demolishing of the English Fort; the binding of the English (that had not so much as resisted them) to stakes, with ropes about their necks, throttling them with the same, and flourishing their naked swords about them, as if they would presently have dispatched them; then taking them so amazed and bound, and tumbling down the rocks; and after, carrying their crushed and bruised carcases away in irons: secondly, in the point of their usurped sovereignty; their taking upon them the cognisance of controversies between the

English and the Indians, for matters passed far without the compass of the Netherlands pretended jurisdiction, and executing their sentences thereupon by plain force; seizing of the English company's goods, fining, imprisoning, stocking, yea, whipping our people at a post in the open market-place, and after, washing them with vinegar and salt: thirdly, in point of partnership with the English, their putting great sums to the common account, which were disbursed to the private and sole behoof of the Dutch; giving great presents for the glory of the Dutch, without consent of the English; and making war for the enlargement of their own dominion, yet bringing the charge to the common account; together with infinite other the like, the particulars whereof would arise to a just and ample volume: nevertheless, the English company, from time to time, contented themselves with informing his majesty, and his honourable privy council, with their grievances privately in writing, to the end that necessary relief and reparation might be obtained, without publishing any thing to the world in print, thereby to stir up or breed ill blood between these nations, which are otherwise tied in so many reciprocal obligations. And the same course they have hitherto holden also in this crying business of Amboyna; only offering to the manes of their murdered countrymen, factors, and kinsfolks, their effectual endeavours in a dutiful course unto his majesty for justice for their innocent blood, and reparation of the honour of the nation herein interested. In which their wonted way they were so constant, that they could not be driven out of the same by the contrary course of some of the other party; that, not glutted nor mollified with the blood of these innocents, nor with all the other sufferings of the English in the Indies, published a pamphlet in print, in the Netherlands language, not only in justification of this barbarous butchery, but withal in disgrace of the English

English nation, and the laws and justice of the same. But behold now further, the same pamphlet, being called in by an edict of the States General, was yet afterwards translated, and printed in English, and dispersed, even in this realm itself, to brave and disgrace us at our own doors, and in our own language. This no English patience can bear: the blood of the innocent cries out against it: the honour of the nation suffereth in it. Wherefore the English East-India company is hereby enforced, contrary to their desire and custom, to have recourse also to the press, to maintain the reputation of those their countrymen and servants, that lost their lives unjustly; and to acquaint the world with the naked truth of this cause, hitherto masked, muffled, and obscured in a fog of factions, concealments, and crafty conveyances of the author of this pamphlet, and his clients, the governor and council (so termed) of Amboyna.

Having thus acquainted thee, gentle reader, with the reasons why this business was no sooner published in print, it remaineth yet further, that thou be satisfied in an objection or two more, which common reason will suggest unto thee. Without doubt, reading this discourse, and being a true patriot of thine own country, and a well-willer of the Netherlands (as we presume and wish thee to be), thou wilt wonder how it cometh to pass, that our nation, which hath not been wont to receive such disgraces, should now be so weak and unprovided in the Indies, as to suffer such indignities, and to be so grossly overtopped, outraged and vilified there? As also thou wilt no less admire, that any of the Netherlands nation, which hath received such and so many favours and supports from hence, and held so good and ancient correspondence with our nation, should now offer and commit such odious contumelies on English men, their partners, and allies by special treaty. Herein thou wilt soon answer thyself, if thou but consider the different end and design of the English and Dutch companies trading in the Indies, appearing by their several course and practice respectively. The English, being subjects of a peaceable prince, that hath enough of his own, and is therewith content, without affecting of new acquets, have aimed at nothing in their East-India trade, but a lawful and competent gain by commerce and traffick with the people of those parts. And although they have, in some places, built forts, and settled some strength, yet that hath not been done by force or violence, against the good-will of the magistrates, or people of the country; but with their desire, consent, and good-liking, for the security only of the trade, and upon the said magistrate and people's, voluntary yielding them-

selves under the obedience and sovereignty of the crown of England; their own ancient laws, customs, and privileges, nevertheless reserved. Further, the same English had undoubted confidence in the Netherlands nation there also trading, especially being lately conjoined with them in the strict alliance, and social confederacy, of the year 1619; and therefore attended nothing from them, but the offices of good affection and partnership. Upon these grounds, the English company made their equipages answerable only to a course of commerce, and peaceable traffick; not expecting any hostility, neither from the Indians, nor especially from the Dutch. On the other side, the Netherlands, from the beginning of their trade in the Indies, not contented with the ordinary course of a fair and free commerce, invaded divers islands, took some forts, built others, and laboured nothing more, than the conquests of countries, and the acquiring of new dominion. By which reason, as they were accordingly provided of shipping, soldiers, and all warlike provision, as also of places of rendezvous upon the shore, and thereby enabled to wrong the English, as well as others; so the cost and charges of their shipping, forts, and soldiers, employed upon these designs, rose to such an height, as was not to be maintained by the trade they had in those parts. Wherefore, for a supply, they were forced (as some of their own countrymen and adventurers in their company affirm) to fish with dry nets, that is to say, to pick quarrels with the Indians, and so to take their ships, and make prize of their goods. Which yet not answering their charge and adventure, they proceeded also to quarrel with the English; to debar them of trade to free places; and, for attempting such trade, to take their ships and goods. Touching which, when a good order was set by the said treaty of the year 1619, yet they saw they could not make their reckoning to any purpose, unless they utterly drove the English out of the trade of those parts; thereby to have the whole and sole traffick of the commodities of the Indies, in these parts of Europe, in their own hands; and so to make the price at their pleasure, sufficient to maintain and promote their conquests, and withal to yield them an ample benefit of their trading. Which, unless they can, by this and the like worrying and wearying of the English, bring to pass, it is easy to be judged, by those that understand any thing of the course and state of the trade of those parts, that albeit their returns hereafter should prove as great continually, as of late extraordinarily they have happened to be, yet the main stock and estate of the company must needs abate and decay by some hundred thousand pounds yearly.

A T R U E

R E L A T I O N

Of the late Unjust, Cruel, and Barbarous

Proceedings against the *ENGLISH*

A T

AMBOYNA in the *EAST-INDIES*,

By the *NETHERLANDERS* there,

Upon a forged Pretence of a *CONSPIRACY* of the said

ENGLISH.

AFTER the fruitless issue of two several treaties; the first, *Anno* 1613, in *London*; and the other *Anno* 1615, at the *Hague* in *Holland*; touching the differences between the *English* and *Dutch* in the *East-Indies*; at last, by a third treaty, *Anno* 1619, in *London*, there was a full and solemn composition made of all the said differences, and a fair order set for the future proceeding of the supports of both companies in the *Indies*, as well in the course of their trade and commerce, as otherwise. Amongst sundry other points, it was agreed, that in regard of the great blood-shed and cost, pretended to be bestowed by the *Hollanders*, in winning of the trade of the isles of the *Molluccos*, *Banda*, and *Amboyna*, from the *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, and in building of forts for the continual securing of the same, the said *Hollanders* therefore should enjoy two third parts of that trade, and the *English* the other third; and the charge of the forts to be maintained by taxes and impositions, to be levied upon the merchandize. Wherefore, in consequence of this agreement, the *English East-India* company planted certain factories for their share of this trade; some at the *Molluccos*, some at *Banda*, and some at *Amboyna*. Of the two former of these, there will be, at this present, small occasion to speak further; but the last will prove the scene of a sad tragedy.

This *Amboyna* is an island lying near *Seran*, of the circuit of forty leagues, and giveth name also to some other small islands adjacent. It beareth cloves; for gathering and buying in whereof the *English* company for their part had planted five several factories: the head and rendezvous of all, at the town of *Amboyna*; and therein, first Mr. *George Muschamp*, and afterward Mr. *Gabriel Towerfon*, their agents; with directions over the smaller factories at *Hitto*, and *Larica*, upon the same island; and at *Lobo*, and *Cambello*, upon a point of their neighbouring island of *Seran*.

Upon these islands of *Amboyna*, and the point of *Seran*, the *Hollanders* have four forts: the chief of all is at the said town of *Amboyna*, and is very strong, having four points or bulwarks, with their curtains; and upon each of these points six great pieces of ordnance mounted, most of them of brass. The one side of this castle is washed by the sea, and the other is divided from the land, with a ditch of four or five fathom broad, very deep, and ever filled with the sea. The garison of this castle consisteth of about two hundred *Dutch* soldiers, and a company of free-burgers. Besides these, there is always a matter of three or four hundred *Mardikers* (for so they usually call the free natives) in the town, ready to serve the castle at an hour's warning. There lie also in the road (for the most part) divers good ships of the
Hol-

Hollanders, as well for the guard of the place by sea, as for the occasions of traffick ; this being the chief rendezvous, as well for the island of *Banda*, as for the rest of *Amboyna*. Here the *English* lived, not in the castle, but under protection thereof, in a house of their own in the town ; holding themselves safe, as well in respect of the ancient bonds of amity between both nations, as of the strict conjunction made by the late treaty before-mentioned.

They continued here some two years, conversing and trading together with the *Hollanders*, by virtue of the said treaty. In which time there fell out sundry differences and debates between them ; the *English* complaining, that the *Hollanders* did not only lavish away much money in building, and unnecessary expences, upon the forts, and otherwise, and bring large and unreasonable reckonings thereof to the common account ; but also did, for their part, pay the garisons with victuals, and cloth of *Coromondell*, which they put off to the soldiers at three or four times the value it cost them, yet would not allow of the *English* company's part of the same charge, but only in ready money ; thereby drawing from the *English* (which ought to pay but one-third part) more than two-thirds of the whole true charge. Hereupon, and upon the like occasions, grew some discontents and disputes ; and the complaints were sent to *Jaccatra*, in the island of *Java Major*, to the council of defence of both nations there residing : who also, not agreeing upon the points in difference, sent the same hither over into *Europe*, to be decided by both companies here ; or, in default of their agreement, by the king's majesty, and the lords the states general, according to an article of the treaty of the year 1619, on this behalf. In the mean time, the discontent between the *English* and the *Dutch*, about these and other differences, continued, and daily increased, until, at last, there was a sword found, to cut in sunder that knot at once, which the tedious disputes of *Amboyna* and *Jaccatra* could not untie. And this was used in manner as followeth :

About the eleventh of *February* 1622, *stilo veteri*, a *Japoner* soldier of the *Dutch* in their castle of *Amboyna*, walking, in the night, upon the wall, came to the sentinel (being a *Hollander*) ; and there, amongst other talk, asked him some questions, touching the strength of the castle, and the people that were therein. It is here to be noted, that those *Japoners* (of whom there are not thirty in all the island) did, for the most part, serve the *Dutch* as soldiers ; yet were not of their trusty bands always lodged in the castle, but, upon occasion,

called out of the town, to assist in the watch. This *Japoner* aforesaid was, for his said conference with the sentinel, apprehended upon suspicion of treason, and put to the torture. Thereby (as some of the *Dutch* affirmed) he was brought to confess himself, and sundry others of his countrymen there, to have contrived the taking of the castle. Hereupon other *Japoners* were examined and tortured, as also a *Portugal*, the guardian of the slaves under the *Dutch*. During this examination, which continued three or four days, some of the *Englishmen* went to and from the castle upon their business, saw the prisoners, heard of their tortures, and of the crime laid to their charge ; but all this while suspected not, that this matter did any whit concern themselves, having never had any conversation with the *Japoners*, nor with the *Portugal* aforesaid.

At the same time there was one *Abel Price* Abel Price examined. *Price*, surgeon of the *English*, prisoner in the castle, for offering in his drunkenness to set a *Dutchman's* house on fire. This fellow the *Dutch* took, and shewed him some of the *Japoners*, whom they had first most grievously tortured, and told him, they had confessed the *English* to have been of their confederacy for the taking of the castle ; and that if he would not confess the same, they would use him even as they had done those *Japoners* ; and worse also. Having given him the torture, they soon made him confess whatever they asked him. This was the fifteenth of *February* 1622. *stilo veteri*. Forthwith, about nine of the clock the same morning, they sent for captain *Towerson*, and the rest of the *English* that were in the town, to come to speak with the governor in the castle. They all went, save one that was left to keep the house. Being come to the governor, he told captain *Towerson*, that himself, and others of his nation, were accused of a conspiracy to surprise the castle ; and therefore, until further trial, were to remain prisoners. Instantly also they attached him that was left at home in the house ; took the merchandize of the *English* company there into their own custody, by inventory ; and seized all the chests, boxes, books, writings, and other things, in the *English* house. Captain *Towerson* was committed to his chamber, with a guard of *Dutch* soldiers. *Emanuel Tomson* was kept prisoner in the castle ; the rest, viz. *John Beomont*, *Edward Collins*, *William Webber*, *Ephraim Ramsey*, *Timothy Johnson*, *John Fardo*, and *Robert Brown*, were sent aboard the *Hollanders* ships then riding in the harbour, some to one ship, and some to another, and all made fast in irons. The same day also the governor sent

sent to the two other factories in the same island, to apprehend the rest of the *English* there : so that *Samuel Colson*, *John Clark*, *George Sbarrock*, that were found in the factory at *Hitto*, and *Edward Collins*, *William Webber*, and *John Sadler*, at *Larica*, were all brought prisoners to *Amboyna*, the sixteenth of *February*. Upon which day also *John Rowl*, *John Wetheral*, and *Thomas Ladbroke*, were apprehended at *Cambello*; and *John Beomont*, *William Grigs*, and *Ephraim Ramsey*, at *Lobo*; and brought in irons to *Amboyna*, the twentieth of the same month. In the mean time, the governor and fiscal went to work with the prisoners that were already there: and first, they sent for *John Beomont*, and *Timothy Johnson*, from aboard the *Unicorn*; who being come into the castle, *Beomont* was left with a guard in the hall, and *Johnson* was taken into another room: where, by-and-by, *Beomont* heard him cry out very pitifully; then, to be quiet for a little while, and then loud again. After taste of the torture, *Abel Price* the chirurgion, that was first examined and tortured (as is above remembered), was brought in to confront and accuse him: but *Johnson* not yet confessing any thing, *Price* was quickly carried out, and *Johnson* brought again to the torture; where *Beomont* heard him sometimes cry aloud, then quiet again, then roar afresh: at last, after he had been about an hour in this second examination, he was brought forth, wailing and lamenting, all wet, and cruelly burnt in divers parts of his body, and so laid aside in a by-place of the hall, with a soldier to watch him, that he should speak with nobody.

Emanuel Tomson examined.

Then was *Emanuel Tomson* brought to examination; not in the room where *Johnson* had been, but in another, something farther from the hall. Yet *Beomont*, being in the hall, heard him roar most lamentably, and many times. At last, after an hour and an half spent in torturing him, he was carried away into another room, another way, so that he came not by *Beomont*, through the hall. Next was *Beomont* called in; and, being demanded many things, all which he denied with deep oaths and protestations, was made fast, to be tortured, a cloth tied about his neck, and two men ready with their jars of water to be poured on his head. But yet, for this time, the governor bad loose him; he would spare him a day or two, because he was an old man. This was all *Saturday's* work, the fifteenth of *February* aforesaid.

Upon *Sunday* the sixteenth of *February*, *William Webber*, *Edward Collins*, *Ephraim Ramsey*, and *Robert Brown*, were fetched from aboard the *Rotterdam*, to be examined. At the same time came *Samuel Colson*,

William Grigs; and *John Clark*, *George Sbarrock*, and *John Sadler*, from *Hitto* and *Larica*; and were immediately, upon their arrival, brought into the castle-hall.

Robert Brown, tailor, was first called in; *Robert Brown* and, being tormented with water, confessed all in order, as the fiscal asked him. *Robert Brown* examined.

Then was *Edward Collins* called in, and *Edward Collins* told, that those that were formerly examined, had confessed him as accessory to the plot of taking the castle. Which when he denied with great oaths and execrations, they made his hands and feet fast to the rack, bound a cloth about his throat, ready to be put to the torture of water. Thus prepared, he prayed to be respited, and he would confess all. Being let down, he again vowed and protested his innocency; yet said, that because he knew, that they would, by torture, make him confess any thing, though never so false, they should do him a great favour, to tell him what they would have him say, and he would speak it, to avoid the torture. The fiscal hereupon said; What, do you mock us? and bad, Up with him again; and so gave him the torment of water: which he not able long to endure, prayed to be let down again to his confession. Then he devised a little with himself, and told them, that about two months and an half before, himself, *Tomson*, *Johnson*, *Brown*, and *Fardo*, had plotted, with the help of the *Japoners*, to surprise the castle. Here he was interrupted by the fiscal, and asked, whether captain *Towerjon* were not of that conspiracy. He answered, No. You lye, said the fiscal: Did not he call you all to him, and tell you, that those daily abuses of the *Dutch* had caused him to think of a plot, and that he wanted nothing but your consent and secrecy? Then said a *Dutch* merchant, one *John Joost*, that stood by, Did not you all swear upon a Bible to be secret to him? *Collins* answered with great oaths, that he knew nothing of any such matter. Then they bad make him fast again: whereupon he then said, all was true that they had spoken. Then the fiscal asked him, whether the *English* in the rest of the factories were not consenting to this plot. He answered, No. The fiscal then asked him, whether the president of the *English* at *Jaccatra*, or Mr. *Welden*, agent in *Banda*, were not plotters, or privy to this business. Again he answered, No. Then the fiscal asked him, by what means the *Japoners* should have executed their purpose. Whereat when *Collins* stood staggering, and devising of some probable fiction, the fiscal helped him, and said, Should not two *Japoners* have gone to each point of the castle, and two to the governor's chamber-

chamber-door; and when the hurly-burly had been without, and the governor coming to see what was the matter, the *Japoners* to have killed him? Here one that stood by, said to the fiscal, Do not tell him what he should say; but let him speak of himself. Whereupon the fiscal, without attending the answer to his former question, asked what the *Japoners* should have had for their reward. *Collins* answered, one thousand rials apiece. Lastly, he asked him, when this plot should have been effected. Whereunto although he answered him nothing (not knowing what to devise upon the sudden), yet he was dismissed, and very glad to come clear of the torture, though with certain belief, that he should die for this his confession.

Samuel Colson examined. Next was *Samuel Colson* brought in, being newly arrived from *Hitto*, as is before touched; and was the same day brought to the torture; who, for fear of the pain wherewith he saw *Collins* come out, in such a case, that his eyes were almost blown out of his head with the torment of water, chose rather to confess all they asked him; and so was quickly dismissed, coming out weeping, lamenting, and protesting his innocency.

John Clark examined. Then was *John Clark*, that came with *Colson* from *Hitto*, fetched in; and a little after was heard, by the rest that were without in the hall, to cry out amain; they tortured him with water, and with fire, by the space of two hours. The manner of his torture, as also of *Johnson's* and *Tomson's*, was as followeth: First, they hoisted him up by the hands, with a cord, on a large door, where they made him fast upon two staples of iron, fixed on both sides, at the top of the door-posts, haling his hands one from the other, as wide as they could stretch. Being thus made fast, his feet hung some two foot from the ground; which also they stretched asunder as far as they would reach, and so made them fast beneath unto the door-trees on each side. Then they bound a cloth about his neck and face so close, that little or no water could go by. That done, they poured the water softly upon his head, until the cloth was full, up to the mouth and nostrils, and somewhat higher; so that he could not draw breath, but he must withal suck in the water: which, being still continued to be poured in softly, forced all his inward parts to come out of his nose, ears, and eyes, and often, as it were, stifling and choking him; at length took away his breath, and brought him to a swoon or fainting. Then they took him quickly down, and made him vomit up the water. Being a little recovered, they triced him up again, and poured in the

water as before, oftsoons taking him down as he seemed to be stifled. In this manner they handled him three or four several times with water, till his body was swoln twice or thrice as big as before, his cheeks like great bladders, and his eyes staring, and strutting out beyond his forehead: yet all this he bare, without confessing any thing; insomuch as the fiscal and tormentors reviled him, saying, that he was a devil, and no man, or surely was a witch, at least had some charm about him, or was enchanted, that he could bear so much. Wherefore they cut off his hair very short, as supposing he had some witchcraft hidden therein. Afterwards they hoisted him up again as before, and then burnt him with lighted candles, in the bottom of his feet, until the fat dropped out the candles; yet then applied they fresh lights unto him. They burnt him also under the elbows, and in the palms of the hands; likewise under the arm-pits, until his inwards might evidently be seen. At last, when they saw he could of himself make no handsome confession, then they led him along with questions of particular circumstances, by themselves framed. Being thus wearied and overcome by the torment, he answered, Yea, to whatsoever they asked: whereby they drew from him a body of a confession, to this effect; to wit, that captain *Towerson* had, upon *New-year's-day* last before, sworn all the *English* at *Amboyna* to be secret and assistant to a plot that he had projected, with the help of the *Japoners*, to surprise the castle, and to put the governor, and the rest of the *Dutch*, to death.

Having thus martyred this poor man, they sent him out by four blacks; who carried him between them to a dungeon, where he lay five or six days, without any chirurgeon to dress him, until (his flesh being putrefied) great maggots dropped and crept from him in a most loathsome and noisome manner. Thus they finished their *Sabbath-day's* work; and, it growing now dark, sent the rest of the *English* (that came that day from *Hitto*, and till then attended in the hall) first to the smith's shop, where they were laden with irons, and then to the same loathsome dungeon where *Clark* and the rest were, accompanied with the poor *Japoners*, lying in the putrefaction of their tortures.

The next morning, being *Monday*, the seventeenth of *February*, old stile, *William Grigs*, and *John Fardo*, with certain *Japoners*, were brought into the place of examination.

The *Japoners* were first cruelly tortured, *William Grigs* examined. to accuse *Grigs*, which at last they did; and *Grigs*, to avoid the like torture, confessed all that the fiscal demanded. By-and-by,

John Fardo examined. and-by, the like also was done by *John Fardo*, and other *Japoners*; but *Fardo* himself endured the torture of water, and at last confessed whatsoever the fiscal asked him; and so was sent back to prison.

John Beomont examined. The same day also *John Beomont* was brought the second time to the fiscal's chamber; where one captain *Newport*, a *Dutchman's* son (born in *England*), was used as an interpreter. *William Grigs* was also brought in to accuse him; who said, that when the consultation for taking of the castle was held, then he, the said *Beomont*, was present. *Beomont* denied it with great earnestness, and deep oaths. At last, being triced up, and drenched with water till his inwards were ready to crack, he answered affirmatively to all the fiscal's interrogatories; yet as soon as he was let down, he clearly demonstrated to captain *Newport*, and *Johnson* a *Dutch* merchant, then also present, that these things could not be so. Nevertheless, he was forced to put his hand to his confession, or else he must to the torture again; which to avoid, he subscribed; and so had a great iron bolt, and two shackles, riveted to his legs; and then was carried back to prison.

George Sharrock examined. After this, *George Sharrock*, assistant at *Hitto*, was called in question; who, seeing how grievously others were martyred, made his earnest prayer to God (as since, upon his oath, he hath acknowledged), that he would suffer him to make some such probable lyes against himself, as the *Dutch* might believe, and so he might escape the torment. Being brought to the rack, the water provided, and the candles lighted, he was, by the governor and fiscal, examined, and charged with the conspiracy. He fell upon his knees, and protested his innocency. Then they commanded him to the rack, and told him, Unless he would confess, he should be tormented with fire and water, to death; and then should be drawn, by the heels, to the gallows, and there hanged up. He still persisting in this his innocency, the fiscal bad him be hoisted up. Then he craved respite awhile, and told them, that he was at *Hitto*, and not in *Amboyna*, upon *New-Year's-day*, when the consultation was pretended; neither had been there since *November* before; as was well known to sundry of the *Hollanders* themselves, that resided there also with him. Hereupon they commanded him again to the rack; but he, craving respite as before, now told them, that he had many times heard *John Clark* (who was with him at *Hitto*) say, that the *Dutch* had done them many unsufferable wrongs, and that he would be revenged of them: to which end, he had once broken with captain *Tower*son, of a brave plot.

At which word the fiscal, and the rest, were attentive, encouraging him to proceed. So he went on, saying, that *John Clark* had intreated captain *Tower*son, that he might go to *Macasser*, there to consult and advise with the *Spaniards* to come with gallies, and rob the small factories of *Amboyna* and *Seran*, when no ships were there. Here they asked him, what captain *Tower*son said to this. He answered, that captain *Tower*son was very much offended with *Clark* for the motion; and from thenceforth could never abide him. Hereupon the fiscal called him rogue, and said he prated all from the matter, and should go to the torture. He craved favour again, and began another tale; to wit, that, upon *Twelfth-day* then last past, *John Clark* told him, at *Hitto*, that there was a practice to take the castle of *Amboyna*; and asked him, whether he would consent thereunto. Whereupon he demanded of *Clark*, whether captain *Tower*son knew of any such matter: which *Clark* affirming, then he (the said *Sharrock*) said, that he would do as the rest did. Then the fiscal asked him, what time the consultation was held. He answered, in *November* last. The fiscal said, that could not be; for, the consultation was upon *New-Year's-day*. The prisoner said as before, in the beginning, that he had not been in *Amboyna* since the first of *December*, till now that he was brought thither. Why then, quoth the fiscal, have you belyed yourself? Whereunto the prisoner resolutely answered, that all that he had spoken, touching any treason, was false and feigned, only to avoid torment. Then went the fiscal out into another room, to the governor; and anon returned, and sent *Sharrock* unto the prison again. The next day he was called again, and a writing presented him, wherein was framed a formal confession of his last conference with *Clark*, at *Hitto*, touching the plot, to take the castle of *Amboyna*: which being read over to him, the fiscal asked him, whether it were true, or no. He answered, No: Why then, said the fiscal, did you confess it? He answered, For fear of torment. The fiscal, and the rest, in a great rage, told him, he lyed: his mouth had spoken it, and it was true; and therefore he should subscribe it. Which as soon as he had done, he fell presently into a great passion, charging them bitterly to be guilty of the innocent blood of himself and the rest, which they should look to answer for at the day of judgment. Withal he grappled with the fiscal, and would have stopped him from carrying in the confession to the governor, with whom he also craved to speak; but was instantly laid

laid hold on, and carried away to prison.

William Webber being next examined, was told by the fiscal, that *John Clark* had confessed him to have been at *Amboyna* on *New-Year's-day*, and sworn to captain *Tower-son's* plot, &c. All which he denied, alleging, he was that day at *Larica*: yet, being brought to the torture, he then confessed, he had been at the consultation at *Amboyna*, upon *New-Year's-day*, with all the rest of the circumstances, in order, as he was asked. He also further told them, he had received a letter from *John Clark*, after which was a postscript, excusing his brief writing at that time; for that there was great business in hand. But one *Renier*, a *Dutch* merchant, then standing by, told the governor, that upon *New-Year's-day*, the time of this pretended consultation, *Webber* and he were merry at *Larica*. So the governor left him, and went out. But the fiscal held on upon the other point, touching the postscript of *Clark's* letter, urging him to shew the same. Which when he could not do, though often terrified with the torture, he gave him respite; promising to save his life, if he would produce that letter.

Gabriel Tower-son examined. Then was captain *Tower-son* brought to the examination, and shewed what others had confessed of him. He deeply protesting his innocency, *Samuel Colson* was brought to confront him: who, being told, that unless he would now make good his former confession against captain *Tower-son*, he should to the torture, coldly re-affirmed the same; and so was sent away. They also brought *William Grigs*, and *John Fardo*, to justify their former confessions to his face. Captain *Tower-son* seriously charged them, that, as they would answer it at the dreadful day of judgment, they should speak nothing but the truth. Both of them instantly fell down upon their knees before him; praying him, for God's sake, to forgive them; and saying further openly before them all, that whatsoever they had formerly confessed, was most false, and spoken only to avoid torment. With that the fiscal, and the rest, offered them again to the torture; which they would not endure, but then affirmed their former confessions to be true.

When *Colson* (who had accused captain *Tower-son* before) was required to set his hand to his confession, he asked the fiscal, upon whose head he thought the sin would lie; whether upon his that was constrained to confess what was false, or upon the constrainters. The fiscal, after a little pause upon this question, went in to the governor, then in another room; but, anon returning, told *Colson*, he must subscribe it:

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which he did; yet withal made this protestation: Well, quoth he, you make me to accuse myself, and others, of that which is as false, as God is true: for, God is my witness, I am as innocent as the child new-born.

Thus have they examined all that belong to the *English* company, in the several factories of the island of *Amboyna*.

The one-and-twentieth of *February*, *John Wetheral* examined. they examined *John Wetheral*, factor at *Cambello* in the island of *Seran*. He confessed, he was at *Amboyna*, upon *New-Year's-day*: but for the consultation, whereof he was demanded, he knew of no other, but touching certain cloth of the *English* company, that lay in the factories rotting, and worm-eaten, which they advised together how to put off to the best avail of their employers. The governor said, they questioned him not about cloth, but of treason: whereof when he had protested his innocency, he was for that time dismissed. But the next day he was sent for again, and captain *Tower-son* brought to confront and accuse him, having before (it seems) confessed somewhat against him. But Mr. *Tower-son* spake now these words only: Oh, Mr. *Wetheral*, Mr. *Wetheral*, speak the truth, and no more but the truth, as God shall put into your heart. So captain *Tower-son* was put out again, and *Wetheral* brought to the torture of water with great threats, if water would not make him confess, fire should. He prayed them to tell him what he should say, or to write down what they would, he would subscribe it. They said, he needed no tutor; they would make him confess of himself. But when they had triced him up four several times, and saw he knew not what to say, then they read him other mens confessions, and asked him from point to point, as they had done others; and he still answered, Yea, to all.

Next was called in *John Powl*, *Wetheral's* assistant at *Cambello*: but he, proving *John Powl* examined. that he was not at *Amboyna* since *November* (save now when he was brought thither prisoner), and being spoken for, by one *John Joost*, who had long been well acquainted with him, was dismissed without torture.

Then was *Thomas Ladbroke*, servant to *Wetheral*, and *Powl* at *Cambello*, brought *Thomas Ladbroke* examined. to be examined: but, proving that he was at *Cambello* at the time of the pretended consultation, and serving in such quality, as that he was never acquainted with any of the letters from the agent of *Amboyna*, he was easily and quickly dismissed.

Ephraim Ramsey was also examined upon *Ephraim Ramsey* examined. the whole pretended conspiracy, and particularly questioned concerning captain *Welden*,

Welden, the *English* agent in *Banda*; but, denying all, and proving that he was not in *Amboyna* at *New-Year's-tide*; being also spoken for, by *John Joost*; was dismissed, after he had hanged in the rack a good while, with irons upon his legs, and the cloth about his mouth.

John Sadler examined.

Lastly, *John Sadler*, servant to *William Grigs* at *Larica*, was examined; and being found to have been absent from *Amboyna* at *New-Year's-tide*, when *Grigs* and others were there, was dismissed.

Thus have we all their examinations, tortures, and confessions, being the work of eight days, from the fifteenth to the twenty-third of *February*. After which, was two days respite, before the sentence. *John Powl*, being himself acquitted as before said, went to the prison, to visit *John Fardo*, one of those that had accused captain *Towerson*. To him *Fardo* religiously protested his innocency; but especially his sorrow for accusing Mr. *Towerson*: for, said he, the fear of death doth nothing dismay me; for God (I trust) will be merciful to my soul, according to the innocency of my cause. The only matter that troubleth me, is, that through fear of torment I have accused that honest and godly man, captain *Towerson*, who, I think in my conscience, was so upright and honest towards all men, that he harboured no ill-will to any, much less would attempt any such business as he is accused of. He further said, he would before his death receive the sacrament, in acknowledgement that he had accused captain *Towerson* falsely and wrongfully, only through fear of torment.

The five-and-twentieth of *February*, old stile, all the prisoners, as well the *English*, as the *Portugal*, and the *Japoners*, were brought into the great hall of the castle, and there were solemnly condemned, except *John Powl*, *Ephraim Ramsey*, *John Sadler*, and *Thomas Ladbroke*, formerly acquitted, as afore said.

Captain *Towerson*, having been (during all his imprisonment) kept apart from the rest, so that none of them could come to speak with him, writ much in his chamber (as some of the *Dutch* report); but all was suppressed, save only a bill of debt, which one *Thomas Johnson*, a free-burgher, got of him, by favour of his keepers, for acknowledgement, that the *English* company owed him a certain sum of money. In the end of this bill he writ these words:

Firmed by the Firm of me Gabriel Tower-son, now appointed to die, guiltless of any thing that can be justly laid to my charge. God forgive them their guilt, and receive me to his mercy: Amen.

This bill being brought to Mr. *Welden*,

the *English* agent at *Banda*, he paid the money, and received in the acknowledgement.

William Grigs (who had before accused captain *Towerson*) writ these words following in his table-book:

We, whose names are here specified, John Beomont, merchant of Loho, William Grigs, merchant of Larica, Abel Price, chirurgeon of Amboyna, Robert Brown, taylor, which do here lie prisoners in the ship Rotterdam, being apprehended for conspiracy, for blowing up the castle of Amboyna; we being judged to death, this fifth of March, Anno 1622, which we, through torment, were constrained to speak, that which we never meant, nor once imagined; the which we take upon our deaths and salvation: they tortured us with that extreme torment of fire and water, that flesh and blood could not endure: and this we take upon our deaths, that they have put us to death guiltless of our accusation. So therefore we desire, that they that shall understand this; that our employers may understand these wrongs, and that yourselves would have a care to look to yourselves: for their intent was to have brought you in also: they asked concerning you; which if they had tortured us, we must have confessed you also: And so farewell. Written in the dark.

This table-book was afterwards delivered to Mr. *Welden* afore-named, by one that served the *Dutch*.

Samuel Colson also, another that accused captain *Towerson*, writ as followeth, in the waste leaves of a book, wherein were bound together the common-prayers, the psalms, and the catechism:

In one page thus;

March 5. stilo novo, being Sunday, aboard the Rotterdam, lying in irons.

Understand that I Samuel Colson, late factor of Hitto, was apprehended for suspicion of conspiracy; and for any thing I know, must die for it: wherefore, having no better means to make my innocency known, have writ this in this book, hoping some good Englishmen will see it. I do here, upon my salvation, as I hope, by his death and passion, to have redemption for my sins, that I am clear of all such conspiracy; neither do I know any Englishman guilty thereof; nor other creature in the world. As this is true, God blefs me.

Sam. Colson.

On the other side, upon the first page of the catechism, is thus written.

In another leaf you shall understand more, which I have written in this book.

Sam. Colson.

In

In the beginning of the psalms, and in the leaf so referred unto, is thus written, viz.

The Japons were taken with some villainy, and brought to examination: being most tyrannously tortured, were asked, if the English had any hand in their plot. Which torture made them say, Yea. Then was Mr. Tomson, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Collins, John Clark, brought to examination, and were burned under the arms, arm-pits, the hands, and soles of the feet, with another most miserable torment, to drink water; some of them almost tortured to death, and were forced to confess that which they never knew, by reason of the torment, which flesh and blood is not able to endure. Then were the rest of the Englishmen called one by one (amongst which I was one), being wished to confess, or else must go to torment; withal caused Mr. Johnson, who was before tormented, to witness against me, or else he should be tormented again; which rather than he would endure, he said, What they would have, he would speak. Then must I confess that I never knew, or else to go to torment, which rather than I would suffer, I did confess that, which (as I shall be saved before God Almighty) is not true; being forced for fear of torment. Then did they make us witness against captain Towerson, and at last made captain Towerson confess all, being for fear of most cruel torment: for which we must all die. As I mean and hope to have pardon for my sins, I know no more than the child unborn, of this business. Written with my own hand, the first of March, stilo novo.

Sam. Colson.

Yet in another page were these words:

I was born in Newcastle upon Tyne, where I desire this book may come, that my friends may know of my innocency.

Sam. Colson.

This book he delivered to one that served the *Hollanders*, who sewed it up in his bed, and afterward, at his opportunity, delivered it to Mr. *Welden* before-named.

All these said writings are yet extant under the hands of the several parties, well known to their friends here in *England*.

The six-and-twentieth of *February*, stilo veteri, the prisoners were all brought into the great hall of the castle (except captain Towerson, and Emanuel Tomson) to be prepared for death, by the ministers. The *Japoners* now all in general, as some of them had done before in particular, cried out unto the *English*, saying; *Oh you Englishmen, where did we ever in our lives eat*

with you, talk with you, or, to our remembrance, see you? The *English* answered, *Why then have you accused us?* The poor men, perceiving they were made believe each had accused others, before they had so done indeed, shewed them their tortured bodies, and said, *If a stone were thus burnt, would it not change its nature? How much more we that are flesh and blood?*

Whilst they were all in the hall, captain Towerson was brought up into the place of examination, and two great jars of water carried after him. What he there did or suffered, was unknown to the *English* without: but it seemeth they made him then to underwrite his confession. After supper, John Powel, Ephraim Ramsey, Thomas Ladbroke, and John Sadler, who were found not guilty, as aforesaid, were taken from the rest, and put into another room. By-and-by also were Samuel Colson and Edward Collins brought from the rest, into the room where Emanuel Tomson lay: The fiscal told them, it was the governor's mercy, to save one of them three: and it being indifferent to him, which of them were the man, it was his pleasure, they should draw lots for it; which they did, and the free lot fell to Edward Collins; who then was carried away to the chamber, where John Powel, and the rest that were quit, lodged; and Samuel Colson back into the hall. Anon also John Beomont was brought out of the hall into the chamber, where John Powel, and the rest of the acquitted persons, were; and was told, that he was beholden to Peter Johnson, the Dutch merchant of Lobo, and to the secretary; for they two had begged his life.

So then there remained in the hall ten of the *English*; for captain Towerson, and Emanuel Tomson (as is said before) were kept in several rooms apart from the rest. To these that remained in the hall, came the Dutch ministers; who, telling them how short a time they had to live, admonished and exhorted them to make their true confessions; for it was a dangerous and desperate thing to dissemble at such a time. The *English* still professed their innocency, and prayed the ministers, that they might all receive the sacrament, as a seal of the forgiveness of their sins; and withal, thereby to confirm their last profession of their innocency. But this would by no means be granted. Whereupon Samuel Colson said thus unto the ministers; You manifest unto us the danger of dissimulation in this case: but tell us, if we suffer guiltless, being otherwise also true believers in Christ Jesus, what shall be our reward? The preacher answered, By how much the clearer you are, so much the more glorious shall be your resurrection.

With

With that word *Colson* started up, embraced the preacher, and gave him his purse, with such money as he had in it, saying; *Domine*, God bless you: tell the governor I freely forgive him; and I intreat you to exhort him to repent of his bloody tragedy, wrought upon us poor innocent souls. Here all the rest of the *English* signified their consent to this speech. Then spake *John Fardo* to the rest, in presence of the ministers, as followeth: My countrymen and brethren, all that are here with me condemned to die, I charge you all, as you will answer it at God's judgment-seat, if any of you be guilty of this matter, whereof we are condemned, discharge your consciences, and confess the truth, for satisfaction of the world. Hereupon *Samuel Colson* spake with a loud voice, saying, According to my innocency in this treason, so, Lord, pardon all the rest of my sins; and if I be guilty thereof, more or less, let me never be partaker of thy heavenly joys. At which words every one of the rest cried out, Amen for me, Amen for me, good Lord. This done, each of them, knowing whom he had accused, went one to another begging forgiveness for their false accusation, being wrung from them by the pains or fear of torture: and they all freely forgave one another; for none had been so falsely accused, but he himself had accused another as falsely. In particular, *George Sharrock* (who survived to relate this night's passage) kneeled down to *John Clark*, whom he had accused of the tale at *Hitto* above-mentioned, and craved forgiveness at his hands. *Clark* freely forgave him, saying; How should I look to be forgiven of God, if I should not forgive you, having myself so falsely accused captain *Towerson*, and others?

After this, they spent the rest of the doleful night in prayer, singing of psalms, and comforting one another; though the *Dutch*, that guarded them, offered them wine, bidding them drink *lustick*, and drive away the sorrow; according to the custom of their own nation in the like case, but contrary to the nature of the *English*.

Upon the morrow morning, being the execution-day, the 27th of *February*, *stilo veteri*, *John Powl* being freed (as is above recited) came into the room where the condemned persons were, and found them at prayer. They all requested him to relate unto their friends in *England* the innocency of their cause; taking it upon their deaths, that what they had confessed against themselves, and others, touching this crime, was all false, and forced by fear of torture.

The same morning *William Webber* was

called again into the fiscal's room, and there pressed to produce the letter, which he had before confessed to have received from *John Clark*; in the *postscript* whereof some great business was intimated. They promised him his life, if he would deliver or produce them that letter: which although he did not, nor indeed could, yet, at last, they pardoned him, and sent him to the rest that were saved, and *Sharrock* with him.

That morning *Emanuel Tomson*, understanding that *John Beomont* was pardoned, made means to have him come and speak with him; which, with much ado, he obtained. *Beomont* found him sitting in a chamber, all alone, in a most miserable fashion; the wounds of his torture bound up, but the matter and gore-blood issuing through the rollers. He took Mr. *Beomont* by the hand, and prayed him, when he came into *England*, to do his duty to the honourable company his masters, to Mr. *Robinson*, and to his brother *Billingfley*, and to certify them of his innocency; which (said he) you yourself know well enough.

All things being prepared for the execution, the condemned were brought forth of the hall, along by the chamber where the quit and pardoned were; who stood in the door, to give and take the farewell of their countrymen, now going to execution. Staying a little for this purpose, they prayed, and charged those, that were saved, to bear witness to their friends in *England* of their innocency; and that they died not traitors, but so many innocents, merely murdered by the *Hollanders*, whom they prayed God to forgive their blood-thirstiness, and to have mercy upon their own souls.

Being brought into the yard, their sentence was there read unto them from a gallery; and then they were thence carried unto the place of execution, together with nine *Japons*, and a *Portugal*: not the ordinary and short way, but round about in a long procession, through the town; the way guarded with five companies of soldiers, *Dutch* and *Amboyners*, and thronged with the natives of the island, that (upon the summons given the day before, by the sound of the drum) flocked together, to behold this triumph of the *Dutch* over the *English*. *Samuel Colson* had conceived a prayer, in writing, in the end whereof he protested his innocency: which prayer he read to his fellows the night before; and now also, at the place of execution, devoutly pronounced the same; then threw away the paper, which the governor caused to be brought to him, and kept it.

Emanuel

Emanuel Tomson told the rest, he did not doubt but God would shew some sign of their innocency; and every one of the rest took it severally upon their death, that they were utterly guiltless; and so one by one, with great chearfulness, suffered the fatal stroke.

The *Portugal* prayed over his beads very devoutly, and often kissed the cross; swearing thereupon that he was utterly innocent of this treason: yet confessed, that God had justly brought this punishment upon him; for that, having a wife in his own country, he had, by the persuasion of the *Dutch* governor, taken another in that country, his first being yet living.

The *Japons* likewise (according to their religion) shut up their last act with the like profession of their innocency. So there suffered ten *Englishmen*, viz. Captain *Gabriel Tower*son the agent of the *English* at *Amboyna*, *Samuel Colson* factor at *Hitto*, *Emanuel Tomson* assistant at *Amboyna*, *Timothy Johnson* assistant there also, *John Wetheral* factor at *Cambello*, *John Clark* assistant at *Hitto*, *William Griggs* factor at *Larica*, *John Fardo* steward of the house, *Abel Price* chirurgeon, and *Robert Brown* taylor.

The *Portugal* also suffered with them. His name was *Augustin Perez*. He was born at *Bengala*.

The names of the *Japoneses* that suffered (if any be curious to know them) were as followeth:

<i>Hititso,</i>	} all born at <i>Firando</i> .
<i>Ishosa,</i>	
<i>Sinsa,</i>	
<i>Sidney Migiel,</i>	} born at <i>Nagansacque</i> .
<i>Pedro Congie,</i>	
<i>Thome Corea,</i>	
<i>Quiandayo</i> , native of <i>Coraets</i> .	
<i>Isabinda</i> , of <i>Isoncketgo</i> .	
<i>Zanchoe</i> , of <i>Fisien</i> .	

Besides these, there were two other *Japoneses*; the one named *Soyfimo*, born at *Firando*; and the other *Sacoube*, of the same place; the former of which, being tortured, confessed both to have been privy to this pretended treason, and to have offered his service unto the *English*, to aid them in taking of the castle: and the latter confessed to have had knowledge of the consultation of the other *Japons* to this purpose. But neither of them was executed, nor so much as condemned: the reason whereof was not known to the *English* that were saved.

They had prepared a cloth of black velvet, for captain *Tower*son's body to fall upon; which, being stained and defaced with his blood, they afterwards put to the account of the *English* company.

At the instant of the execution there

arose a great darkness, with a sudden and violent gust of wind and tempest; whereby two of the *Dutch* ships, riding in the harbour, were driven from their anchors, and with great labour and difficulty saved from the rocks. Within a few days after, one *William Dunckin*, who had told the governor, that *Robert Brown*, the *English* taylor, had, a few months before, told him, he hoped that, within six months, the *English* should have as much to do in the castle of *Amboyna* as the *Dutch*; this fellow, coming upon an evening to the grave, where the *English* were buried, being all (save Captain *Tower*son) in one pit, fell down upon the grave; and, having lain there awhile, rose up again stark-mad, and so continued two or three days together, and then died. Forthwith also fell a new sickness at *Amboyna*, which swept away about a thousand people, *Dutch* and *Amboyners*, in the space wherein there usually died not above thirty at other seasons. These signs were, by the surviving *English*, referred to the confident prediction of *Emanuel Tomson* above-named; and were, by the *Amboyners*, interpreted as a token of the wrath of God for this barbarous tyranny of the *Hollanders*.

The next day after the execution, being the 28th of *February*, *stilo veteri*, was spent in triumph for the new general of the *Dutch* then proclaimed, and in public rejoicing for the deliverance from this pretended treason. The day following, being the first of *March*, *John Beomont*, *George Sbarrock*, *Edward Collins*, and *William Webber*, were brought to the governor; who told *Webber*, *Beomont*, and *Sbarrock*, that they were pardoned in honour of the new general; and *Collins*, that he was to go to *Jaccatra*, there to stand to the favour of the general. So the governor made them drink wine with him, and courteously dismissed them; willing them to go and consult with the rest that were saved, who were fit to be placed in the several factories. Which done, and their opinions reported to the governor, he accordingly commanded each to his place; adding, that he would thenceforth take upon him the patronage and government of the *English* company's business. To which purpose, he had, within a few days past, opened a letter, that came from the *English* president at *Jaccatra*, directed to captain *Tower*son; being (as he said) the first *English* letter that ever he intercepted; further saying, that he was glad, that he found, by that letter, that the *English* at *Jaccatra* were innocent, touching this business.

The governor and fiscal, having thus made an end at *Amboyna*, dispatched themselves

selves for *Banda*; where they made very diligent inquiry against captain *Welden*, the *English* agent there; yet found no colour nor shadow of guilt to lay hold on; but, at last, entertained him with courteous speeches, professing to be very glad, that they found him, as well as the *English* at *Jaccatra*, to be without suspicion of this treason (as they term it). Captain *Welden*, perceiving the disorder and confusion of the *English* company's affairs at *Amboyna*, by means of this dealing of the *Dutch*, forthwith hired a *Dutch* pinnace at *Banda*, and passed to *Amboyna*; where, instantly upon his arrival, he recalled the company's servants, sent (as before) by the *Dutch* governor to the upper factories.

Having inquired of them, and the rest that were left at *Amboyna*, of the whole proceedings lately passed, he found, by the constant and agreeing relation of them all, that there was no such treason of the *English* as was pretended: as also understanding what strict command the governor had given to the surviving *English*, not once to talk or confer with the country-people, concerning this bloody business; although the said country-people every day reproached them with treason, and a bloody intention to have massacred the natives, and to have ripped up the bellies of women with child, and such-like stuff; wherewith the *Dutch* have possessed the poor vulgar, to make the *English* odious unto them; the said Mr. *Welden* therefore, finding it to sort neither with the honour nor profit of the *English* company his masters, to hold any longer residence in *Amboyna*, he took the poor remnant of the *English* along with him, in the said hired pinnace, for *Jaccatra*; whither the governor had sent *John Beomont* and *Edward Collins* before, as men condemned, and left to the mercy of the general.

When this heavy news of *Amboyna* came to *Jaccatra*, and the *English* there, the president forthwith sent to the general of the *Dutch*, to know by what authority the governor of *Amboyna* had thus proceeded against the *English*; and how he, and the rest of the *Dutch* there at *Jaccatra*, did approve these proceedings. The governor returned for answer, that the governor of *Amboyna*'s authority was derived from that of the lords states general of the *United Netherlands*; under whom he had lawful jurisdiction, both in criminal and civil causes, within the district of *Amboyna*: further, that such proceeding was necessary against traitors, such as the *English*, executed at *Amboyna*, might appear to be by their own confessions; a copy whereof he therewith sent to the *English* president;

who sent the same back to be authentickly certified, but received it not again.

Hitherto hath been recited the bare and naked narration of the progress and passage of this action, as it is taken out of the depositions of six several *English* factors; whereof four were condemned, and the other two acquitted in this process of *Amboyna*; all, since their return into *England*, examined, upon their oaths, in the admiralty-court. The particular of captain *Towerson*'s, as also of *Emanuel Tomson*'s examinations and answers, are not yet come to light, by reason that these two were kept apart from all the rest, and each alone by himself; nor any other of the *English* suffered to come to speak with them, except only that short farewell which *John Beomont* took of *Tomson*, the morning before the execution before-mentioned. The like obscurity is yet touching the examinations and answers of divers of the rest that were executed; being, during their imprisonment, so strictly looked to, and watched by the *Dutch*, that they might not talk together, nor mutually relate their miseries.

But because the *Hollanders* defend their own proceedings by the confessions of the parties executed, acknowledging severally under their hands, that they were guilty of the pretended crime; it will not be amiss to recollect, and recall unto this place, as it were unto one sum and total, certain circumstances, dispersed in several parts of this narration; whereby as well the innocency of the *English*, as the unlawful proceedings against them, may be manifested.

First, therefore, it is to be remembered, that the *Japons* were apprehended, examined, and tortured, three or four days, before the *English* were attached; and the same, as well of their apprehension, as torture, was rife and notorious in the town of *Amboyna*, and the parts adjoining. *Tomson*, in this interim, and the very first day of the examination of the *Japon*, went to the castle, to ask leave of the governor to land some rice; and brought back the news with him to the *English* house of the cruel handling of these poor *Japons*. This had been item enough to the *English*, if they had been guilty, to shift for themselves: whereto also they had ready means by the curricurries, or small boats, of the *Amboyners*, which lie along the strand in great number, wherewith they might have transported themselves to *Seran*, to *Bottoom*, or to *Macassar*, out of the reach and jurisdiction of the *Dutch*: but in that they fled not in this case, it is a very strong presumption, that they were as little privy to any treason of their own, as suspicious

suspicious of any treacherous train laid for their bloods.

In the next place let it be considered, how impossible it was for the *English* to atchieve this pretended enterprize.

The castle of *Amboyna* is of a very great strength (as is before declared;) the garison therein two or three hundred men, besides as many more of their free-burgers in the town. What their care and circumspection, in all their forts, is, may appear, not only by the quick alarm they now took at the foolish question of the poor *Japon*, made to the centinel above recited; but also by that which a little before happened at *Jaccatra*, where one of their soldiers was shot to death for sleeping in the watch.

Durst ten *Englishmen*, whereof not one a soldier, attempt any thing upon such a strength and vigilancy? As for the assistance of the *Japons*, they were but ten neither, and all unarmed, as well as the *English*: for, as, at the seizure of the *English* house, all the provision therein found was but three swords, two musquets, and half a pound of powder: so the *Japons*, except when they are in service of the castle, and there armed by the *Dutch*, are allowed to have no arms, but only a *Catan*, a kind of short sword: and it is forbidden to all the *Dutch*, upon great penalty, to sell any hand-gun, powder, or bullets, to the *Japons* or *Amboyners*. But let it be imagined, that these twenty persons, *English* and *Japons*, were so desperate as to adventure the exploit; how should they be able to master the *Dutch* in the castle, or to keep possession when they had gotten it? What second had they? There was neither ship nor pinace of the *English* in the harbour. All the rest of the *Japons* in the island were not twenty persons, and not one *English* more. The nearest of the rest of the *English* were at *Banda*, forty leagues from *Amboyna*, and those but nine persons; all afterwards cleared by the governor and fiscal themselves from all suspicion of this pretended crime; as were also the rest of the *English* at *Jaccatra*.

On the other side, besides the strength of the castle and town of *Amboyna*, the *Hollanders* have three other strong castles, well furnished with soldiers, in the same island, and at *Cambello* near adjoining. They had then also in the road of *Amboyna* eight ships and vessels, namely, the *Rotterdam* of 1200 ton, the *Unicorn* of 300 ton, the freeman's vessel of 100 ton, the *Calck* of 60 ton, captain *Gamal*'s junk of 40 ton, the *Flute* of 300 ton, the *Amsterdam* of 1400 ton, and a small pinnace of about 60 ton; and all these well furnished with men and ammunition. It is

true, that the stories do record sundry valiant and hardy enterprizes of the *English* nation, and *Holland* is witness of some of them, yea, hath reaped the fruit of the *English* resolution: yet no story, no legend scarcely, reporteth any such hardiness, either of the *English* or others, that so few persons, so naked of all provisions and supplies, should undertake such an adventure, upon a counterparty so well and abundantly fitted at all points.

But let it be further granted, that they might possibly have overcome all these difficulties; yet to what end and purpose should they put themselves into such a jeopardy? They knew well enough, that it was agreed between both companies at home, that the forts in the *Indies* should remain respectively in the hands of such, as had possession of them at the date of the treaty, *anno* 1619; and that the same was ratified by the king's majesty, and the lords states general. They knew likewise, and all the world takes knowlege of, his majesty's religious observation of peace and treaty with all his neighbours, yea, with all the world: what reward then could these *English* hope for, of this their valour and danger? Certainly none other than that which is expressly provided by the treaty itself, that is, to be punished as the disturbers of the common peace, and amity of both nations.

But let these *Englishmen* have been as foolish in this plot as the *Hollanders* will have them; is it also to be imagined, that they were so graceless, as when they were condemned, and seriously admonished by the ministers to discharge their consciences, yet then to persist in their dissimulation, being otherwise of such godly behaviour, as to spend the time in prayer, singing of psalms, and spiritual comforting one another, which the *Dutch* would have had them bestow in drinking, to drive away their sorrow? Let *Colson*'s question to the minister be considered; his, and the rest, offer and desire to receive the sacrament, in sign and token of their innocency; their mutual asking forgiveness for their like false accusations of one another, forced by the torture; *Tomson*'s last farewell to *Beomont*; *Colson*'s prayer, and his writing in his prayer-book; *Fardo*'s farewell to *Powl*; also his conjuring exhortation to his fellows, to discharge their consciences; and all their answers thereunto, craving God's mercy or judgment, according to their innocency in this cause; their general and religious profession of their innocency, to their countrymen, at their last parting with them; and, finally, the sealing of this profession with their last breath and blood, even in the very article of death, and

and in the stroke of the executioner: What horrible and unexampled dissimulation were this? If some one, or more, of them had been so fearfully desperate, yet would not there one amongst ten be found to think of the judgment to come; whereunto he was then instantly summoned without effoin, bail, or mainprize? What? had they hope of reprieve and life, if they kept their countenance to the last? Yet what hope had *Tomson*, and the rest, when captain *Towerson's* head was off? Nay, what desire had *Tomson* and *Clark* to live, being so mangled and martyred by the torture? They were executed one by one; and every one severally took it upon his death, that he was guiltless.

Now to blanch and smooth over all this rough and barbarous proceeding; it is here given out, that the governor and fiscal found such evidence of the plot, and dealt so evenly in the process, that they spared not their own people; having used some of their native *Hollanders*, partakers of this treason, in the same manner as they did the *English*. But this, as well

by the relation here truly and faithfully set down, grounded upon the sworn testimony of six credible witnesses, as also by other sufficient reports of divers (lately come out of those parts), appeareth to be a mere tale; not once alleged by any in the *Indies* in many months after the execution, but only invented and dispersed here, for a fucus and a fair colour upon the whole cause, and to make the world believe, that the ground of this barbarous and tyrannous proceeding was a true crime, and not the unsatiable covetousness of the *Hollanders*, by this cruel treachery to gain the sole trade of the *Mulloccos*, *Banda*, and *Amboyna*, which is already become the event of this bloody process.

To add hereunto, by way of aggravation, will be needless; the fact is so full of odious and barbarous inhumanity, executed by *Hollanders* upon the *English* nation, in a place where both lived under terms of partnership, and great amity, confirmed by most solemn treaty.

A TRUE
DECLARATION

Of the NEWS that came out of the

EAST-INDIES,

With the Pinnace called *The Hare*,

Which arrived in the *TEXEL*, in *June* 1624.

CONCERNING

A CONSPIRACY discovered in the Island of
AMBOYNA, and the Punishment following thereupon,
according to the Course of Justice, in *March* 1624.

Comprehended in a Letter-Missive ;

And sent from a FRIEND in the *Low-Countries*, to a FRIEND of Note in *England*,
for Information of him in the Truth of those Passages.

Right Worshipful and Worthy S I R,

*T*HE great outcries which have been made in England, upon the last news which came out of the East-Indies, about a certain execution which was done in the island of Amboyna, in March 1623, because we see the great desire that your worship hath to keep good correspondence betwixt these two nations, it hath caused me (beyond my own curiosity) to search and inquire after the right and true beginnings, proceedings, and issues, of these affairs, upon which this execution followed. Wherein, I persuade myself, I have attained good success, by such means as I have used, and by my good acquaintance; so that, at the last, I am come to the clear light of the matter: partly by the letters that have been sent home, to the company here, and declared to the States-General; as also, by a particular examination of the process made against them in Amboyna, before their execution, and sent over hither, in writing; which at this present hath caused me to write this unto your worship; that so the truth may be made known, concerning this business, in all places, where your worthiness and respect can or may bring it to pass; that so your worship, and all true well-willers of our country, may be no otherwise thought of than we deserve.

THE very causes and beginnings, through which the governor and council, established in the name of the *United Netherlands*, in *Amboyna*, came into suspicion, that something was plotted against that province, did first flow from the great licentiousness of the *Tarnatanes*, in *Molouque* and *Amboyna*: who, contrary to the contract of alliance, 1606, made with the high and mighty lords the states, attempted (without our consent and knowlege) to make peace with the king of *Tidore*; as also truce with the *Spaniards* (their and our ancient adversaries); by which the said *Tarnatanes* had had too much cast off all respect, which they, both in regard of our confederacy, and manifold assistance, did owe to this state. The *Spaniard* also was master enough at sea, in the *Molouque*, because the *English* merchants there, in the *East-Indies*, were unwilling to furnish us with ships of war, toward the common defence; as they were bound to do, according to the treaties 1619, to the number of ten. Through which, the voyages to *Manila* coming to cease, the enemy traded there, without any interruption, and procured power to send gallies, ships, and pinnaces, to the *Molouque*, with great succours of people, and provision; and that because against the same (through the default of the *English* merchants) there were no ships of war kept, as there should have been.

D The subjects of the king of *Tarnata* began to commit great insolencies (otherwise than they were wont) against our nation, having outrageously assaulted divers of us divers ways, and also slain some; and we, notwithstanding, could not obtain any punishment upon them. And, as one outrage (unpunished) provokes many more, through hope of the like impunity, or other considerations; so were the said *Tarnatanes* of *Amboyna*, dwelling at *Lobo*, *Cambello*, and those near adjoining places, proceeded further; and have armed themselves at sea, and invaded divers islands, and places, standing under the *Netherlands* governor in *Amboyna*, spoiling them, and killing our subjects, and taking others, and carrying them away for slaves. And, notwithstanding the instant request of the *Netherlands* governor, no satisfaction, or justice, hath followed; but the said *Tarnatanes* are yet gone further, and openly threatened to murder the *Dutch* merchants, and to spoil and burn the *logie*, or factory, which our people have many years there enjoyed: so that our merchants have taken out the *Dutch* goods, to avoid damage: And the *Tarnatanes* at *Lobo* did actually set on fire, and ruined the said *Netherlands* factory.

In the *Manickells* (an island, being under the province of *Amboyna*) they have, in like manner, shortly after, burned the *Netherlands Logie*, with the loss of all the goods therein. The *Netherlands* governor, that, by his presence and authority, he might cause such rebellions to cease, and to give order for time to come, and also to seek satisfaction and punishment upon the foresaid insolencies, went toward *Lobo*, with a small power of sloop; and, coming thereabout, was met (otherwise than was wont) by a navy of sloops of the *Tarnatanes* of *Lobo*, stronger than his were. These, by their conference, gave him well to know, how little reverence they gave the *Dutch* governor: they braved him without hope of restitution of any thing to come; so that (nothing done) he was fain to return to his castle of *Amboyna*. By reason of these things the said *Tarnatanes* became so stout and daring, that they gave out openly, that they would come, and spoil our subjects by a general army, with above a hundred frigats: with these, they said, they would come against *Amboyna*, to make a universal spoil of our people; through which, there came a great fear upon the *Indians*, standing under the subjection of the high and mighty lords the states, as also over the *Netherlanders*.

In the islands lying far eastward of *Banda*, it was also said, and the news went currently there, that the *Hollanders* were sure enough quit of the castle of *Amboyna*; and at that time there were divers secret correspondencies between the *Indians* and others, which gave us great suspicion. By this means the *Netherlands* governor, and council of *Amboyna*, were moved to have special regard, and look narrowly unto all things, seeing that it might be thence clearly gathered, that something might be plotted against the state in *Amboyna*, and that the *Indians* (of themselves) durst not offer to undertake any such great design, without some great help of some of *Europe*, either of *Spaniards*, *Portugals*, or some other; and also, they understood, that they of *Lobo*, *Cambello*, &c. had great secret correspondence with the *English* merchants. When things were in such a state in *Amboyna*, there came forth, and was wonderfully discovered, in *February* 1623, a horrible conspiracy against the castle and person of the *Dutch* governor, and the whole state of *Amboyna*: and first, by the apprehension of a certain *Japonian* (accomplice of the feat); who, at an unreasonable time, was often seen upon the wall of the castle, where he also over-curiously inquired of the most unskilful and silliest soldiers, touching the setting and change of the watch, and what number of people might

be in the castle, and many other things. Whereupon, in the very act, the said *Japonian* was apprehended; and, being examined of many circumstances, he confessed, that the *Japonian* soldiers, under our service, had decreed to make themselves masters of the castle, and that they should have set upon this by the help of the *English*, who had solicited them unto it; and that he, with all the other *Japonians* in the *English* house, oftentimes within three months before-going, had conferred with the *English* (whom he there named by their names) touching the manner, whereby they should bring this treachery to pass. Hereupon it came to pass, that all the *Japonian* soldiers, which were in our service, were disarmed and imprisoned; and by examination of them all, it appeared plainly, by an orderly and joint confession, that all the said *Japonians*, upon the intreaty of *Gabriel Towerfon*, and other *English* merchants and officers, agreed to assist the said *English*; to betray the castle, and to give it over into the *English* power; and that *Gabriel Towerfon*, and *Abel Price* (an *English* chirurgion), and other *English*, dealt often with them (whom he named by their names) of the way and means, how they should work it; the said *Abel Price* being before imprisoned for a foul and execrable fact, and yet remaining in durance.

And although it appeared sufficiently to the governor and council of *Amboyna*, out of the confession of the *Japonians*, what the said *Gabriel Towerfon*, with his merchants, and other accomplices, had before resolved to do, and that the council had sufficient information to imprison them all; yet the general council would not precipitate, but commanded the said *Abel Price*, who was in prison, to come before the council; and, after the places, persons, and time, nominated to him, where and when he had dealt with the *Japonians*, and other *English*, about the said treachery, it was also from him well understood, how he, in the name, and by the command, of *Gabriel Towerfon*, and another *Japonian*, who was then also in prison, had persuaded all the *Japonians* to consent to this villainy; and that consequently the said *Towerfon*, as the first author, and all the other *English* merchants (being in the foreign *Cantore* of the province of *Amboyna*), had also knowledge of the said treachery.

Upon this full and uniform examination and confession of twelve persons, as well of the eleven *Japonians*, as one *English*, is the said *Gabriel Towerfon* called to the council; and there appearing, the said *Towerfon* called together all his people unto the castle, upon the request of the general council, who were there taken and impris-

oned, except the said *Gabriel Towerfon* himself, to whom, upon his request, and in regard of his quality, being chief merchant in *Amboyna*, in the name of the *English* company, his own house was allotted him for his safe keeping, and forth-coming. And the said prisoners were all lawfully and orderly examined; and it appeared by them jointly, according to their own confession (every one having underwritten it with his own hand), as followeth.

Gabriel Towerfon, about *New-Year's-day* 1623, having with him almost all the *English* merchants of the foreign *Cantore* in *Amboyna*, he assembled them in his chamber, and propounded to them, that he had something of great moment to impart unto them, which he alone could not effect, under the fidelity of an oath to be taken before, for the keeping secret thereof, and being trusty therein; saying, It is necessary so to be: for, if the thing should come abroad, which I shall make known unto you, it will cost all our lives. Whereupon the holy gospel was produced, upon which every one who was present, did swear secrecy and fidelity, as was required. Then *Towerfon*, after a preface, opened to the conspirators, how he had a way and means to make himself master of the castle of *Amboyna*. And whereas some present made it difficult to do, being too weak for it, the said *Towerfon* answered, That he had already won to his purpose the *Japonian* soldiers, who were in the castle, and that they should execute his purpose, when the *Dutch*, who were in the castle, were in their greatest weakness, and worse provided, or (unawares) when the governor should be absent, about some exploit; and that they should wait till some *English* ships, or ship, were in *Amboyna*, whose people he might employ in this attempt; as also, whenas all other the *English* merchants, and slaves of the foreign *Cantore* in *Amboyna*, should be sent for to the castle: and said further, That he knew how to get men enough, and they should leave this to his care, and themselves do their best; and that they of *Lobo* should also come to help him with certain *Corrercorens*, &c. upon which inducements, all that were present swore to assist *Towerfon* herein. And, concerning the manner of execution, the said *Towerfon* had prescribed to the *Japonians*, which were in the castle, that they should send to every point of the bulwarks, two men, and the rest in the court attend the governor, and to murder him; and that, at the sign which should be given by the *English*, they should make themselves masters of every point of the bulwark, and kill all who should resist, and imprison the rest; and further should take, and divide between themselves, and

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K and the *Japonians*, the goods of the *Dutch East-India* company, except a thousand rials of eight, which every *Japonian* should have before; and that they should kill the citizens who would not consent with them, and do them all the mischief they could: and touching the time, he had not yet certainly set it; but that there should suddenly be another assembly of the conspirators, when *Gabriel Towerfon* would give order for all things, and give a sign to the *Japonians*; whereupon, when they shewed it, they should begin the work within.

L The said *Gabriel Towerfon* being asked in particular, what moved him to such a wicked fact; he answered, The desire of honour and profit. Being further demanded, who should enjoy that honour and profit, and for whom he would have taken the castle; he answered, That if he did obtain his desire, he should presently have advertised those of his nation being in *Batavia*, and called for their help, who, if they had sent him succour, he would have kept the castle for his own company (*viz.* for the *English East-India* company); and if not, he would have held it for himself, and have endeavoured a peace with the *Indians*, that so by the one means or the other, he might attain his purpose. After

M the examination of *Towerfon* was ended, the *Dutch* governor in *Amboyna* upbraided *Towerfon* of his cruel intent, and asked, If this should have been the recompence of the manifold honours and kindnesses he had done unto him? Whereto *Towerfon* answered with a deep sigh, Oh, if it were to be begun, it should not be done. This voluntary confession, and penitent acknowledgement, with much sorrow, was made the ninth of *March*, being the day when the execution should have been done; but the examination of *Towerfon* was ended the eighteenth of *February*, so many days before. This is the substance of the confessions of ten *Japonians*, of fourteen *English*, and of a *Netherlandish Merincho*, or captain of the slaves; who all confirmed these their confessions with their own hands.

What crime this intended prodiction was, is hence very manifest, and undoubted: what punishment is due to treachery, according to the law and customs of all nations, is also well known: no true Christian man will patronage any such horrible attempt, but will adjudge it worthy of death, as it was determined upon the accomplices of this conspiracy, according to order of justice, as there, in *Amboyna*, it is exercised, according to desert, by the governor and council, in the name of the high and mighty lords the states.

Here you have, Sir, the very substance of the truth, both of the fact and punishment.

ment; other than which, many things are spread abroad in *England*, but upon what pretence, or intendment, I know not; let the matter itself speak for itself.

The first point, which is objected against this justice done in *Amboyna*, is concerning the proceedings; which are said to be holden without formality, and with extremity, against these conspirators. Your worship, and each reasonable man knoweth, that every land hath their laws and ordinances, and their particular manner of proceedings, as well in civil as in criminal causes. *England* hath hers. *France*, *Spain*, *Dutchland*, *Netherland*, and all other kingdoms and governments have also theirs, which are just and lawful to every one in their dominion; so that, when any man will judge of the equity or injustice of a proceeding used in any land, he must examine the same according to the laws and customs of that kingdom or dominion, where the justice and proceedings were holden. These proceedings were holden by the *Netherlandish* governor, in the name of the illustrious lords the states, having supreme power, many years since, in the isles of *Amboyna*, which were conquered, in the name of the said lords the states, from the *Spaniards* or *Portugals*, who held that castle in the name of the king of *Spain*, our hereditary enemy; therefore they are now possessed in the name of the lords the states, and are under their dominion, by a just and lawful title of war, according to the law of nations. There, among other things, justice is administered according to the laws of the *Netherlands*, in that manner as was used in the proceedings against these conspirators. I know that the laws of *England* are diverse from ours in criminal cases; yea, and from all the nations in *Europe*: howbeit, therefore no man hath any ground of reason to say, that the proceedings of the *English* judges (holden in *England*) against delinquents are not legitimate, though the said *English* proceedings do vary in the manner from the proceedings of *France*, *Spain*, &c. where other customs are: for that is lawful, which agreeth with the laws of that land where the fact is committed. Now then, the *Japonian* soldiers, being in the service of the *Netherlands* company in *Amboyna*, are discovered to have conspired against the castle and the government there, under whose oath and pay they were; they were apprehended, and examined, and convicted of the said conspiracy. This proceeding is lawful, and toucheth no man, because the said *Japonians* knew no other master than the *Netherlanders*, under whose oath, service, and pay, they stand. All these *Japonian* conspirators, with the said *Merincho*, a captain

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a captain of the *Netherland* slaves, confessed with one mouth, that they were moved and induced to this conspiracy, by the *English* merchants resident in *Amboyna*, whose names they named. Now, not only the right of *Netherland*, but of *England*, and of the whole world, requireth, that the authors, abettors, and accomplices of murder and treason should be punished with death; whereto, according to the common laws, as also the particular laws of every kingdom or dominion, the suspected persons first, and before all, should be imprisoned, not only for preventing the effect of their evil purpose, but that they might also receive their deserved punishment: which apprehensions could not (in that place) be done by any other man, than by the command of the *Netherlands* governor, to whom it belongeth to take care to see every act concerning supreme power to be there observed; and especially, all other reasons ceasing, the highest *English* officers there could not apprehend these *English* conspirators, because all the chief of the *English* merchants in *Amboyna* were themselves of the conspiracy, and accomplices of the fact, upon which the apprehension was made. Therefore the apprehension of the *English* accomplices must be done by the *Dutch* governor, who therefore hath therein proceeded according to the custom of all nations of the world. And that these apprehensions may be holden more lawful, it appeareth out of the written process, that the said *English* accomplices were not imprisoned upon the first suspicions, and gross evidences, which were had against them, but then at last, when all the *Japonian* soldiers were taken, examined, and convicted, and had discovered, by the uniform confession of all the eleven, the names and surnames of such *English*, as had persuaded and hired them to this fact; of which *English*, one, viz. *Abel Price*, barber, was before apprehended, as an incendiary, for burning and violence done upon other houses; who also was first examined, and first confessed, as the other eleven *Japonians*, that he, by name *Gabriel Towerison*, and other *English* merchants, whom he named by their names, had suborned the said *Japonian* soldiers; and that all the *English* merchants in the foreign *Cantores* in *Amboyna* had knowlege of this conspiracy, &c. So that it may be seen, out of that which went before, that the *Dutch* governor dealt no otherwise in the apprehension and examination of the *English*, than according to his place and power, and that with great discretion, according to the laws of these *United Provinces*.

Object. 2. The second point, which is abusively dispersed in *England*, against this execution,

is, that it is said, that it did not appertain to the *Netherlanders* in *Amboyna* to imprison the said *English*, and to proceed against them, or to punish them; but that it did belong to the council of defence resident at *Jaccatra*, consisting half of *English*, and half of *Netherlanders*, according to the treaty of the year 1619, made between his majesty and the lords the states, between the two *East-India* companies. That I might the better inform myself thereof, I took in hand, and perused the general treaty of 1619, with the explication following thereupon; but I profess (that, as I think, every understanding man, not loving discord, must confess), that neither in the said treaty, nor in the enlargement, any one article or word could be perceived, whereby, according to that which is untruly said in *England*, either this, or any such thing, is ordained or decided by the said treaty; as it ought to have clearly been in so great and important a point, as this part of jurisdiction is. I appeal to all wise men, who I desire may judge of this, whether this speech of some in *England*, to wit, that the said council of defence should alone have judged these conspirators, be agreeable to the said treaty, or contrary to the same. I find many arguments for my negative opinion; to wit, that before the treaty of 1619, the *Dutch* in *Amboyna* administered jurisdiction and judicature upon all and every one who dealt in or under the jurisdiction of the castle, as well inhabitants as strangers, without difference; and that, in this said treaty, the *Dutch*, with the *English* merchants, made only a league in the matter of commerce and negotiation of nutmegs, mace, cloves, and pepper, in some quarters, without having any further treaty or communication in the land; so that, without the bounds of this common negotiation, every one remained free and unhindered in the land, by the right and possession which either company enjoyed and exercised severally; according as the same appeareth out of the twenty-third article of the treaty: where it is expressly said, That castles and forts shall remain in their hands who at present do possess them. And out of the 13th, 14th, and 15th articles of the treaty, all may see, that this common council of defence hath no more power, save only over the fellowship of the treaty; that is, over the navy of defence in the sea, to the defence of the common merchandize, and liberty of commerce; and lastly, to tax the charges for the provision of munition in the forts: neither can any other thing be sincerely collected out of the said treaty, so far as I can conceive. Therefore this second point

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is found to be true and abusive, being not founded upon the said treaty ; which treaty (notwithstanding) ought to be the only rule, both of the one and the other company.

Finally, it is given out in *England*, that, in the examination of the conspirators, there was excess in the *Netherlands* judges, in the point of torture. I acknowledge, that no argument, or pretext, against the justice of this execution, hath more moved me in the beginning, than this pretence of excess aforesaid, because this stirreth Christian compassion ; altho' I also judge, that wise men will not suffer themselves to be too much transported thereby, before the true reasons do fully appear, which should move us thereto. For, I well remember yet, that, in the time of former mistakings in the *Indies*, many things were pretended on both parts, upon which there were great outcries on either side ; which yet, by due examination, were found to be (though fair, yet) false pretexts of some ill-willers, and men desirous to wrangle : which pretences, being thoroughly sifted by the high and much admired wisdom of his majesty, and the lords the states, were well discovered to be no such matters as they were made : as it is also undoubtedly to be believed, that his majesty, and the states, will yet further do in this affair ; and so the cause of the *Dutch* company may be (in the carriage hereof) rightly justified ; of which I understand that the lords the states have special regard ; and that they have been thoroughly informed, what is the very truth of the things there past, and of the execution in *Amboyna* upon the *English* conspirators. Unto which end the lords the states resolved to see and peruse all the papers and letters, touching the said proceedings : and now thereupon men speak far otherwise than heretofore ; for pretences and cavils (being once detected) cannot stand with truth. And it doth plainly appear, that there is little truth in the matter of torture, reported to be most cruelly inflicted upon these *English* conspirators, as in *England* it is said. And I have ever suspected this for a slander : for I know the *Dutch* nation doth naturally abhor this kind of cruelty, and are as much moved to commiseration, as any other people. But whether these evil-minded men, who have scattered this great slander in *England*, and have so foully defaced a just cause, have done it by occasion of our use of tortures in these lands, in some weighty causes, according to the custom of the most dominions of *Europe*, I cannot judge. But is that to be censured and judged to be unjust of the whole world, which is repugnant to the laws of *England*

(or any one nation), where torture is rarely used ? Nothing so ; but the justice, or injustice, of a cause must be, as aforesaid, determined, according to the laws where it is done, and not of other lands. If this were not so, why then should not the whole world much more judge that as a hard, and an unheard thing, and therefore condemnable, which, in some cases, is used in *England*, according to the laws there, when they proceed against some guilty person ? who being once and again asked of the judge, and utterly refusing to be legally tried, is adjudged as 'dumb, that is, by contumacy ; whose condemnation then accordingly followeth, that he is laid upon a table, or plank, and another plank upon him, and so much weight of stone or lead laid upon him, that his body is miserably bruised, and so pressed violently to death. The which, according to the confession of all nations (especially because this kind of justice is not used in other lands), and by the *English* writers, is judged to be one of the most sharp and severe kinds of death that can be invented : yet cannot such an execution be called cruel and unlawful, when it is done in *England*, because it is done according to the laws of that land ; though strangers shall judge otherwise of it. And, in like manner, the *English* nation cannot complain of the torture, which evil-willers say was used upon these *English* conspirators in *Amboyna*, because it is done according to the laws of this government ; and is not unusual in cases of treason, neither with us, nor almost any nation in *Europe*. And, for *England* itself, it is well known, and his most excellent majesty doth acknowledge, by his own princely pen, that the rack, and the manacles, are the only tortures, that are exercised upon traitors, to force them to confess (without concealment) what they know to be dangerous to the state.

And, to say the truth, without taking parts, the *English* conspirators being confronted with the uniform and written confessions of the eleven *Japonians*, their accomplices, which could convince them sufficiently, according to the laws, and find them guilty of the same conspiracy, and consequently of death ; if now, notwithstanding this, they had persisted in the stout denial of the fact, were not this (to speak according to the manner in *England*) enough to judge them dumb by contumacy, and so to esteem them worthy of this sore punishment of pressing to death, as is aforesaid ? But this torture of ours (if any in *Amboyna* were so tortured) is to be judged far less, than that pressing, where the malefactor doth suffer such extreme misery as cannot be imagined, and which

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is not to be lenified or eased at all, but ended by death. But, to the sufficient satisfaction of myself, and your worship, and all men, and not to speak according to the sentence and conscience of others; I have used all diligence to get into my hands the written process, concerning the conspirators in *Amboyna*, which I obtained authentically, and read carefully; and I find, that all, that is by me abovesaid, is confirmed; *to wit*, that the *Japonian* complices were examined, and made their confession, as aforesaid, for three days, *viz.* the 23d, 24th, and 25th of *February*, 1623; and that all this being done and consummated before, then, at last, is *Gabriel Towerfon*, first with the rest of the *English* accomplices, imprisoned the said 25th of *February*, when their examination and confession began, and continued divers days, without over-hasting, till the 3d of *March*. And the said examinations and confessions being so finished, the *Netherlands* governor and council deliberated, whether the punishment might be deferred to any long time, or referred to any other place; but it was so concluded, by joint consent of all, that the said punishment (there deserved) must be executed in the same place, *for example*; and that it could not, in any wise, be delayed, without extreme danger, for reasons there related; and, among others, because the *Ternatanes* and *Indians*, about *Amboyna*, had, otherwise than they were wont, rebelled; neither could it be fully known, what great confederacy these conspirators had made with them and others. And, touching any extraordinary and cruel torture, I have accurately over-looked every one's confession; but I find not one word in any one which maketh any mention of such torture, as is unjustly spoken of in *England*; nay, scarce find any mention of that ordinary torture which is in use, save only these words, in one act of the 25th of *February* 1623; *viz.* *The council, being gathered together, have thought meet, that all the English should be presently examined, one after another (as accordingly it was instantly done); and some of them before any torture, others, after a little (or rather a touch) of it, confessed as followeth.* Unto which followeth presently the particular confession of each one, subscribed with his own hand, as aforesaid. So that hence it is manifest, that no extraordinary torture was used, in such manner as is given out there, by those that wish us evil; nay, that those few that felt any, were only touched, not punished, with ordinary torture.

S And thus your worship hath the upright and impartial truth of this business, touching the whole passage as it proceeded, and the punishment as it was inflicted; from

which some *English* were exempted by favour, that the *English* goods should not be lost, according as order hath been given to that end: and I find, that the sentence was given the 9th of *March*, 1623, by a competent assembly of fourteen judges; who, as it appeareth in the sentence, in the doing thereof, did before earnestly call upon the Name of the Lord, that he would please to be president and predominant in every one of their hearts, in this their sorrowful assembly; and that he would inspire them only with that which might be judged to be expedient and just, &c. So that out of all that is above said, nothing else can appear, but that this business was managed lawfully and orderly, by men of honesty and conscience, against such as had undertaken against the state, against the wealth and advantage of this *East-India* company, the lives of their officers there placed, against the estate and welfare of many, who had little deserved, and as little expected, such wickedness from their friendly confederates, in the same society of merchants, there resident with them.

And now, considering the premises, I hope it shall be far from every Christian, in any wise, to protect or excuse this wicked fact, but rather to mourn and grieve, as we do, for this conspiracy, and for the evil the conspirators have so deservedly drawn upon their own heads; and to honour them, who, in justice, have punished villiany, according to the due merit thereof: for we all know, that without justice, without reward of that which is good, and punishment of that which is evil, no society of mankind can consist.

And of this information, which I send in love and honour to your worship, as unto a lover of truth, and a hater of treachery, you may make such use as to you shall seem good, in any place where you come, both for refutation of any thing already reported contrary thereto, and for prevention of any further false rumours or clamours; and, finally, for propagation of that undoubted truth, which *here*, to my best, I have endeavoured to discover. And if you shall meet with any thing of worth, which can be truly avowed to be contradictory unto any thing I have written, I desire to understand it from you; and you to suspend your wise and impartial judgment, till I have cleared it unto you. Truth remaineth ever the same. So I commend you to the God of truth; desiring him to give us minds, *not to judge according to outward appearance, but to judge with a righteous judgment.*

From my lodging,
July 23. 1624.

A N
A N S W E R
UNTO THE
DUTCH PAMPHLET,
Made in DEFENCE of the
UNJUST and BARBAROUS
PROCEEDINGS
AGAINST THE
ENGLISH,
AT
Amboyna, in the East-Indies,
BY THE
HOLLANDERS There.

A N
 A N S W E R
 TO THE
 D U T C H R E L A T I O N,
 Touching the
 Pretended CONSPIRACY of the *ENGLISH*,
 A T
AMBOYNA in the *INDIES*.

THE compiler of this relation, perceiving that he had an hard task to make it probable, that eighteen *Englishmen*, merchants and their servants, all unarmed, should, with the help and assistance of ten *Japons*, likewise unarmed, undertake the surprize of a castle, so provided every way, as that of *Amboyna* is before, in the relation of the *English*, truly described to be; as also the same author, well weighing that albeit all that he was to write, of this pretended conspiracy, should be taken for true, yet the fact would seem very poor, to bear so rigorous a punishment in persons of that quality, and of that relation to those that inflicted it; provides more skillfully than fairly, for both these points, in the preamble of this relation: to this end, he rakes and heaps together all the jealousies and dangers that the *Dutch* had in the *Indies*; yea, and more than they truly had, at or about the time of the pretended conspiracy; and applies them all to the suspicion of this business: as if all their enemies were likely to conspire with the *English*; and therefore the fact, under colour whereof they were condemned and executed, were possible and probable; and as if the state of the time had been then so dangerous, that every shadow of conspiracy was to be exquisitely inquired of, and the least offence to be severely punished. Wherefore, although this be no direct charge of the *English*, but used by the author to supply the want of probabilities in the process itself, it will not be amiss to examine the several circumstances, and how far they may yield any suspicion against the said *English*.

Now this author taketh the main grounds of this suspicion, of some great plot against the province of *Amboyna*, from the un-

wonted boldness and insolencies of the *Ternatans*; first in the *Moluccoes*, and then in *Amboyna*. For those in the *Moluccoes*, he said, they had lately, before the pretended conspiracy of the *English*, gone about, contrary to the treaty, *Anno* 1606, between them and the *Dutch*, to make peace with the king of *Tedore*, and truce with the *Spaniard*, without the consent or knowledge of them the *Dutch*: which, how honestly and conscionably it is alleged to this purpose, may appear by the journals of those parts; which evidently shew, that this treaty between those of *Ternata* and *Tedore* was in *November* 1621, that is to say, fifteen months before this forged conspiracy; and that with the knowledge of *Houtman*, the governor of the *Dutch*, who, upon the nineteenth of *November*, the year aforesaid, acquainted Mr. *Nichols*, the agent of the *English* in those parts, with the preparations of this treaty, which was actually holden at *Ternata* the twenty-fourth of the same month. But the matter was so well handled by the *Dutch*, to keep those neighbour islands in perpetual war, that the treaty was dissolved *re infectâ*. And the seventh of *December* following, an edict was published by the king of *Ternata*, commanding all the *Tedorians* forthwith to depart the island of *Ternata*, upon pain to be made slaves. After this, the correspondence between the *Dutch* and *Ternatans* in the *Moluccoes* returned into as firm state as ever; the *Ternatans* performing daily exploits against the *Spaniards*, and communicating the triumph with the *Dutch*: as the seventeenth of *February* 1622, being a full year before the feigned treason of the *English*, the king of *Ternata*, with twenty *curricurries*, took a *Spanish* galley, flew forty in fight, and took an hundred and fifty prisoners, whom they sold to the *Dutch*

Dutch for cloth and rice: and, coming by the *Hollanders* castle of *Maalão*, the eighteenth of the same month, with the heads of divers *Spaniards* at his stern, the *Dutch* saluted him from their said castle, with nine shot of great ordnance. The twenty-fifth of *April* following, the admiral of the king of *Ternata* took a prow of the *Spaniards*, flew some, and sold the rest to the *Dutch*. The twenty-eighth of the same month, both *Dutch* and *English* were feasted by the king of *Ternata*. The twenty-second of *May* next ensuing, the king of *Ternata* went forth to *Machian*, with six *curricurries*, and at his departure was honoured with thirty shot of great ordnance from the *Dutch* castle. The fifteenth of *June* the admiral of the king of *Ternata* made a voyage towards *Mindanao*, carrying divers of the *Dutch* with him to assist him. The third of *July* the *Ternatans* took other prisoners, and sold them to the *Dutch*. The twenty-fourth of *August* the king of *Ternata* made one *Vogler*, a *Dutch* merchant, his treasurer; at whose instalment in his new office, the *Dutch* gave seven great shot from the castle. And this good correspondence, between the *Ternatans* and the *Dutch* in the *Moluccoes*, continued even until and after the execution of the *English* at *Amboyna*: which was, as hath been shewed, in *February* 1623, new stile. Upon the fourteenth of which month, the *Dutch* gave the king of *Ternata*, and other blacks, two hundred bails of *Japan* rice, with other presents: at the delivery whereof, there were shot off from the castle seven pieces of ordnance, and three vollies of small shot. By all which may appear, how sincerely this author applieth the diffidence between the *Dutch* and the king of *Ternata*, which was now none at all, to this business of *Amboyna*.

B The next point is, that the *Ternatans* in the *Moluccoes* went about also to make truce with the *Spaniards*, without consent or knowlege of the *Dutch*: wherein this dealing of the author is worse than the former. For this treaty of truce appeareth by the journals, to have been holden the nineteenth of *July* 1623, which was five months after the execution of the *English* at *Amboyna*, and so came too late to move suspicion against them.

C And yet this pretended fear and jealousy of the *Moluccoes* is further amplified by the strength of the *Spaniard*, being then (as this author affirmeth) master of the sea there, and that by default of the *English*; who, contrary to the treaty of the year 1619, had deserted the defence, and sent no more ships, neither to the *Moluccoes*, nor to the *Manillas*: whence now the *Spaniards* had means to send ships, gallies, and pinnaces,

to the *Moluccoes*. What the strength of the *Spaniard* in the *Moluccoes*, by sea, was, at the time of this pretended fear, may appear by the exploits before-mentioned, done upon them by the *curricurries* of the *Ternatans*, without help of the *Hollanders*. But for the default of the *English*, which is here odiously alleged, it will be requisite to set down the true causes wherefore the *English* relinquished the action of defence, as well at the *Manillas*, as elsewhere; being a matter much aggravated upon all occasions by the *Hollanders*, albeit themselves have given the cause thereof. Wherefore, shortly, the true motives of the *English* their desisting from the action of defence were as followeth: The *English* had, by agreement of the council of defence, two years together maintained a fleet of five tall and warlike ships, to join with the like strength of the *Hollanders*, for the action of the *Manillas*; and the profit of the voyage, as the charge, to be common to both companies. The *Dutch* prepared another fleet of seven ships, all of their own, for *Macao*, bordering upon *China*, near the *Manillas*, without giving knowlege thereof to the *English* at *Jaccatra*, until their fleet was ready to depart thence; well knowing, that, upon such warning, it would be impossible for the *English* to prepare a like force to join with them. To those they appointed also eight pinnaces, that were then abroad, to join; and afterwards sent another ship, with provisions, unto them. This fleet passing by two of the *English* ships, which were appointed for that quarter of the *Manillas*; the *English* welcomed them, and offered to join with them in their exploit: which the *Dutch* refused, saying, That this being an exploit of their own, the *English* should neither participate of the fact, nor of the benefit that might arise thereby. Likewise, by agreement of the council of defence of both nations, there was another fleet of ten ships set forth, at the equal charge of the *English* and *Dutch*, for the coast of *Malabar*, to secure the trade in that part. Of the *Dutch* ships, about a month after they set sail, two were found to be so weak and leaky, that they were fain to return to *Jaccatra*. The rest being come to their quarter, two of the best of the *Dutch* ships were sent away by the *Dutch* admiral, for the *Red Sea*; contrary to their instructions and commission at *Jaccatra*, from the council of defence; and notwithstanding the protestations, obtestations, and exclamations of the *English*, against this prevarication. So that four caracks of the *Portugals* coming that way, the rest of the fleet of the *English* and *Dutch* being thus weakened by the default of the four *Dutch* ships aforesaid;

the fairest opportunity that ever happened either before or since the joining of the *English* and *Dutch* companies, or is ever likely to offer itself in the future, was lost and utterly defeated. By this it appeareth, what cause the *Dutch* have to complain of the *English*, for deserting the action of defence; and what reason and encouragement the *English* have to continue the joint action and charge with those that use so little sincerity, ever contriving the common actions and charge to their private advantage; that when the joint forces are employed to give the enemy work in one part, they, the *Hollanders*, might with ease oppress them in another, and appropriate the whole benefit to themselves.

D The next suspicion that this author gathereth, is from the insolencies of the *Ternatans* of *Amboyna*, dwelling at *Lobo* and *Cambello*, and thereabouts; who, as this author saith, presumed now, beyond former example, to outrage the subjects of the *Dutch*, slaying them, and carrying them away for slaves; yea, burning two of their houses, one at *Lobo*, and another at *Manichells*: for which, when the governor went out with a fleet to crave justice and reparation, he was braved by the *Ternatans* with a stronger fleet than his own; yea, they threatened to come with an hundred curricurries against *Amboyna*.

This dealing of the author is like the former, about the treaty of peace with the *Tedorians*, and truce with the *Spaniards*. For when the governor of *Amboyna* set forth the last fleet of curricurries before the apprehension of the *English*, he stood in good terms with the *Ternatans* at *Lobo*; neither of the factories here mentioned being then burnt or injured. The governor then went only, according to his yearly custom, to visit the skirts and out-parts of *Amboyna*, and had no affront offered him. After that, upon occasion of a slave of the *English* that ran away, and being afterwards laid hold on, was rescued by a reputed holy man, of or near that part; the *English* craved assistance of the *Dutch* governor, who did his best, but was therein abused by those of *Lobo*; and not only some of his men outraged, but the *English* factor Mr. *Beomont*, to whom this slave belonged, was way-laid by the people of the said holy man; and, instead of him, one of the servants of the *Dutch* was slain between *Cambello* and *Lobo*. The next day also was *Beomont* himself assailed, and shot in the hand by the same holy man's people; who also, a little before, did their best to kill *William Grigs*, another of the *English* factors, that, finding the said slave at *Lobo*, laid hold on him there. Upon this occasion, both the *Eng-*

lish and *Dutch* left their factory at *Lobo*; which was shortly after burnt by those *Ternatans*. That other, touching the burning of the factory at *Manichells*, is more grossly applied than the former; for that factory was burnt after the *English* were apprehended: besides that, this author dissembleth, that there was a vehement and common suspicion at *Amboyna*, that this factory at *Manichells* was burnt, not by the *Ternatans*, but by the *Dutch* factor himself; who, being there alone, was said to have first conveyed away the goods of the *Dutch* and the *English* there for his own use, and then to have burnt the factory; laying the fact upon the *Ternatans*.

After this, indeed, the governor of *Amboyna* made out a fleet of curricurries, to procure reparation of those excesses; and therein, not going as strong as he might, was braved by those *Ternatans* of *Amboyna*. But this was after the apprehension and execution of the *English*; and so is as honestly applied to move suspicion in this place, as the joint quarrel of the *English* and *Dutch* with those of *Lobo*, beginning upon occasion of the *English*; and as the burning of the factory at *Manichells*, done after the *English* were apprehended and imprisoned. As for the threats of the *Ternatans* here mentioned, that they would come with 100 curricurries against *Amboyna*, it is, for aught any of the *English* ever heard, a mere fiction; at most, it was a vain brag, and such as could not affright the governor, that knoweth well, that the *Ternatans* have no gun-powder, nor other provisions, for such an exploit; and yet are far behind the governor of *Amboyna* for number of curricurries, besides the *Dutch* ships and castles.

E The next cause of suspicion this author makes to be an idle report in the east parts beyond *Banda*, uncertain which, or by whom, that the *Hollanders* were already quit of their castle at *Amboyna*. A poor pretence, and not worthy to be answered; yet still further discovering what penury of good matter this author had, that he was fain to borrow such crazy stuff.

F But the last, and that which alone is expressly applied to the *English*, is, that about this time the *Dutch* understood, that those of *Lobo* and *Cambello* held great and secret correspondence with the *English*. How did the *Dutch* understand this? or why doth not this author express the particular proof, in a matter so pertinent? It is true, the *English* had their factories at *Lobo* and *Cambello*, but in the same houses with the *Dutch*, and for their joint account; and had traffick with the country-people, as the *Dutch* had: but what secret correspondence is this? or what danger to the

the *Dutch*? Was the burning of the factories, which belonged to the *English* as well as to the *Dutch*, a note of good intelligence between the *English* and the incendiaries? What was that for correspondence with those of *Lobo*, when at one time they way-layed Mr. *Beomont* to kill him; and at another time shot him in the hand with an arrow; offered to kill *William Griggs*; and, from time to time, abused and outraged our people, equally with, and as the *Dutch*? Further, our people, as well as the *Dutch*, had now dissolved their factory at *Lobo*, and were come all thence. What letters or messages did they ever send thither afterwards? or how, and by what means, maintained they this correspondence? Yet this was understood, saith this relation. How understood? Perhaps by the governor's dreams: for that (as he afterwards told Mr. *Welden*, *Hill*, and *Cartwright*, that came thither from *Banda*) was a motive to him to examine the first *Japon*, which was the beginning of the whole process.

G The author, having thus quit himself in this preface, proceedeth to the matter itself, first setting down the occasion and manner of the discovery of this pretended plot, and then the confessions of the *Japons* and of the *English*: but he maketh no mention of any torture used upon the *Japons* that first confessed; nor of any other indicium or presumption to torture or examine that *Japon*; but only his curious questioning touching the setting and changing of the watch, and of the number of the soldiers in the castle: which, what sufficient indicium and cause it was to torture a soldier of their own, that, serving them, had reason to desire to understand the course of their watches, and the strength of the aid he might expect, if any sudden attempt should happen in his quarter, is easily to be judged. And how this poor man, and the rest of his countrymen, were tortured, appeareth in the *English* relation. Here also is concealed, by what manner and kind of questions, this and the other *Japons* were led along in their confessions, to make up the plot just as the *Dutch* had devised it; as also what other answers they made, before they were thus directed. That they, and the *English* both, confessed what the *Dutch* would have them, is no doubt nor wonder, being so tormented and frightened with torture; *etiam innocentes cogit mentiri dolor*. But what likelihood or possibility there is of the truth of their confessions (if yet they confessed as is here related), may appear by that which hath been already discoursed in this point, towards the end of the *English* relation; which, for brevity-sake, is here forborn to be repeated:

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yet some circumstances, which the *Dutch* relation hath more than the *English*, deserve here to be examined. And, first, that of *Abel Price* the *English* barber, who is made the messenger and negotiator of this practice with the *Japons*. It is true, that he (and he alone of all the *English*) had some kind of conversation with some of the *Japons*; that is, he would dice and drink with them, as he likewise did with other blacks, and with the *Dutch* also. But is it credible, that Mr. *Tower-son* would commit any thing of moment, nay, so dangerous a matter as this, to a drunken debauched sot, who also (as the *English* that were there constantly report) threatened to cut his the said *Tower-son's* throat, for that he had punished him for his misdemeanours? Further, this relation maketh this *Abel Price* confess, that all the *English* merchants in the out-factories were privy and accessary to this pretended treason: yet the governor and fiscal, in their own process, found *John Powle*, *Ephraim Ramsey*, and two others, guiltless.

H After *Price* his confession, he sets down the general substance of all the confessions in one body; where first having assigned Mr. *Tower-son* a preface to the rest, to induce them to the exploit, he tells us, that they made doubt of the point of possibility (as well they might), knowing the weakness of their own part, and impregnable strength of the *Dutch*, in comparison of theirs: for satisfaction of which their doubt, he saith, M. *Tower-son* told him, that he had already won the *Japons* within the castle to his purpose; and that he would attempt this matter, not when the *Dutch* were at their full strength, and the *English* at the weakest; but would expect till the governor should be somewhere abroad, upon some exploit, and some *English* ships, or ship at least, at *Amboyna*; the people whereof he would use in the enterprize: likewise, he would send for the factors and slaves of the other factories, and should have a supply from the *Ternatans* of *Lobo*, of certain *curricurries*, &c.

I Here he hath inrolled a goodly army for this action; but let us see the manner how they should have executed their exploit: and, first, for the *Japons* in the castle, we must believe, if this author or his voucher say true, that Mr. *Tower-son* had acquainted those, and won them to his plot, before he had imparted it to his own countrymen the *English*. And yet, in the acts of the process, *Emanuel Tom-son* is recorded to have confessed, that, eight days after the consultation, Mr. *Tower-son* told him, that he had then sent out *Johnson* and *Price* to treat with the *Japons*,

Japons, and win their consent to this enterprize. But what should these (being all but ten) have done? Marry, saith the relation by-and-by) Mr. *Towerfon* had ordained, that eight of them should have been bestowed, by two in a company, upon the four points of the castle, to kill all those that should resist them, and to take the rest prisoners. It must be therefore here imagined, that the *Dutch*, and their *Mardikers* in their castle, being three or four hundred, would scorn to take the advantage of sending forty or fifty, much more of an intire company, to any point of the castle, but would combat with the *Japons* at even hand, by two at a time, and so give the *Japons* leave and respite to kill or take them by two and by two. A sweet conceit! and such a service as perhaps hath been sometimes represented upon a stage, but never acted in surprize of a castle in good earnest.

Thus we see how eight of the *Japons* were to be employed: what should the other two have done? Forsooth they should have waited in the great chamber to murder the governor. Yea, but this relation told us one while, that this plot should have been executed when the governor was abroad upon some action. How then should these two *Japons* have killed him in the castle at the same time? But we see how all the *Japons*, that is, all the pretended party of the *English* within the castle, should have been occupied. Who should have opened the gates to the *English*, and their other aids? Who should have killed the court of guard at the gate? These parts were left for them that were without: therefore let us take a review of them, what they were. The relation mustereth them to be fourteen *English*, whereof eleven were merchants, one steward of the house, one taylor, and one barber, to dress the wounded, besides God knows how many *English* shippers, slaves, and *Ternatans*. First, for the *English* merchants, of what dexterity they are to take forts, is easily judged; and in all the *English* house, when it was seized by the *Dutch*, upon this pretended treason, the whole provision was but three swords, two hand-guns, and about half a pound of powder. Yea, but the *English* ship, or ships, would have brought both fitter men, and better provision. But how knew Mr. *Towerfon*, that those of the *English* ships, when they came, would join with him in this work, being so contrary to the treaty, and itself so dangerous? Or why did he not stay the opening of the plot, till this ship or ships were come, that he might swear the shippers also, or at least the chief officers amongst them, and take their

advice? Is it possible, that Mr. *Towerfon* was so slight, as to open his plot to all the *English* at *Amboyna*, yea, to the taylor and barber, so long before it was to be put in execution, and before he knew the minds of his chief assistants, of whose arrival he was so uncertain? Yea, but he was sure of the slaves of the *English*, and of the *Ternatans* of *Lobo*, with their *curricurries*, in *quemlibet eventum*. This indeed is the remainder of the army; let us view them. The slaves were, in all the *English* factories, just six in number, and all boys: the *Ternatans* were enemies as well to the *English* as to the *Dutch*, as is before shewed in answer to the preface. When were they reconciled? How cometh it, that, in all the examinations of the *English*, this point was not sifted, and somewhat confessed of it, amidst so many tortures? There is no confession thereof in all the examinations; and Mr. *Towerfon*, in his, expressly denied it, and was pressed no further. The truth is, the governor and fiscal of *Amboyna* knew, that whatever had been confessed in this point, would not have been believed by their own people there; who knew well enough, that the first beginning of this breach, between the *Dutch* and *Ternatans* at *Lobo*, was about the slave of the *English*: and the outrages thereupon following were done upon the *English*, as well as upon the *Dutch*. Yet this author seems to hope, that that may be believed here in *Europe*, which had no colour at *Amboyna*.

Concerning the time of executing this plot, it was not (as the relation saith) yet prefixed, but left to the next meeting of the conspirators, which should be shortly holden, when *Gabriel Towerfon* had prepared all things, &c. Here was certainly a hot practice of treason, and worthy to be termed by this author, an horrible conspiracy. They met together on *New-year's-day*, and plotted as is before related: and now it was the five-and-twentieth of *February*, and not only nothing done all this interim, but not so much as a new consultation. But this forsooth is the body and substance of the unanimous confession of all the *English*, by themselves severally subscribed. In the next place, the author relateth somewhat singular in Mr. *Towerfon's* confession; as that he said, he was moved to this fact by hope and desire of honour and profit: and, being demanded from whom he attended this honour, and for whom he meant to hold the castle, his answer was, that, if he could have compassed his project, he would forthwith have given advertisement thereof to the rest of his nation at *Jaccatra* (which now they have christened *Batavia*), and have

craved their aid: which if they had yielded him, then he would have held the castle for the *English* company; and if not, then he would have kept it for himself, and have used means to have agreed with the *Indians*; and so, by the one means or other, would have compassed the enterprize.

Here, first, is to be observed, that he would not (as this author makes him speak) have sent for aid to *Jaccatra*, until he were first master of the castle: and yet, in the general confession before, it is said, he would attend the coming of some *English* ships, or ship, before he would adventure upon the castle. Next, let the ambiguous and alternative resolution, here said to be confessed by Mr. *Tower-son*, be considered in both the parts thereof, and it will appear, that no man in his wits would have any such conceit as is here pretended. What hope could Mr. *Tower-son* have, that the president and *English* council at *Jaccatra*, living under command of the *Dutch* fort there, and altogether subject to the *Hollanders*, durst join in any such action; thereby to give occasion to the *Hollanders* to arrest, torture, and condemn them of treason? Mr. *Tower-son* knew well enough, that, about six months before, the general of the *Dutch*, at *Jaccatra*, had caught at a very slight occasion to entrap the *English* president there: who having sent out two of his people, in the night, to the *English* cow-house, to see what watch the blacks in their service kept over their cattle, the said two *English* were apprehended by the *Dutch* soldiers, kept in prison seven days, and charged that they had said, that they went the round: and one of them, being last examined, was told by the Balieu (the officer of the *Dutch* in criminal causes), that his fellow had confessed, that they had said they went the round, and that by the *English* president's commission; and, if he would not confess the same, he should be tortured: but the fellow, being constant in the truth, came off at last without torture. Yet this was item enough to the *English* president and council, how the intent of the *Dutch* was to entrap them upon the least occasion: and this, and other daily captious dealings of the *Dutch* at *Jaccatra*, which were too long here to recite, were all advertised, from time to time, to Mr. *Tower-son*, who therefore was sure he could expect no assistance from them, that were themselves in such a predicament. The other part of Mr. *Tower-son*'s resolution is said to have been, to keep the castle for himself, and to agree with the *Indians*, in default of help from the *English*. This is yet more improbable

than the former. Were the *Portugals* and *Indians* not able to keep out the *Dutch* from *Amboyna*, when they had no footing there; and shall captain *Tower-son*, with twenty or thirty *English* and *Japons*, without ship or pinnace, be able, with the help only of the poor naked *Indians*, to drive them out; having already three castles in the islands of *Amboyna*, and at *Cambello*, hard by; all well furnished with men and provision, besides their power of shipping, which makes them stile themselves lords of the sea? And yet how could Mr. *Tower-son* hope to win the *Amboyneses* (the *Hollanders* sworn subjects) to his side? He might rather assure himself, that, after he had mastered the *Hollanders*, if yet that must be believed to be possible, the *Amboyneses* would have surpris'd him, and cast him out, being so weakly provided to stand of himself, that so they might utterly free themselves from their servitude. Here also must be remembred, that this author himself, in his preamble, saith, that the *Indians* themselves durst not undertake any such great design (as he there feigneth) against the state of *Amboyna*, without some great aid of some nation of *Europe*, either of *Spaniards*, *Portugals*, or some other. Whereby is not only confessed, how weak the *Indians* of themselves are; but withal it followeth, how small hope Mr. *Tower-son* might have, being deserted of his own nation (as here the case is put), to hold the castle for himself by the help of those *Indians*, if yet he could once have won it. In a word; they that know the power of the *Hollanders* in *Amboyna* and thereabouts, and the weakness of the poor *Indians* there, will judge this conceit of Mr. *Tower-son*'s (to keep the castle for himself) to be a mad plot; and for which Mr. *Tower-son* should rather have been sent to *Bedlam*, or the *Dullen Kist*, as the *Dutch* call it, than to the scaffold.

But this author hath one voluntary confession, upon which he taketh special hold; to wit, that Mr. *Tower-son*, after his examination was finished, being expostulated withal by the *Dutch* governor, and demanded whether this should have been the recompence of his (the governor's) manifold courtesies towards him, answered with a deep sigh, Oh! were this matter now to do, it should never be done! "This voluntary confession, and penitent acknowledgement, saith this author, was made the ninth of *March*, being the day when the execution was to be done: but the examination of *Tower-son* was ended the eight-and-twentieth of *February*, so many days before." But how shall we believe this? Forsooth, he hath

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it out of the acts of the process of *Amboyna*. Yea, but in these acts are omitted many material passages of these examinations, as is already shewed: why may they not then be guilty of addition, as well as of such mutilation and omission? But let us peruse the words of the act itself, which are these:

WE, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do declare, upon our troth, instead of an oath, that Gabriel Towerfon, after that he had been already examined touching his said offence, and that the worshipful governor Van Speult had expostulated with him thereupon, asking him whether this should have been the recompence of his courtesies from time to time shewed unto him the said Towerfon, thereupon he the said Towerfon, with a deep sigh, answered him, and said, Oh! if this were to be begun again, it should never be done. Actum this ninth of March, in the castle of Amboyna: and subscribed,

Harman van Speult,
Lawrence de Maerschallck,
Clement Kerffeboom,
Harman Crayevanger,
Peter van Zanten,
Leonart Clocq.

Thus we see the act itself, and this pretended voluntary confession of Mr. *Towerfon*; which is not delivered upon the credit of the court or council at *Amboyna* (and yet how small that is, is before shewed) but upon the attestation or affidavit of the governor, and five others, the principal actors in this bloody tragedy: and this not upon their oath, but upon their troth, or honest word (forsooth), instead of an oath. The time when these words were uttered by Mr. *Towerfon* is not described by the day when he spake them, but only by the precedent act of his examination. And yet the circumstance of time is not only an usual and customary solemnity, and requisite in all such attestations; but also in a business of this nature altogether necessary: as likewise, in this case, that of the place was. For, if these words were spoken in the place of torture, or just after the examination ended, they are, by their own law, esteemed no more voluntary, than the confession upon the rack itself. Neither yet doth this attestation affirm, that this confession was voluntary. But this author, unconscionably reporting the date of the attestation, for the time of the confession, collects it to be voluntary, because, as he saith, it was made the ninth of *March*, being so many days after his examination, which was taken the 28th of *February*. Can a man attest nothing

but what was done upon the very day when he maketh affidavit? The attestation saith, that these words were spoken by Mr. *Towerfon*, after he had been already examined. Why may not that have been rather upon the very day of his examination, than upon the day when this act was entered, if yet he ever spake any such words, or meant them, as he is here interpreted? the contrary whereof is the more probable by all the circumstances of this business, truly set down in the relation of the *English*.

But in that this author makes so much of this poor circumstance, of Mr. *Towerfon*'s profession of sorrow for what was done, naming it a voluntary confession; it is plain how destitute he was of voluntary confessions, and of all true and concluding circumstances. What! was there not a letter or other paper to be found in all the chests and boxes of the *English*, so suddenly seized at *Amboyna*, *Larica*, *Hitto*, and *Cambello*, to discover this treason? nor, amongst so many accomplices of divers nations, a false brother to betray the rest, and accuse them voluntarily; but the process must begin with the torture, and the heathens confession upon torture be sufficient to bring Christians to torture? the debauched and notoriously infamous persons (such as *Price* was) to draw torture upon the sober, orderly, and unstained? And yet this relation itself confesseth, that *Price*'s confession was drawn from him by the examiners specifying of place, persons, and time, unto him. Certainly one of their own nation had reason to advise, that more advocates might be sent over to the *Indies*, to aid the accused to make a legal answer; for, saith he, they go to work there so villainously and murderously, that the blood of the poor people crieth to heaven for vengeance.

But why have we no particular of any man's confession but this of *Price*, and Mr. *Towerfon* and all the rest blended together in one body? Did none of all the rest go farther than his fellows, or confess more than they? Where is *Sbarrock*'s confession, that he was at *Amboyna* upon *New-year's-day*, when ten or twelve of the *Dutch* themselves witnessed he was at *Hitto*? Where is his confession of *Clark*'s plot to go to *Macassar*, to deal with the *Spaniards* there, to come and rob the small factories? Where is *Collins* his confession of another plot, about two months and a half before his examination, undertaken by *Tomson*, *Johnson*, *Price*, *Browne*, *Fardo*, and himself? Where are the leading interrogatories, that directed them to the accusation framed by the *Dutch*, lest otherwise there had been as many several treasons confessed,

Demonstration to the Lords States, touching the government of the Majorities.

confessed, as persons examined? Not a word of all this, nor of a great deal more of this kind, which is here in *England* proved by the oath of six credible persons, to have passed in the examinations. Whereby appeareth, how faithfully the *Dutch* at *Amboyna* have entered the acts of this process. Well, at last he concludes the narration of the confessions, with the summing up of the number and nations of the parties, that had thus confessed; which, he saith, were ten *Japons*, fourteen *English*, and the *Netherlandish Marnicho*, or captain of the slaves. By which last words, he would give the reader occasion to think, that the fact was so clear, and their own proceeding so even and just, that they had executed one of their own *Netherlanders* for it. Which how true it is, is already declared in the conclusion of the *English* relation. The truth is, this captain of the slaves was of the *Portugal* race, and born in *Bengala*. His very name, *Augustine Perez*, sheweth, he was no *Netherlander*.

N Having thus finished this relation, this author proceedeth to a disputation: and, taking notice of some aspersions in *England* cast upon these proceedings at *Amboyna*, he divided them into two heads; the one, that the process was without its due formality; the other, that there was excess and extremity used against the conspirators. For the point of formality, he first taketh great pains to prove, that the formalities of process in *Amboyna* are not therefore unlawful, because they agree not with our form in *England*. Which labour he might have spared: for no wise man will deny him this point. And such as shall be so ignorant as to blame the *Dutch* for varying from us herein, were not worthy the answering. Herewithal also he deduced the title of the lords states-general to the sovereignty of *Amboyna*; and so the governor of *Amboyna's* jurisdiction, in causes as well criminal and civil, to be rightly grounded. Thence he concludes, that the *Japons*, being sworn servants to the *Dutch*, and in their pay, were subject to the jurisdiction of the *Dutch* governor. Then he telleth us, that the author and accomplices of murder and treason are by the laws of all nations to be punished with death; all which points may be granted him without any prejudice to the cause of the *English* in this question.

O At last he comes in particular to their case, and affirms, that the chief of the *English* there might not apprehend the *English* accomplices of this conspiracy, because themselves were accomplices of the fact. All which also may be granted in this point of apprehension, and safe custody:

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but how it may proceed also in the point of cognisance, shall be anon, in due place, examined.

P In the mean time, this author, to make the point of apprehension clear beyond exception, saith, that the *English* were not apprehended upon the first suspicion, when yet there was evidence, and *indicia* sufficient to do it; but after the examination of all the *Japons*, and their joint confession, that the *English*, whom they specified by name and surname, had moved and hired them to this treason: yea, not until *Abel Price* had also confessed as much, and that all the *English* in the out-factories were privy thereunto. For answer hereof, that must be repeated which hath been upon other occasions before alleged; that the first beginning of the process was by the torture, there being no sufficient evidence, or *indiciu*m, to torture the *Japon*, that only sought to inform himself of the course of the watch, and of the strength of the castle, wherein himself was a soldier: and so the whole series of the examination proceeding from the confession of one tortured person, to apprehend and torture another, without other evidence; though it brought forth more confessions, and those with name and surname, and other circumstances, according as the interrogatories, or rather directories, of the governor and fiscal led the prisoners, was wholly against the form and rule of all laws of tortures;

Scilicet in fabrica si prava est regula prima, Cetera mendose fieri atque obstipa necesse est.

But here must be answered an objection that may be made against this, from another part of this relation, that is, that some of the *English* confessed without or before torture; yea, this *Price* here mentioned was either not tortured at all, or very lightly. Yea, but he was shewed the tortured bodies of the poor *Japons*, martyred with fire and water, and told, that unless he would confess that which they told him they had first confessed, he should be tortured as ill, or worse than they. This fear of torture is, by their own law, equalled to the torture itself; and consequently, the confession thereupon made no better *indiciu*m, or evidence, to bring another man to the torture, than the confession made upon the rack itself. Again, it must be here remembered, that the very matter of *Price* his confession here mentioned, to wit, that all the *English* merchants of the out-factories were privy to the pretended treason, was refuted by the process of the *Dutch* themselves, that found *Powl*, *Ramsey*, and two others of those factories guiltless.

Next, this author taketh notice of an objection made in *England*, against the jurisdiction

rifdiction of the *Dutch* governor, and his council, at *Amboyna*, over the *English* there; because this power is, by the treaty of the year 1619, disposed of, and agreed to consist in the council of defence of both nations, at *Jaccatra*. For information in which point, this author saith, he hath perused over all the several articles of the said treaty, and findeth in the twenty-third article, that the fortresses were to remain in the hands of them that then possessed them; and in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, that the council of defence hath no other power, but only over the fleet of defence, over the commerce; and finally, to tax the charges of maintenance of the forts: but he could not see the thirtieth article; which orders, that all disputes, that cannot be decided by the council of defence, should be remitted into *Europe*; first, to the two companies there, and, in default of their agreement, to the king and states. Why then was not this dispute so proceeded in? There is nothing in the former articles, to limit the council of defence; and this general article appeareth to be added by way of ampliation, to provide for that which was not particularly and expressly cared for in the former. Which is most plain by the words of the explanation upon this thirtieth article, agreed upon at the first, and subscribed by the commissioners on both sides, *Anno* 1619, where this course of proceeding is expressly directed, not only in disputes about the meaning of the articles, but also about any other matter happening in their common abode. Since which also the king's majesty hath, upon a smaller occasion than the life of his subjects, clearly declared himself in the point of sovereignty; that both nations in the *Indies* should wholly lay aside all pretence thereof. Which declaration was sent to the lords states-general, and by them accepted, before this bloody butchery was executed. But if it were granted, that the *Hollanders* are absolute lords of their partners the *English* in those parts, without respect to the treaty; yet, at least the *Hollanders* in *Amboyna* are bound to observe the laws of the *United Provinces*; for so saith this author himself. Do these allow to begin the process at the torture, and to bring persons of honest fame to the rack, upon others confession made in the torture? Do their laws allow of the leading interrogatories above-mentioned, to direct the prisoner what to say, to avoid the torture? Where, in the *United Provinces*, is that drowning with water, in use? or the torture with fire, used to *Johnson*, *Tomson*, and *Clark*? or especially the splitting of their toes, and lancing of the breast, and putting in gun-powder, and then firing the same,

whereby the body is not left intire, neither for innocency, nor execution? *Clark* and *Tomson* were both said to be carried to their execution, though they were tortured many days before.

Lastly, their confessions were contradictory, apparently false, and of things impossible to be done, much less practised before by the said parties; and therefore ought not, by their law, to have been believed, nor the prisoners to have been condemned thereupon, without other sufficient *indicia* or evidence besides.

In the last place, this author handleth the excess of torture, whereof, he taketh notice, there is much complaint in *England*; and saith, That the lords states-general take care to inform themselves of all the passages of this business; and to that end have desired to see all the letters, pieces, and papers, that concern this process: by which it appeareth not, that there was any cruel torture used. But, suppose the acts made no mention of them; is it any marvel, that the authors of this murderous and tyrannous process, being themselves the persons that also formed the acts, would omit those things that made against them? It is to be presumed also, that the acts kept by their people at *Poloway* in *Banda*, have omitted many things of their process against the poor *Polaroons*, whom in *August* 1622, being about six months before this execution of the *English*, their governor there used in like sort, as the governor of *Amboyna* did the *English*, and gave him a model and precedent of this process; which it will not be amiss to relate briefly, because this author, in the next place, allegeth the merciful disposition of the *Netherlands* nation in general; to infer thence, that it is therefore unlikely, that their governor at *Amboyna* was so cruel as is reported in *England*.

Polaroon, one of the islands of *Banda*, was in possession of the *English* at the time of the treaty, *Anno* 1619: and, by the agreement, was to remain theirs. After the treaty came unto the *Indies*, the *Hollanders* forbore publishing thereof in the islands of *Banda*, until they had taken *Polaroon*. But, knowing that it must be restored again, according to the treaty, they first take all courses to make the island little or nothing worth: they demolish and deface the buildings, transplant the nutmeg-trees, plucking them up by the roots, and carrying them into their own islands of *Nera* and of *Poloway*, there to be planted for themselves; and at last find a means to dispeople the island, and to leave it so, as the *English* might make no use of it, worth their charge of keeping; and that upon this occasion: There was a young man,

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man, the son of an *Orankey*, or a gentleman in *Polaroon*, that had committed felony; for which, by the laws of his country, he was to die. This fellow, to save his life, fled to another island of *Banda*, called *Rofinging*, and there turned Christian: but, quickly understanding, that that would not make him safe from punishment, he went back secretly to his own country of *Polaroon*; and, having lurked there a few days, took his passage for *Nera*, another island where the *Dutch* have a fort; and told the *Dutch* governor, that the *Orankeys* of *Polaroon* had conspired to massacre the *Dutch*, as well at *Polaroon*, as at *Poloway*, with help of the people of *Seran*, that should send over thirty *curricurries* for that purpose. Immediately upon this *indicium* of this malefactor, certain prows or fisher-boats of the *Polaroons*, that were fishing at *Poloway*, were seized, and the people made prisoners. Command was sent by the *Dutch* governor to *Polaroon*, that the *Orankeys* should come over to him, that there might be further inquisition made of this matter. The priest of the *Polaroons*, and seventy *Orankeys*, instantly took a prow or small vessel of their own, and embarked themselves for *Poloway*. As they were at sea, and yet out of the sight of the *Dutch* castle, they were met by a fisher-boat of *Bandeneze*, and told, how all the rest were apprehended; and that, if they went to *Poloway*, they were all but dead men. Nevertheless, the priest and the rest, although they had space and means to have escaped to *Seran*, and other places, safe enough from the *Hollanders*, yet were so confident of their innocence, that they would needs to *Poloway* to purge themselves. Where, as soon as they were arrived, they were instantly carried prisoners to the castle: and withal the governor, with a force of two hundred men, went presently for *Polaroon*; whence he fetched all the rest of the *Orankeys*, and brought them prisoners to the same castle. As soon as they were come, they were presently brought to the torture of water and fire, even in the same sort as our people were afterwards at *Amboyna*; only herein differing, that of those at *Poloway*, two were so tortured, that they died in their tortures: the rest, being one hundred sixty-two persons, were all, upon their own forced confessions, condemned and executed. The priest, when he came to the place of execution, spake these words in the *Mallaian* tongue: All ye, great and small, rich and poor, black and white, look to it: we have committed no fault. And when he would have spoken more, he was taken by the hands and feet, laid along, and cut in two by the middle with a sword. Forthwith, the governor caused the wives,

children, and slaves of those of *Polaroon*, to be all carried out of the island, and distributed in other islands subject to the *Dutch*; and so have made a clear country for the *English*, where they may both plant and gather themselves, destitute of the help of any of the country-people; without whom, neither the *English* nor *Hollanders* can maintain their trade in the *Indies*. And yet this is not here recited, to the end thereby to charge the *Netherlands* nation with those cruel proceedings, but the persons themselves that have committed those barbarous tyrannies: who, if we shall believe an author of their own, are not of the best of that nation. For the *Maiores* (as this author says) use the *Indies* as a *Tucht-houfe*, or bridewell, to manage their unruly and unthrifty children and kindred; whom when they cannot rule and order at home, they send to the *Indies*, where they are preferred to offices and places of government. Yea, saith he, they prefer such to be fiscals there, as never saw study nor law. So that it is no marvel, that such persons proceed not with that justice and moderation as is used generally in the *Low-Countries*, by the choice of the nation there. And this agreeth well with the report of our merchants of credit, that came lately from *Amboyna*; who aver, that, excepting the governor himself, who is well steeped in years, of the rest of the council there, as well the fiscal as others, there were scarce any that had hair on their faces; yea, that most of them are lewd drunken debauched persons; and yet must be judges, as well of our *English*, as the poor *Indians* there.

Now to return to this author's proofs, that there was no excess used in the proceedings; at last, he taketh one argument by way of comparison, from the law of *England*, to press men to death: which he saith, hath much more cruelty than their course of torture, used by the *Dutch* in *Amboyna*, and is holden, as well by some authors of our own nation as others, for damnable. How pertinently is this matter of pressing alleged, for justifying of their tortures, since no man in *England* is pressed for not confessing, which is the cause of torture in *Dutchland*? But the cause why any is pressed, is, for that he obstinately refuseth the trial of his country, and challengeth the judges as incompetent, which the law appointeth him: which he doth, for the most part, to save his goods, which, but by that ordinary course of trial, cannot be confiscate. What is this to the point of confession, for refusal whereof the *Dutch* use the torture? And yet no man blameth them for proceeding according to the law of their country herein; nor yet in their execution, when they break the

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the legs, arms and thighs of the malefactors, and then set them upon a wheel, on the end of a great pole, there to languish to death : an execution far more direful than the *English* pressing, which is so suddenly done, and so seldom used. But why doth he not name the authors, of our own or foreign writers, which condemn this kind of execution ? Let him do it yet, and he shall have more authors of his own country, that condemn their course of tortures : and yet the *English* complain not of the course in general, but of the unlawful use of it ; contrary to the rules of the laws even of the *United Provinces*. Lastly, in this point the author pretendeth, that little or no torture was used in this process. What the torture was, and in what degree, appears in the *English* relation : but he can find little or none mentioned in the acts. What if he will not find it ? or what if their officers of *Amboyna* have concealed it ? Shall we not believe those that suffered it themselves ? Shall we not believe those, that, being themselves acquitted, yet heard the cries, and saw the bodies, of *Johnson*, *Clark*, and *Tomson*, and have confirmed their relation by their corporal oaths ? As for the act of the five-and-twentieth of *February*, which this author hath here transcribed ; it cannot be a true act : for therein it is said, that that day all the *English* were examined one by one, and some before torture, and some after, confessed the fact. Whereas it appeareth not only by the *English* relation, but by this very author in the precedent page, that they were not all examined the same five-and-twentieth day of *February* ; but that the examination continued six days together, even to the sixth of *March* inclusive. How then could the act of the five-and-twentieth of *February* have all their confessions ? By this may appear, what credit may be given to these acts, or else to this author. Here also by the way he tells us of the deliberation of their council ; whether the punishment of the fact might be respited, or the cause removed : wherein it was resolved, that execution must needs be done in the place of the delict, for example-sake ; and might not be respited, for fear lest the conspirators, as he terms them, might have more dependences than yet were known ; and in particular, the *Ternatans*, and other *Indians* about *Amboyna*. A poor pretext : as if, having all the *English* in irons aboard their several ships, they should need to fear their joining with the *Ternatans*. But it may be, they feared some *English* ships also to come thither : for so they had made

their own people believe. And therefore, two ships being descried at sea, the *Dutch* and their free-burghers cried out, That there were the *English* that should have holpen to take the castle : but when they arrived, they proved to be two ships of the *Hollanders* coming from *Jaccatra* ; wherein was a letter from the president of the *English* there, to call away captain *Towerson*, and all the *English*, from *Amboyna*, to *Jaccatra*. Which letter was opened and read by the *Dutch* governor, while our people were yet in prison, and not executed ; and might well have secured him, that there was no further danger to be feared of the *English* aids of shipping, whatever the *English* prisoners had, through torture, confessed.

At last the author comes to the sentence itself, transcribing out of the acts of the ninth of *March*, That the college of judges, being then competent, and calling upon the name of the Lord to assist them in this mournful assembly, to preside in their hearts, and inspire them with equity and justice, proceeded to sentence, &c. Who knoweth not, but the act may be thus formed, and yet no prayer at all made ? or if there were any such prayer, yet the proceedings, well weighed, will shew it to be but like *Jezebel's* fast, the preparative to the false judgment against *Naboth*. Neither will the wise and indifferent judges of this whole matter conceive the better of the cause, for the hypocritical formalities therein observed.

Last of all, he concludes his treatise with a justification, yea, an elogy and commendation of the whole proceedings of the *Dutch* at *Amboyna*, against the *English* ; not finding the least to be blamed in the *Dutch*, but aggravating the crime of the *English* very ridiculously, because, forsooth, that this plot, amongst other things, was against the great means of the *Netherlands East-India* company : as if a conspiracy to rob them, if any such had been, must needs be treason ; or, as if the intent only, in any crime but treason, were capital.

Thus have we examined this strained justification of that most barbarous and execrable process of *Amboyna* ; consisting of a preamble, full of false and forged suspicions ; a narration of the fact, fraught with ridiculous absurdities, contrarieties, and impossibilities ; and of a dispute of impertinences, with concealment of the main grounds of the *English* griefs. All which verifieth that of *Papinian*, *That parricides are more easily committed than defended*.

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R E M O N S T R A N C E
O F T H E
D I R E C T O R S
O F T H E
Netherlands East-India C O M P A N Y,
Presented to the
L O R D S S T A T E S - G E N E R A L of the *United-Provinces* ;
In D E F E N C E of the said
C O M P A N Y,
Touching the
B L O O D Y P R O C E E D I N G S
A G A I N S T T H E
English M E R C H A N T S ,
EXECUTED AT
A M B O Y N A.
T O G E T H E R W I T H
The Acts of the Process against the said *English*.
A N D
The R E P L Y of the *English East-India* C O M P A N Y ,
To the said
R E M O N S T R A N C E and D E F E N C E .
Published by A U T H O R I T Y .

REMONSTRANCE TO THE SERENISSIMO THE R. E. A. D. E. R.

Gentle READER,

THE Remonstrance of the Netherlands East-India company, hereafter in the first place following, was, by the same company, presented to the lords states-general of the United Provinces, in November, Anno 1624, for answer of the relation of the English East-India company, touching the unjust, cruel, and barbarous proceeding against the English at Amboyna, and for justification of in that famous process, the copy of which remonstrance being imparted to the said English company, they forthwith writ the subsequent reply, and sent the same to be presented to the said lords states-general, for a counter-poison against the said remonstrance. At that time the English company intended not to have published it in print, thereby to make so many judges of the cause as now they must; but, upon fair hope then given them out of the Netherlands, trusted, by the justice of the lords states-general, joined with that of their own sovereign, to obtain an issue of this cause, according to the merits thereof. But the ambassador of the said lords states, being here in England, in June 1625, and moved by his majesty for satisfaction for the lives of his subjects, that were so treacherously butchered by theirs at Amboyna, as also for restitution of their goods so made forfeit, and recompence for the damage of the English company, by this and other actions, used such excuse and colour, as it seemeth, out of the ground of this remonstrance: which, after many provisional disputes finally concludeth for delay of trial, that at the last, in September the same year, they obtained of his majesty a respite of eighteen months for the calling home of the governor Harman van Speult, and the rest of the judges in the said bloody process, from out of the Indies, to answer the matter here themselves, and for satisfaction of all the other complaints of the English company: to whom, although this respite was irksome, having already borne so long delay, in a cause of such impatient nature; as also having a suspicion of the sinister intent of the Dutch company in this new respite; nevertheless considering, that

this was a favour craved by the said lords states, in their first embassy to his majesty, and their very congratulation of his happy success to his rightful crowns, they held it their duty to conform themselves to his majesty's grace herein. As also the same English company, having confidence in the sincere dealing of the lords states-general, whose letter, of the thirty-first of December 1624, for calling home of the said bloody governor, and others, was committed to their conveyance, and by them sent into the Indies, hoped that their remedy, though slow and long, would yet at last be sure and serious. And so they put on a new patience, and expectation of some issue of this likely course. But having waited out this respite, which expired some years now past, they find all things fall out contrary to their hope so grounded upon the lords states promise and letter, but altogether verifying their suspicion of the drift of the Netherlands company before-mentioned. For the said letter of the lords states being, by the English president at Jaccatra, safely delivered to Carpentier, governor-general of the Dutch, in the Indies, he, when Harman van Speult, the late governor of Amboyna, and head of the bloody treachery against the English there, arrived at Jaccatra, received him with great honour, yea with triumph; and instead of sending him for Europe, to answer the complaints of the English, according to the direction and commandments of the lords states, by their said letter, made him chief commander of a fleet of ships, sent from thence to Surat, and other northern parts of the Indies, the English president and council at Jaccatra in vain protesting here against, and urging his remission to Europe, in consequence of the letter of the lords states aforesaid. Neither have the officers of the said Netherlands company in the Indies, in all that respite of eighteen months, nor in all the time since, made any restitution or reparation to the English, as was promised and pretended; nor any preparation thereunto, but rather have added new grievances. So that it now plainly appeareth, that the said Netherlands

therlands East-India company, in their earnest suit to the lords states, to procure his majesty to give respite for the due trial of the cause of Amboyna, inserted in the latter end of this ensuing remonstrance, intended nothing less than such a true trial, but a cooling and blunting of the edge and zeal of the English company, in pursuing of their due remedies, hoping (as it is in the fable of him that undertook to teach the ass to speak) that, in long delay and respite of time, something might happen, utterly to elude and frustrate the real performance: In the mean time, besides the goods of the English that they detain, they enjoy the whole trade of the Mulluccoes, Banda, and Amboyna, the true, though wretched motive of their abominable process against the innocents; and have raised the nutmegs, maces, cloves (being, by this means, solely in their own hands) to more than double the price of that they were at, in these parts, when the English had their share in them. Whereby it appeareth how sincerely this following remonstrance slighteth this matter as a poor end, though it so much enrich the Dutch company; as likewise how much, not only the whole realm of England, but even all the kingdoms and commonwealths in Europe, that are thus served with those spices, at such high rates, are interested in this cause. And yet, besides all the premises, the English company find another and more proper cause of their recourse to the press at this present; otherwise, for all the rest, they could perhaps attend other remedies. But they find, that in this interim, of the cause and motives whereof the world could take no notice, many not only of the Dutch, but English also, begin to conceive worse of the English cause: presuming, that if it had been such as the discourses formerly published in this argument imported, they think certainly, ere this, to have heard of some exemplary punishment upon so execrable a fact, or, at least, of

some serious preparation thereunto. In particular the English company understand, that some of the bloody college of judges, being returned into the Low-Countries, and living free, and well countenanced there, have, of late, upon confidence, as it seems, of the effectual working of their elusory artifice, cracked and vaunted, that they will justify their process of Amboyna, even to the face of his majesty, which are their own presumptuous words, although the same parties, at their first arrival in Holland, kept themselves close, and were not known where to be found, when the ministers of this state sought after them. Which bold face being put upon this bad matter, hath so far countenanced the same, as that some of our own nation there, allied to the Dutch, have in private stepped up in defence of the said barbarous butchery, and seem at least to think the matter aggravated above the true desert. Wherefore, lest the poor innocent English that have already suffered so many and so grievous tortures, and afterwards a reproachful death, should now again after death suffer in their good name also, which is, or ought to be, dearer than life itself; lest also the English East-India company, that have likewise suffered too many indignities, and such damages, from the Dutch, should seem to have made a great cry without as just a cause; they now find it high time to vindicate their own reputation, and the fame of their innocent servants and countrymen, by acquainting the world with the true state of the business, as also to defend and maintain their former true relation from the exceptions taken against it, by this following remonstrance of the Dutch. And because the acts of the process of Amboyna are often mentioned, as well in this remonstrance, as in the reply thereunto, the same also are inserted between both, to clear the relative passages on both parts.

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R E M O N S T R A N C E
O F T H E
B E W I N T H E B B E R S O R D I R E C T O R S
O F T H E
Netherlands East-India C O M P A N Y,

Lately exhibited to the
L O R D S S T A T E S - G E N E R A L,
In J U S T I F I C A T I O N of the P R O C E E D I N G S
of their O F F I C E R S at *Amboyna*, against the *English* There.

Translated out of *F R E N C H*.

High and Mighty L O R D S,

TH E directors of the united company and society of the *East-Indies* did, in the month of *July* last past, present unto your honours a deduction concerning that which was past in the province of *Amboyna*, and of the execution there made in *March* 1623, with a provisional answer of the objections which then were made and known against it: But whereas this cause by that means could not be ended, and forasmuch as daily there are found, and spread abroad, great cavils, against that which is mentioned in the deduction aforesaid; therefore the said directors, in regard of their charge and office, as also for the defence of their servants, so far as reason permitteth, and not to be thought destitute and naked of good defence, yea, that they may not leave the matter for condemned, as divers have spread abroad, and gladly would make the world believe, cannot forbear to make, after due reverence, this more particular instruction in form of remonstrance unto your honours.

A In the first place, then, the directors do yet persist in their said deduction, because the same may serve to give light to the whole cause: and, considering the weighty and infallible *indicia*, and evidence, that preceded this discovery of the treason of certain *English*, yea, the same being notorious, as also the proceedings which have legally, and according to law, passed against

the confederates, as appeareth by the judicial acts, signed as well by those which were examined, as by the council of *Amboyna*, which is a college admitted and sworn, and against which no proof, much less any vain and frivolous suspicion, should be admitted; they the directors absolutely believe, so long as they see no more to the contrary, that the said *English* conspirators, and other confederates which were in our service, were well apprehended, and the fact, in our opinions, so well proved according to law, and the use and custom in such case observed; the proceedings have been legal; and in pursuit thereof the punishment which they have sustained was inflicted according to the common law, with good moderation of the rigour of justice, and with clemency. Notwithstanding there have been many writings and deductions, as the directors until this time perceive and discover, sowed and spread against this cause, as well in *England* as in these parts: among which, for as much as we know, the first is a summary of news out of letters dated the nineteenth of *June* 1623, written by the *English* factors at *Batavia*, which immediately will be judged by every one who never so little and superficially shall read the same, to be full of passion, contrary to the truth, and without any proof: for, first, the proceeding by the justice at *Amboyna*, upon the confederates there, is blamed therein, and by prejudication called an unjust murder, wicked and barbarous, the fashion and manner

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manner of the rack or torture likewise described, and exaggerated with great vehemency and passion. And also it is not true that therein is said, that the other *Indians* (besides the *English*), confederates in the fact, were servants of the *English* company; whereas it appeareth otherwise, to wit, that the *Indian* confederates were servants of the *Dutch* company, as is well known to be true; and yet this writing hath taken great place amongst great and small, and hath been shewed as a pattern or model, whereupon the other griefs have been formed against the said justice of *Amboyna*. Upon which incontinently followed a more large and ample writing, called, *The true relation of the most cruel and barbarous torture and execution committed by the Flemings upon the English in Amboyna*.

In the introduction whereof proceedeth impertinently a description of *Amboyna*, and of the garison and force of the *Dutch* in the same place, and this only to the end, as appeareth, to shew thereby, that there is no appearance, that the *English* should consult of the taking of the said place, as a thing impossible; as if, by reason of the small understanding, and simple foundation, which the conspirators had to put their design in execution, and, in effect, omitting all other accusations, they had not in any kind merited and deserved any punishment: the contrary whereof appeareth to be practised daily in the like crimes. And to cite this presumption unto the annihilating of a truth so notorious and proved, and against the proper confessions of the executed and other confederates, against the conscience and testimony of so many honest men, and of credit, which have been employed in the cause, and against a college of judges publick and sworn, this cannot in any manner be admitted, received, nor had in consideration, by such as have understanding in these affairs. But to the contrary, and besides all the reasons foregoing, the *Dutch* company hath made it to appear by good proofs, that the *English*, to the end to divert and get forth of the castle the forces of the *Dutch*, had in the countries and islands thereabouts stirred up, induced, and caused to rebel, all the *Ternatans*, *Ceraniens*, and the *Indian* nations bordering there, openly, and by publick violence, to make such unaccustomed outrages upon the subjects of the castle, that the governor might be constrained to go forth from thence with all his forces, for to appease and quiet the said rebels, and to bring them to their ancient obedience: and thereupon the *English* should have assailed and invaded the castle and the town, as being destitute by the retiring and departure of the army, then when the

Dutch should be most feeble, and in their greatest necessity, as well of men, as of *Dutch* ships, which should have been employed in this voyage. And concerning the force of the *English* which were in *Amboyna*, they alone would not have enterprised the attempt, but would unto this purpose have called unto them all the slaves which they had in great number in their factories: neither would they have begun the same before the arrival of certain *English* ships in *Amboyna*; the people whereof they would also have set on work, and employed to the attempt: the retinue also, which daily the accomplices did underhand procure, as *Gabriel Tower-son* cape merchant of the *English* had ordered, should have been much augmented, the rebel subjects of the castle should have weakened the *Dutch*, and augmented the force of the conspirators. And further, which is the principal point, the end and design of the conspirators was not to force and constrain the castle (only) by violence, open war, or siege, to which purpose all these imagined fortresses of the castle, and the power of the *Dutch*, might have their consideration; but the plot was, to invade the castle by treason, and with the aid and assistance of the *Japonian* soldiers, which were then in the service of the *Dutch* at *Amboyna* aforesaid; which small number of *Japonians* were not slightly to be regarded, in respect of the valour and prowess of that nation, and their extraordinary resolution in hazarding their lives in any dangerous enterprizes; insomuch as a certain small number of the *Japonians*, only of themselves, and without any aid or support, have undertaken and accomplished the most great attempts and designs in places of the greatest and most puissant government in the *Indies*; as among other things it appeareth by that which passed in the kingdom of *Patany*; where certain *Japonians* forced and pillaged the town, afterwards made their retreat in good order, and with good composition. And in the kingdom of *Siam* in the town called *Jodea*, full of thousands of persons, the king whereof himself can, in a short time, bring into the field, above one hundred thousand men of arms, and heretofore obtained great victories upon many great princes his neighbours, who then were, and as yet are, of great power; in that town, I say, which is the capital town of the kingdom, certain *Japonians* surprised first the castle and royal palace, and being entered thereinto by force, afterwards they took the king in person prisoner; they kept him in their custody; and, being wholly become masters of the said castle, they made by means of threatnings (as to put the king to death, and

otherwise) an honourable and advantageous composition: by which the said small number of *Japonians* went away and departed without any damage out of the kingdom of *Siam*, with great glory and magnanimity, and very great riches. Which exploits are without comparison much more great and dangerous than the said attempt of *Amboyna*, against an open town, and a castle empty and naked of forces, into which also the *Japonians* might have their daily access with the *English*, who were held and reputed for friends: so that whatsoever is mentioned in the deduction of the *English* upon this presumption, to draw into a doubt all the actions of the confederates, is altogether without foundation, in a cause so notorious, and publicly convinced. Of the like force and efficacy is that which is set down before in the said *English* deduction, as if the *Dutch* had no other design by this imputation of treason, but to thrust forth the *English* out of *Amboyna*, and to remain sole masters of the trade in those quarters: but if such had been the intention of the *Dutch* company, they might easier, and with more appearance and pretext, have forborn to receive and admit the *English* at the beginning in *Amboyna*, in the year 1620, than have thrust them forth in such a manner: and, God forbid that any one should undertake to perform or effect such a thing by such unjust and malign proceedings, and with such effusion of blood, only to thrust forth the *English* from *Amboyna*! And concerning the *Dutch* company here in *Europe*, never any such thing came into their thoughts, nor did they ever give any commission for the putting forth of the *English*, by warrant whereof the officers of the said place in general might have had ground to begin any thing to such an end. And concerning the officers themselves, they are by those that know them, esteemed and reputed to be honest and worthy men; who, in like manner, would no-ways entertain a thought of such an action.

And to say the truth, why should the officers, with such feigned wrong, accuse, and put to death, the *English*, and the confederates, being innocent, seeing that, as aforesaid, they had no commission, and if they had any given them (which cannot be well imagined), yet the governor and council of *Amboyna* are such people as would not have yielded or given obedience thereunto? And the same governor, nor other judges, which are fourteen in number, could not have drawn drawn any profit or advantage of their so doing: for, admit it were so, that the *English* came in this regard for to leave *Amboyna*, this could no ways advantage them in their par-

ticular; but to the contrary, returning unto *Europe*, they themselves should be, besides the burden and remorse of their own consciences, charged and aggravated with great blame and infamy, hatred and malice, and put in great danger of their persons; so that of such a thing they could not expect otherwise than detriment, disadvantage, and disgrace, yea, punishment and chastisement upon themselves. Now, if this be not so, then may not this presumption of the *English* be true, nor in any wise admitted and received, who maintain and inhumanly say, that this molestation and destruction was offered and done to the *English*, to the end to deliver and free *Amboyna* of them, and to retain it only by the *Dutch*. For the *Dutch* company do declare the amity of the *English* company to be unto them of chief and special importance, and they desire for to enjoy the same with all confidence. And furthermore, we could produce and allege many reasons why we yet desire, that the treaty being religiously and piously observed, from the one part to the other, we could willingly and gladly be content to give way to the rate and portion in trade permitted to the *English* company, by the treaty of 1619, without by exclusion of the *English* (the treaty being by them observed) to acknowledge or think of any profit or advantage, in general, or in particular.

We undertake further for our officers of *Amboyna* (as also it is true), that the beginning and entrance of this proceeding began upon vehement and well-grounded suspicions against the first *Japonian* in our service, who, walking at undue hours upon the bulwarks of the castle, and inquiring very curiously of the force and constitution of the garison, and setting of the watch, was apprehended, and presently the clew of this great and execrable conspiracy was opened and discovered, as the *English* deduction itself confesseth.

And if the *Dutch* had designed and undertaken (as most calumniously it is suspected and reported) to thrust the *English* out of *Amboyna*, by the unjust report and accusation of their servants there, without any appearance of any true conspiracy; why did this *Japonian* come upon the walls, and so curiously inquire, and also being apprehended and examined, so pertinently speak of the conspiracy? If this *Japonian* had been a person suborned for to charge and accuse the *English*, the *Dutch* would not have executed him, which yet legally followed; whereby it appeareth, that his declaration and testimony was true, as well in accusing the other *Japonians*, his fellows, which were in our service, as in the charge of the other *English*, and of himself. Why

L also were the other *Japonians* indicted and executed, if the *Dutch* sought it but only upon the *English*, as is, without colour, pretended? For the *Japonians* have ever been in good esteem with us, and have always been much trusted; and, not having any occasion of malice, or rancour, or fear of them, or against them; whereas now, to the contrary, by this transgression, it behoveth our nation, to be always in mistrust of the *Japonians*, and not so confidently to use, or be served of them, as before. And it ought not to seem strange, that during this examination of these *Japonians*, which, as aforesaid, was begun and ended before any thing was done to the *English*, that the *English*, for the space of three or four days, although herein they spare the truth, were so forward, and so bold, as to go in and out, to and from the castle: for they thought that it would tend and serve unto their conservation, to the end they might give the less suspicion: for had they fled away, and hidden or concealed themselves, in such case they had been publicly discovered. And if they had thought, or would have attempted to fly, it was impossible for them so to do; for the governor and council had given order all about for the assurance of the place, and of all persons which frequented and had any intercourse of merchandizes in *Amboyna*, of which the *English* accomplices could not be ignorant; so that they were constrained to put on a good face, cheer, and countenance, the better to shun the peril and danger.

M But it further appeareth, that that which the *English* maintain is abusive and erroneous; that they had continued three or four days in going to and from the castle, after the said imprisonment, and during the examination of the *Japonians*: for they began to examine the *Japonians* the twenty-fourth of *February*, and the twenty-fifth the *English* were arrested; so that there was but one day between them both, and therefore that which is mentioned in the *English* deduction is not true. Also for the confession of the first *Japonian*, as likewise of all the rest of the *Japonians* unto the number of twelve, they do not only accuse the *English*, but themselves also; so that there cannot be any suspicion or doubt of false accusation, seeing that they themselves could not have any advantage in the preservation of their own persons; as otherwise there can be no suspicion of calumny: which in such a case could not be nor happen in any fashion or manner.

N That which is contained in the *English* deduction, to wit, that the *English* had never kept any conversation with the *Japo-*

nians, appeareth to the contrary; by the acts of the process, and the confessions of all, and particularly of *Towerson*, made without torture or fetters, long after his examination. So that from these contrarieties, and dissimulations, are discovered many other signs and tokens for to believe that the *English* deduction doth wander and stray very much from the truth; and that all which may be construed to the contrary is true, in consequence of that which the *Dutch* company of the *East-Indies* do sustain, in the just defence of their officers and ministers.

O But that whereby the said deduction is enlarged and amplified, is to make mention and discover many particularities; which in time hereafter shall be refuted, and proved to be matter merely feigned in the most part of the most important and substantial points: as also in that which they speak of the rack and torture given to the *English*, which is described in particulars contrary to the truth, thereby to move the reader to pity. But when they have said all, it is but a bare and naked discourse without proof, that the *English* have been tortured and racked: for, to give the torture when the case so requireth, is no fault of the judge, but it is a thing customary throughout *Europe*, and so in the *Low-Countries*. And if such torture hath been given to some of the *English*, it was surely done upon good and pregnant evidence, and weighty proofs, and confessions of others, whereof some may have been brought to a more rigorous examination, according to the exigence of the case, without doing or executing any injustice.

P If also the judges of the *Dutch* would have wrongfully pressed and constrained the *English* to confession by torture, wherefore did they not press and constrain them all to confession? Which nevertheless appeareth by the deduction of the *English*, not to have been done; and that many were let pass without torture, yea, many of them which the *English* deduction abusively affirmeth to have been tortured; it being not reasonable to proceed against them as against others, which were charged with more great and vehement suspicions and proofs.

Q And if they proceeded herein with such excess, how cometh it then that the judges pardoned and discharged some, as faulty as the rest, but only to give testimony of their proceedings, and that the justice thereof might fully appear to all whomsoever? Which otherwise they were not bound to do, nor would have done, in all likelihood.

R But, to win the reader by compassion, the manner of the torture is there very finely

finely and proluxly set down; but who knoweth not, that the manner and fashion of the extraordinary question is in itself rough and harsh, and especially must seem so to the *English* in *England*, where there is no such kind of torture used, unless it be in case of high treason, how moderate and gentle soever it be, as the pain of the torture of the water, which is much more civil, and less dangerous, than other tortures of stretching or pressing, which is in divers manners used in *Europe*: for such torture and pain of water doth but cause and produce an oppression and anxiety of breath and respiration, and not the swelling of the body of the patients, as is abusively mentioned in the *English* deduction, and is without fraction, bruising, or mutilation of the members, which others are subject unto: so that all which is comprised and contained in the same description, is only set down for the embellishing and adorning of the said writing, to the end only to move the reader to compassion, to make him insensibly to draw in and swallow all the other errors and untruths, under these close conveyances, and give them credit to the advantage of the drift of the said deduction: but he who, to the contrary, will sound and search out the truth, and whether that which is therein declared and related be proved, and ought to be admitted and received or not, let him be pleased further to observe, as followeth:

That all which is said therein is without proof, and if that any proof be found therein, it is of very few persons, yea such as in a cause that concerneth themselves, and wherein they were once judicially convicted, may not be admitted for witnesses against the judge, and the proceedings past against themselves, nor against the legal confession which they once and oftener made, and confirmed with their own subscription, which now by other depositions, or particular declarations, cannot be made elusory against the testimony and certificate of fourteen judges, who were present in and at all passages, whose reputation and wisdom is so well known, that such wicked, unorderedly, and unjust proceedings as the *English* pretend, may not be in any sort or manner charged or imputed upon them.

S Lastly, concerning certain declarations and writings of the condemned *English* before their death, whereby they have protested their innocency, and that they were judged wrongfully; whereupon by presumption is inferred, that it must be true, because it is not to be believed that any one was so wicked and impious as to dare to feign and dissemble at the hour of his death.

This argument maketh little in the

cause; for first it ought to appear, that there are indeed such declarations and writings of the *English*: but the truth can be testified by them who were present, and about them, at all times, that there is no such thing; much less that which is said concerning certain pretended miracles which had happened in witness of the innocency of the executed: so that it may well seem, that they had moved heaven and earth to hide and conceal this detestable deed. But howsoever it be, who would presume that honest men of reputation and wisdom, known and publick, would have shewn themselves so impious and unhuman, as wrongfully and innocently to accuse the persons executed? And much less it cannot be presumed unto the charge of a college established and sworn.

T And although that which is aforesaid appear and be known, first, by the truth of the thing, as it is carried by the deduction aforegoing, presented in *July* past unto your honours; and that, secondly, it is credible, that by this writing here were broke and decided all objections and difficulties inferred by the *English*, as also some acts alleged, which in regard of the *English* might be produced and alleged against that which is aforesaid, and against the legality of the proceedings in *Amboyna*; in such manner that more cannot be required in justification of the behaviours of the *Dutch* officers; so it is, that the directors notwithstanding find it necessary (although superfluous) to repeat and make mention here, of many particularities, which much more fully, and all at a blow, do shew that the reports spread and sworn, with such vehemency, by the *English* against the truth, do contrary the one the other, so that nothing more can be had nor rest of suspicion, whereby the proceedings and executions at *Amboyna* may be accused, much less condemned; and in consequence likewise of which, the great haste and assidual precipitation used herein, hath been wholly done in post, for to learn and shew the world the truth of the discovery in the business; as hereafter shall appear more clearly and evident.

In the first place, then, so it is, that the company, after the first deduction of *July*, have further understood by the last ships out of *Batavia*, arrived here in *September*, and that by certificate or attestation deposed by M. *Frederick de Houtman*, chief counsellor of the *Indies*, and ancient governor of the isles of *Moluccaes*, that it was firmly and undoubtedly believed in *Amboyna*, throughout and of every one, yea, by himself, as he yet doth believe, that the *English* of the said place, and the *Japonians*, had truly and really conspired to

to invade the castle of *Amboyna*, at their best opportunity; so that none ought in any wise to doubt thereof.

Secondly, for strong proof of that which is aforesaid, the said governor *de Houtman* coming from the *Moluccas* to *Hitto* in *Amboyna*, in the month of *April*, Anno 1623, a certain *Englishman* called *George Sbarock*, assistant, which before had been also prisoner, and examined upon the said conspiracy, and by favour released and pardoned by the governor and council of *Amboyna*, notwithstanding that the said *Sbarock* was a good while privy to the said conspiracy, and had promised his assistance, kneeling down upon his knees, and prostrating himself before the feet of the said governor *de Houtman*, who looked for no such matter, declared with great zeal and good affection, that he was, and should be all his life-time, bound and obliged unto the *Dutch* company, because, as he then again confessed, that favour had been done to him, and he was left unpunished for the fault and offence which he had committed and perpetrated: and this was spoken by the said *George Sbarock*, to the said *de Houtman*, about the twentieth of *April* 1623, when he was already absolved, released, freed, and out of all fear to be any more molested or questioned for the said fact and offence committed as aforesaid.

Thirdly, the said governor *de Houtman* being at *Batavia*, and being present when *John Beomont*, *English* merchant, who also was a confederate in the said conspiracy at *Amboyna*, and obtained his pardon, being sick, was brought before the governor general; and the said *Beomont*, being come in the presence of the governor-general, and of the said *M. Houtman*, confessed his fault before made and committed, and implored, and most humbly desired, mercy and pardon of the said general, which having obtained, he humbly thanked them.

In the fourth place, that many people at *Batavia*, yea, he the deponent himself, had, by good information and knowlege, certainly understood, that the said *John Beomont* being afterwards come before the *English* president and *English* merchants resident at *Batavia*, he the said *Beomont* recited and confessed the whole business and conspiracy: but when this pleased not the said *English*, the president of the *English* aforesaid, for to obscure the cause, and to shun the dishonour of the treason, seeing the free confession of *Beomont*, which much astonished them, he caused him for this cause to keep close, and not to speak to any body, because that the thing, by the voluntary confession of the said *Beomont* against the intent of the *English* prin-

cipals, should not further be discovered and confirmed.

Fifthly, concerning the persons which were employed as judges in the cause of *Amboyna*, in the matter of the condemned, and especially the governor *van Speult*, because he is best known, they are such, that there cannot be any the least suspicion or doubt of them; that they had wrongfully, or without sufficient ground, caused the *English* to be accused, or ill-handled, or much less to be put to death, if they had not been found really in fault, worthily to have deserved the punishment; the governor *van Speult* being held for an honest man, of credit, and fearing God, by all those that have conversed with him: and, by consequence, there may not be admitted such a contrary suspicion of his impious and malign proceedings.

In the fifth place, concerning the torture of water, which the *Dutch* have always used in the *Indies*, as the most assured and civil: which is not a torture so rough and dangerous as the tortures which are ordinarily used in this country, and throughout *Europe*, which are far more severe and dangerous than that of water; whereby the health of the person cannot any way be offended, nor the members lamed or bruised.

All which things aforesaid, in representation and maintenance of the truth in this case, and which further might be, in conformity of what is aforesaid, represented by the coming and arriving of many other persons out of the *Indies*, who also have knowlege of that which passed at *Amboyna*, may it please your honours, to take into consideration, and to consider whether there be not sufficient matter and cause given to the *English East-India* company, for to leave and remit the fault unto them, who were the authors and practisers of this abominable conspiracy, and of their own misfortune, which they thus drew upon themselves, and not to defend them, and aggravate against the judges of the *Dutch*: to which end the directors, in defence and maintenance of their officers, and unblameable ministers, in the *East-Indies* aforesaid, cannot omit to beseech your honours, that the cause may not be precipitated, but that convenient time might be given and granted for a more exact research, if need be, of the truth, yea, in all to grant them such protection, as all good subjects and patriots of the *United Provinces* are to attend from your honours in equity and justice. For, how can this business so be inverted, that instead of the dishonour and blame which ought to dwell upon the confederates, on the contrary, now they will blot and smother

ther the truth of the thing, and to accuse and charge the *Dutch* officers, as if they had had no honesty or conscience? which cannot be presumed of substantial people, of good renown, upon any either voluntary, though not true, or suborned and false, deposition of such as may not be admitted to testify in their own cause against the judicial acts of a college of judges, sworn, and in so great a number, which have of a long time been so employed; when it appeareth not otherwise by any other legal proofs.

The intention of the directors never was, nor yet is, to maintain any injustice, outrage, or imposture, if in these proceedings there were any used: but as long as it appeareth not clearly, as it ought in this case, against a college, and against a cause judged, nothing else, under reverence, can be done in the business, but to grant time for to make more exact and serious search, if need be, and that by the authority and intervention of your honours, as it shall appertain, all misunderstanding, contrary deductions, and ill expositions, griefs, and designs, may cease and be suppressed, until such time as the contrary may, if need be, appear. The said defences are such, in our opinion, as (under reverence) this ought to be done. And although it were so, that the cause of the *English* against the judges of *Amboyna* seemed wholly to be clear and proved, which hitherto hath proved to the contrary; nevertheless the proceedings of the said judges may not in any wise be condemned, as touching the substance thereof, without hearing the judges themselves, whom the cause properly toucheth and concerneth, and not the directors, who only mediate; forasmuch as, according to the information and knowledge which they have of the cause, it seemeth to them to be, in effect, just and fair: and therefore the humble remonstrance, or representation, and prayer, of the administrators, or directors, have ever been, that it would please your honours to give and grant convenient time for the inquiry, information, and research of the business, until such time as the ships of *Batavia* shall be arrived here; to the end that the matter may more plainly and truly be discovered and known; and without doubt there will come, and be transported therein from thence, some that will neutrally and in such sort maintain unto your honours, the particular informations of the proceedings passed in *Amboyna*, that they may be wholly believed and received: as at this present there is come, and fallen out by the coming and return of M. *Frederick de Houtman*, chief counsellor of the *Indies*, and ancient governor of the isles of *Mo-*

lucas, who hath deposed, and by oath testified, the points in manner as they are recited and related in order as above, which bringeth not a little light in this cause, but may wholly tend and turn to the overthrow of all contrary expositions and calumnies, which heretofore have been used and set forth, with such differences and vehemency, whereby we hope that your honours will in all points, and that with equity, right, and reason, give and cause to be given such content, that all discontent, at least by provision, may cease, until such time as the whole truth may more and abundantly come to light, by advice from the *Indies*, to the full satisfaction of those whom it toucheth or concerneth. For, may it please your honours to know and understand, that the best and most pertinent and true knowledge of the business must come from the province of *Amboyna* to *Batavia*, and from thence hither. Notwithstanding, so it is, that since the departure of the pinace called the *Hare* from *Batavia*, which was in the beginning of *January* 1624, by which the first notice of the execution was brought, until the departure of the last ships, which also came from *Batavia*, there is not, nor cannot have come any news from *Amboyna* to *Batavia* concerning this business, because the wind, called the *Western Monsons*, blow continually from *November* until *April*. And for to come from *Amboyna* to *Batavia*, an *Eastern Monson* is necessary; and that beginneth first in *May*: so that without that, it is a thing impossible to send or get any advice or ships from *Amboyna* to *Batavia*.

We hope also, that your lordships will find this reasonable, and that due and reasonable time required shall be granted and permitted in justice, for the more ample search and information of the cause, if need be; and we cannot conjecture, being a thing incredible, that any one will condemn any cause or persons, without first hearing the justification of the parties, which always hath been held and observed inviolably of all nations, which would judge according to right and equity. Therefore we hope, that it will be thus granted; yea, it is not reasonable, that any reparation should be required, before the due defences and informations of the business be made and taken; and the same ought to be made and taken by and from the persons whom the cause concerneth, appertaineth, and is known, and who also pertinently know how to refute the objections and circumstances alleged, and heretofore urged, to the contrary: which unto us is impossible to do, not having been present: but only for the defence of our officers, for so much as is just and reasonable, we can allege that
which

which they have written unto us from the *Indies*, and what else we have certainly perceived and understood.

W Also we cannot in the mean time conceal from your honours, that the fact of this conspiracy is so notorious in the *Indies*, and that thence may be drawn so strong and vigorous proofs, that the truth shall fully and sufficiently appear to the full discharge of the innocents, and the confusion of those which will defend and maintain a bad cause. And this may be proved there, besides the points above alleged:

First, that all the *Japonians*, accomplices in the conspiracy, have signed each with their own hands their confessions, and afterwards jointly, and all together, have persisted therein after the end of the examination, without torture or fetters, at many sittings and full assemblies of the council at *Amboyna*, without revoking any thing, or desiring to diminish or augment any thing from or to their said confessions.

In the second place, That the *English* accomplices, at sundry times, of their own accord, without pain, irons, tortures, or menaces, ratified the same, and respectively signed their confessions: upon which confessions they were afterwards again examined three or four times, and re-examined in a full council and assembly; and after their examination have persisted therein, without revoking or changing any thing.

Thirdly, that the governor of *Amboyna*, after that all the accomplices had respectively, four or five times, ratified their confessions, and persisted therein a little before the execution, seriously remonstrated, exhorted, represented, and demanded, of the said accomplices, as he before had done unto them in particular, that in case any one of them had by apprehension of justice, fear of menaces, or terror of pain, said, confessed, and signed any thing, by which he was surpris'd, and made guilty, and whereby others might come and fall into danger or hazard, that he should speak and manifest it openly, that he might discharge the party thereof. For the governor protested that he was not desirous of the destruction and death of any that was not guilty. Upon which proposition every one of them shrunk up their shoulders, and said, that what he had confessed and signed particularly was true; and therefore he persisted therein.

In the fourth place, one of the accomplices called *William Webber*, in his last examination, confessed that he had received a letter from *John Clark*, by which he was advertised, that something of great weight and consequence was handled amongst the *English*; but he could not understand what it might be: the which letter containing

as aforesaid, the said *Clark* confessed also, in the absence of *Webber*, that he had written it.

Fifthly, that *Edward Collins*, being examined, and making his confession, without any torment or torture, as appeareth by the acts, offered to confess all of his own free-will: yea, he declared the same before *Gabriel Towerson*, and all the other *English*, and that he did not think that the said *Towerson*, and all the rest, which were there faulty, would dare to deny it, but would presently confess it; as also the said *Towerson* being brought to *Collins*, and the said *Collins* falling upon his knees, and requiring mercy and pardon, he said, and told it him to his face, admonishing the said *Towerson*, that he would presently declare and confess all as he had done, saying, I must speak and confess the truth; and I mean not to suffer or endure any pain for the love of you.

In the sixth place, that *Emanuel Tomson* two days after the examination finished and ended, and when he was free and at liberty, being inquired by the commissioners which had assisted in the same examination, wherefore he had so long persisted in his denials, and endured the severe examination, said the reason was, because captain *Gabriel Towerson* had oftentimes reprehended his drunkenness, saying, that he should take good heed, that thereby the matter should not be discovered: for which cause the said *Tomson* did, by a great oath, swear to himself, that howsoever it went, he would not be the third, nor the fourth, by whom the matter should be known, whatsoever pain, in his opinion, he could have been put unto.

Seventhly, the said *Emanuel Tomson*, certain days after his examination, being visited by certain commissioners, said unto them, that he was very glad that God had caused the business to be brought to light, because much innocent blood would have been spilt and although he confessed; that he had deserved once, yea twice, to die, he asked mercy, seeing that he was a man of about fifty years, &c. And so, after, so much favour was given to the said *Tomson*, to draw a lot with *Coulson* and *Collins*, which of them three should be released and freed.

In the eighth place, that, two or three days before the execution, captain *Towerson* being in the hall, with other the convict *English*, said in the presence of the governor and all the council, and to the rest of the *English* in general by reproach, that their ill and disordinate lives, their whoredom and drunkenness, was the cause, that it pleased God, that they should not keep secret the intended enterprize; and that by reason

son thereof they were now fallen and brought to such misery.

Ninthly, that *Gabriel Towerfon*, author of this conspiracy, in his last extremity, prayed the rest of his accomplices to pardon him, because that by him *Towerfon* they were instigated and brought unto the said enterprize, and were reduced to that case; and that the business was come to be discovered by the All-seeing God, and that he must of necessity die; and therefore, having brought them into this danger and ill chance, he prayed them to pardon him, as they also did.

In the tenth place, the said *Towerfon*, a little before his death, writ a letter to *Samuel Coulson*, which letter is yet in the hands of the governor of *Amboyna Harman van Speult*, by which the said *Towerfon* said and alleged unto the said *Coulson*, that he the said *Coulson* was the first and principal cause which had made the agreement, and condescending unto the act of invading and making of themselves masters of the castle; but, notwithstanding, at the present he pardoned him.

Eleventhly, that the ship called *The Unicorn*, sailing from *Amboyna* to *Batavia*, the two *English* merchants *Edward Collins* and *John Beomont*, which were pardoned, were transported therein, unto the end to impetrate and obtain their full pardon in *Batavia* aforesaid; and they two *English* merchants being requested by the officers of the ship to come sit down, and eat at the table of the commissioners, during the said voyage, the said *Collins* said, excusing of himself, that they were not worthy to sit by the said commissioners, because that the said *English* had had such an ill purpose and design against the *Dutch*: and yet they were by them in that fashion entertained, and were exempted of the punishment; and therefore they could very well eat apart: which excuse, notwithstanding, was not received nor accepted by the commissioners of the *Dutch*.

X In the twelfth place, are adjoined and annexed the report and depositions of the said governor *de Houtman*, concerning the confessions of the said two *English* merchants, made before the governor himself, and afterwards before the president and

principal *English*, and that which further may be declared at *Batavia*, whereof divers persons there have notice.

In the thirteenth place, concerning the torture in the proceedings used at *Amboyna*, they can give certain proof of the truth itself, that many persons, mentioned in the *English* writing to have been tortured with water and fire, have not one been once touched.

In the fourteenth place, concerning the particularities and petty points of the said writing in *English*, touching the examination of certain persons therein mentioned, for the discharge and innocency of the *English*, the same shall be proved never to have been done nor heard, by depositions of those which have been present at all, and by persons before whom such things must needs have been spoken and declared.

In the fifteenth place, it shall also be found, that the pretended miracles were devised only for the discharge of the *English*, and in their favour.

These said points, and many others which are yet further well known to the directors, may be clearly and by good proof shewn in time and place, if due and convenient time be given and granted unto the cause and research thereof: which in a matter so important, and of such weight, coming also from so remote parts, cannot (under reverence) be denied to any: so that your honours may please to desire the same of his majesty of *Great Britain*, without which the directors can very ill propose any other means, which would not be mingled either with injustice, or the great prejudice and disadvantage of the *Dutch* company.

We also surely hope, that his said majesty, according to his great wisdom and justice, cannot refuse or deny the said respite for the examination of the business more exactly and particularly; which we beseech your honours, in all reverence, to interpose and mediate, and by all means to effect and obtain; that, as reason requireth, neither the company in general, nor the masters in particular, may not, during this interim, be any way grieved or prejudiced in their just defences. Which doing, &c.

AN AUTHENTICK

C O P Y

OF THE

CONFESSIONS and SENTENCES

AGAINST

Mr. *Towers*on and Accomplices,

Concerning the BLOODY

C O N S P I R A C Y,

Enterprised against the

Castle of A M B O Y N A :

The which, by the manifest GRACE and PROVIDENCE of GOD,
was discovered the 23d Day of *February*, in the Year 1623.

AS ALSO

The RESOLUTIONS of the Governor *Van Speult*, and of the Council,
taken in the Business.

Translated out of the COPY, delivered to the *English East-India* Com-
pany, from the *Dutch*.

AN AUTHENTICK
C O P Y
OF THE
A C T S of the P R O C E S S
AGAINST THE
E N G L I S H at A M B O Y N A.

W Hereas on the 23d of *February*, 1623, by the manifest grace and providence of God, it was discovered, that a certain *Japoneſe*, called *Hytieſo*, at night, and at unlawful hours, at ſermon and prayers-time, contrary to order, and to his condition, did paſs divers times along by the ramparts, and before the points; and at divers times there, where he found the ſoldiers young and unexperienced, made inquiry how many ſoldiers of the *Low-Countries* there were in the caſtle, and how many times they changed the watch every night; the worſhipful *Harman van Speult*, counſellor of the *Indies*, and governor of *Amboyna*, upon great reaſons, taking his actions and demands for ſuſpicious, cauſed the ſaid *Japoneſe* to appear before him and the council; and examining him of the truth, he confeſſed as followeth:

Datum ut ſupra: Being ſigned
Harman van Speult,
Lawrence de Marſbachk,
Clement Kerſſeboom,
John Johnſon Viſcher,
John van Leeuwen,
John Jacobſon Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Janſon Vogell,
John Joosten,
Jacob Cooper,
John van Nieupoort,
Peter Janſen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Cortbals, ſecretary.

Hytieſo, Japoneſe, of the age of 24 years, born at *Ferando* in *Japan*, denied the ſame; but the ſoldiers being produced before him, of whom he had divers times, and in divers places, aſked thoſe queſtions, he confeſſed that he had done it out of a merry diſpoſition, and for pleaſure: whereupon his worſhip ſaid unto him, that ſuch things, at unſeaſonable times, could not be aſked for pleaſure of the younger and unexperienced ſoldiers, but that of neceſſity it muſt be otherwiſe: and, in purſuit thereof, being of that opinion, he, with thoſe of his council, cauſed him to be brought to the torture: the priſoner, having been tortured awhile, deſired that they would ceaſe, and he would confeſs all that did belong to the buſineſs; and then he confeſſed, that a certain other *Japoneſe*, being alſo ſoldier to the *Dutch* company in the *East-Indies*, called *Sidney Migiell* (who had heretofore been ſervant to the honourable *Engliſh* company), had deſired him to inquire of the thing aforeſaid; and moreover he confeſſed, that he had been aſked by the ſaid *Migiell*, if he would lend his aid amongſt other *Japoneſers*, to deliver the caſtle into the hands of the *Engliſh*: to which he answered, he would, upon condition of good recompence; which was offered him by the ſaid *Japoneſe*, in the name of the *Engliſh*.

He confeſſed, that he had communicated and conſulted concerning the delivery of the caſtle divers times, as well in the quarters of *Mardiques*, as in the *Engliſh* houſe, with divers other *Japoneſes*,

and with Mr. *Timothy Johnson*, *English* merchant, and *Abel Price*, *English* barber; and that within three months last past.

He saith, that the *Japonian* soldiers, which were in the castle, did agree to deliver the said castle into the hands of the *English*, and that they had engaged themselves to serve them.

Further he confesseth, that they would put this exploit and treason in execution, when any *English* ship should have arrived in this place.

He saith, that the *Japoneses* did consult to keep two men in every corner of the castle, and the rest in the hall, to seize upon the governor; and that they would have killed all that were not on their side. Thus confessed the 23d of *February*, 1623, in the castle of *Amboyna*: and it was subscribed, The mark — of *Hytieso*, *Japonese*.

Harman van Speult,
Lawrence de Marschalck,
Clement Kerseboom,
John Johnson Vischer,
John van Leeuwen,
John Jacobson Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Johnson Vogell,
John Joosten,
Jacob Cooper,
John van Nieupoort,
Peter Jansen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Cortbals, secretary.

By reason of which conspiracy and treason, the governor *van Speult*, being moved and troubled, kept the prisoner by him, and presently caused the gate to be shut and looked to, and the points of the castle with double guard; and likewise the arms of all the *Japoneses* to be taken away, and themselves to be put in irons; giving command that none should stir out of the castle, until such time as he should be better informed, and all things were set in order; knowing well that there was great danger in delays, and that, for the finding out of such conspiracies and offences, he was not to make any pause, but to search out the end thereof; for which cause he commanded *Sidney Migiell* to be sent for, and commanded the advocate *Fiscal de Brune*, with the council, to take diligent information: to whom, after some torture, the said *Migiell*, and others, made the confessions following.

Done in the castle of *Amboyna*, the 23d of *February*, Anno 1623: and it was subscribed,

Harman van Speult,
Lawrence de Marschalck,

Clement Kerseboom,
John Johnson Vischer,
John van Leeuwen,
John Jacobson Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Johnson Vogell,
John Joosten,
Jacob Cooper,
John van Nieupoort,
Peter Jansen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Cortbals, secretary.

Sidney Migiell, *Japonese*, of the age of 24 years, born at *Nangasacke*, confesseth that he did inquire of another soldier, being a *Japonese*, called *Peter Conge*, how many *Dutch* soldiers were in the castle.

He confesseth, that *Abel Price*, *English* barber, within two or three months since, asked him, if he knew a way to get and induce the *Japoneses* to deliver the castle to the *English*.

He said, that afterwards he consulted with the *Japoneses* about the said business; and that all of them agreed thereunto.

He saith, that divers times he consulted concerning the prosecution of the business, and concerning the time, with captain *Towerson*, Mr. *Tompson*, *John Clarke*, *Abel Price*, and other *English*.

He confesseth also, that they would have put in execution this plot or treason, when any *English* ship or pink had arrived here; and that then, with the *English*, and their slaves, they would have attempted to make themselves masters of the castle, and have killed all that were not on their side.

He saith, that they had appointed two *Japoneses* to be in every point of the castle, and the rest in the hall, to seize upon the governor *van Speult*.

He confesseth also, that the *English* did promise to every *Japonese* 1000 ryals of eight, over and above their share in the booty. Thus confessed the 24th of *February*, Anno 1623, *stilo novo*, in the fort of *Amboyna*: and it was subscribed,

This is the mark — of *Sidney Migiell*.

Harman van Speult,
Lawrence de Marschalck,
Clement Kerseboom,
John Johnson Vischer,
John van Leeuwen,
John Jacobson Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Johnson Vogell,
John Joosten,
Jacob Cooper,
John van Nieupoort,
Peter Jansen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,

Rowland

*Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Cortbals, secretary.*

Peter Congi, Japonese, aged 31 years, born at Mangasague, confesseth, that the said Migiell questioned him concerning the soldiers of the Dutch, how many there were; and that he inquired of the said Hytieso.

He confesseth, that he did consult, as the other Japoneses did, with the English, concerning the delivery of the castle; and he promised his service therein. Thus confessed, the 24th of February, 1623, in the castle of Amboyna. The mark — of Peter Congi.

*Harman van Speult,
Lawrence de Marschalck,
Clement Kersseboom,
John Johnson Vischer,
John van Leeuwen,
John Jacobson Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Johnson Vogell,
John Joosten,
Jacob Cooper,
John van Nieupoort,
Peter Jansen Van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Cortbals, secretary.*

Soyfimo, Japonese, of the age of 26 years, born at Firando, confesseth, that he had likewise knowlege of the consultation of the English; and that he had presented his service to the said English to win the castle. Confessed, dated in the same place; and it was marked, signed,—Soyfimo Japonese.

*Harman van Speult,
Lawrence de Marschalck,
Clement Kersseboom,
John Johnson Vischer,
John van Leeuwen,
John Jacobson Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Johnson Vogell,
John Joosten,
Jacob Cooper,
John van Nieupoort,
Peter Jansen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Cortbals, secretary.*

Thome Corea, Japonese, of the age of 50 years, born at Mangasague, confessed, that he, with the rest of Japoneses, had knowlege of the consultation of the English; and that he should likewise have been employed in their service. Thus confessed, the 24th of February, 1623, and was signed, The mark — of Thome Corea.

*Harman van Speult,
Lawrence de Marschalck,
Clement Kersseboom,
John Johnson Vischer,
John van Leeuwen,
John Jacobson Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Johnson Vogell,
John Joosten,
Jacob Cooper,
John van Nieupoort,
Peter Jansen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Cortbals, secretary.*

Tsiosa, Japonese, of the age of 32 years, born at Firando, soldier, confesseth, that he, with the rest of the Japoneses, should have been assistant in the surprising of the castle for the English. Datum ut supra: and was signed, The mark — of Tsiosa, Japonese.

*Harman van Speult,
Lawrence de Marschalck,
Clement Kersseboom,
John Johnson Vischer,
John van Leeuwen,
John Jacobson Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Johnson Vogell,
John Joosten,
Jacob Cooper,
John van Nieupoort,
Peter Jansen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Cortbals, secretary.*

Quiendayo, Japonese, aged 32 years, soldier, born at Coreats, confessed, that they, being 12 Japoneses, thought to have made themselves masters of the castle, with the aid of the English. Confessed and signed as aforesaid. Signed thus: The name of Quiendayo.

*Harman van Speult,
Lawrence de Marschalck,
Clement Kersseboom,
John Johnson Vischer,
John van Leeuwen,
John Jacobson Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Johnson Vogell,
John Joosten,
Jacob Cooper,
John van Nieupoort,
Peter Jansen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Cortbals, secretary.*

Sinsa, Japonese, of the age of 32 years, born at Firando, soldier, confessed that they 12 Japoneses did intend to deliver and

betray the castle to the *English*. Confessed in the said place, and on the said day subscribed, The name of *Sinsa*, *Japonefe*.

Harman van Speult,
Lawrence de Marschalck,
Clement Kersseboom,
John Johnson Vischer,
John van Leeuwen,
John Jacobson Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Johnson Vogell,
John Joosten,
Jacob Cooper,
John van Nieupoort,
Peter Jansen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Cortbals, secretary.

Tsavinda, *Japonefe*, aged 32 years, born at *Tioucketge*, soldier, confesseth as the rest, that they 12, with the assistance of the *English*, intended to make themselves masters of the castle. Thus confessed the 24th of *February*, 1623: and was subscribed, The name of *Tsavinda*.

Harman van Speult,
Lawrence de Marschalck,
Clement Kersseboom,
John Johnson Vischer,
John van Leeuwen,
John Jacobson Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Johnson Vogell,
John Joosten,
Jacob Cooper,
John van Nieupoort,
Peter Jansen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Cortbals, secretary.

Zanchoo, *Japonefe*, aged 22 years, born at *Fisien*, soldier, confesseth as the foregoing. Dated as the aforesaid, and was undersigned, The mark — of *Zanchoo*.

Harman van Speult,
Lawrence de Marschalck,
Clement Kersseboom,
John Johnson Vischer,
John van Leeuwen,
John Jacobson Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Johnson Vogell,
John Joosten,
Jacob Cooper,
John van Nieupoort,
Peter Jansen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Cortbals, secretary.

Sacoube, *Japonefe*, of the age of 40 years, born at *Firando*, soldier, confesseth, that he also had knowlege of the consultation of the *Japoneses*; but, being old

and sick, he did not present his service. Dated the 25th of *February* 1623 The mark — of *Sacoube*.

Harman van Speult,
Lawrence de Marschalck,
Clement Kersseboom,
John Johnson Vischer,
John van Leeuwen,
John Jacobson Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Johnson Vogell,
John Joosten,
Jacob Cooper,
John van Nieupoort,
Peter Jansen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Cortbals, secretary.

His worship understanding, by all the precedent confessions, the design of the agent of the honourable *English* company of *Amboyna*, with the merchants and other confederates; and, although that he was sufficiently informed that he might have taken them into custody, yet he would not haste thereunto: but, first, he caused to be brought before him *Abel Price*, *English* barber; who, for other offences, as an incendiary, for using violence in other mens houses, was already in prison: and, after the said prisoner was told the place, persons, and times, where he had consulted with the *Japonefe*, and with other *English*, upon the consultation aforesaid, they understood by him that which followeth. Dated the 25th of *February*, 1623: subscribed

Harman van Speult,
Lawrence de Marschalck,
Clement Kersseboom,
John Johnson Vischer,
John van Leeuwen,
John Jacobson Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Johnson Vogell,
John Joosten,
Jacob Cooper,
John van Nieupoort,
Peter Jansen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Cortbals, secretary.

The confession of *Abel Price*, aged 24 years, born at *Neles* in *Wales*, in the county of *Pembroke*.

Confesseth, that he, by the command and order of captain *Tower*son, had conference with *Sidney Migiell*, *Japonefe*, concerning the taking of the castle, promising unto every *Japoneze* their share in the booty.

Further he confesseth, that he did treat two or three times, in the quarter of *Mardriques*, with Mr. *Thomson*, Mr. *Johnson*, and

and *John Clarke*, and the *Japoneses*, concerning the said matter.

Further he confesseth, that the said *Migiell*, *Japonese*, was three or four times in the *English* house with him, and conferred with him and them divers times; and they informed captain *Tower*son of their discourse.

Confessing further, that the said treason should have been put in execution when any *English* ships should arrive.

Further he confesseth, that all the merchants of the factories, resorting to *Amboyna*, had knowlege of the said treason.

Further he saith, that they intended to put it in execution, when one of their ships should come.

Further he confesseth, that if they had taken the castle, they would have done all the damage and offence possible to the citizens, if they ageed not with them: and this he confirmed with his name, *Abel Price*.

His worship understanding this, he thought good to send for captain *Tower*son to the castle; the which he did presently by a certain merchant, who went to the *English* house, and presently returned to the castle with Mr. *Tower*son; who was very much troubled and altered: and then his worship said to him, that he was very much amazed and sorry for that which he had understood by the *Japonese* and the barber, having many times admonished the said captain *Tower*son, that he should not entertain or draw unto him (as he did) the *English*, *Japonese*, and *Spanish* Prisoners, which were in the service of him and the *Low-Countries*: that it did cause and give suspicion of ill consultation, and other things, but as he thought captain *Tower*son did not know any thing: but that now he marked in him a great alteration and astonishment.

The governor *van Speult*, with his council, found good that they should retain, by way of provision, the said captain *Tower*son and Mr. *Thomson*; and he was told presently that he should stay there as prisoner, and should take a lodging in one of the chambers of merchants. But the said Mr. *Tower*son desired, that, by reason of his quality, they would grant him to be prisoner in his own chamber, in the house of the honourable *English* company: to the which his worship agreed, upon condition that first he should cause to come, or send, all his men into the castle, the which was done; and that he should be there prisoner, with some keepers.

Captain *Tower*son being gone, his worship, holding a council, thought good presently to examine all the *English* one after another; and they were examined;

some before torture, others after a little torture, confessing as followeth. Done the 26th of *February*, 1623. Signed

Harman van Speult,
Lawrence de Marschalck,
Clement Kerffseboom,
John Johnson Vischer,
John van Leeuwen,
John Jacobson Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Johnson Vogell,
John Joosten,
Jacob Cooper,
John van Nieupoort,
Peter Jansen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Cortbals, secretary.

The confession of Timothy Johnson, factor, born at Newcastle, aged 29 years.

Confesseth, that he was in one of the houses of the *Japoneses*, in the quarter of the *Madriques*, with Mr. *Thomson*, *John Clarke*, and *Abel Price*, three or four times, to consult of the taking of the castle, and of massacring those of the *Low-Countries*; which consultation was kept six or seven days ago.

Further he confesseth, that captain *Tower*son, on *New-year's-day* last, having all his merchants assembled with him, proposed unto them how that the *Hollanders* did great injuries to the *English*; and asked them if they had not the courage to help to revenge all their wrongs: for his own part, he knew the ways and means, both within and without, with the aid of certain soldiers, *Japoneses*, that were lodged in the castle, to make himself master thereof. And they all answered, that they had.

And he confesseth, that their exploit should have been put in execution, when the governor should be out of the castle upon some exploit, and those that were in the castle should be weak and ill-provided: and also, that all the merchants of other factories, resorting thither, had knowlege of the said treason.

And further he saith, that they would have shared the booty with the *Japonese*: and this is confirmed with the sign and name of *Timothy Johnson*.

The confession of Robert Browne, born in Edinburgh, in Scotland, aged 24 years.

Confesseth, that captain *Tower*son, about *New-year's-day* last past, called an assembly of all his family, and the foreign merchants; and told them that he would have them take an oath on the bible for fidelity and secrecy; the which they did accordingly.

Further he saith, that afterwards the said *Towerfon* propounded, that the *English* had suffered great wrong by the *Hollanders*; asking them if they had the will and courage to revenge the same. To which some of them answered, that they were too weak to effect it. But then the said captain *Towerfon* answered, that they would wait the opportunity of the arrival of some *English* ships: whereupon all of them agreed to make trial, to make themselves masters of the castle.

Also, that captain *Towerfon* reported, that the *Japonian* soldiers, that were within the castle, were at his service.

Saith moreover, that captain *Towerfon*, at the arrival of some of their ships, should cause all their merchants and slaves of the other factory to come thither for that purpose.

And further he saith, that they would have killed all that should have made any resistance against them: and it is subscribed by the mark *R. B.*

The confession of John Fardo, the English steward, of the age of 42 years.

He confesseth, that about two months since he was in conference with others; wherein he took his oath upon the bible to be faithful and secret.

He saith, that captain *Towerfon*, with their aid, intended to make himself master of the castle.

And further he saith, that some, whereof the prisoner was one, answered, that they were too weak in men: and captain *Towerfon* said, that he knew a way to find men enough, and that they should refer the business to him, and that they only should do their endeavour.

Further he saith, that he, amongst the rest, offered his service and endeavour.

Furthermore he saith, that, about 14 days since, when he was with captain *Towerfon*, for money for the kitchen, captain *Towerfon* asked him the same, and if he would do his best to take the castle: to which he answered, that he, among others, would do their best. And it was confirmed by the sign of *John Fardo*.

The confession of Edward Collins, English merchant, born at London, aged 25 years, or thereabouts.

Confesseth, that he, amongst others, was at the said consultation; and took his oath, upon the bible, to be faithful and secret.

And further, that he, amongst others, did consent to do his best in the taking of the castle.

Item, that within three or four days after the said consultation they assembled

again; and then captain *Towerfon* told him, that he had at his devotion the *Japonian* soldiers; and that, at his appointment, they would make themselves masters of the points; and that some should attend in the hall for the governor, when he should come forth upon the noise.

Item, that they would put their design in execution, when one of their ships should arrive.

Item, he confesseth, that if so be they could have gained the castle, they would have done the citizens all the hurt and damage possible, unless they would agree with them. And it is confirmed under *Edward Collins's* hand.

The confession of John Beomont, English merchant, born in Berkshire, aged 48 years.

Confesseth, that on *New-year's-day* last past he was in conference; and, among others, took his oath upon the bible to be faithful and secret.

Item, he confesseth, that captain *Towerfon* required all their aids for the taking of the castle. Other circumstances at present he remembreth not, having been sick, and having an ill memory, and growing in age. And it is confirmed under the hand of *John Beomont*.

The confession of Ephraim Ramsey, born at Carelston in Scotland, aged 21 years, assistant to the English at Lohoe.

He confesseth, that, upon *New-year's-day* last, he was at *Lohoe*, and therefore he could not be at the said conference with the *English*.

Further he saith, that this is the first day that he hath understood, that the *English* did consult on *New-year's-day* for the taking of the castle in a time convenient.

The confession of John Sadler, born at London, aged 20 years, English steward at Larico.

He confesseth, that, at the time afore-said, he was at *Larico*, and that he knew not of any consultation.

The confession of William Grigs, of Dunstable, in the county of Bedford, aged 28 years, English merchant at Larico.

He confesseth, that he was present at the consultation upon *New-year's-day* last; and that, amongst others, he took his oath upon the bible to be loyal and secret.

Further he confesseth, that he offered his service to take the castle.

Item, captain *Towerfon* did make great complaint of the wrong which the *English* did receive from the *Hollanders*; and, for the revenge thereof, with the aid of the *Japonian*

Japonian soldiers, slaves, and some *Spanish* prisoners, he intended to make himself master of the castle, if every one of us would aid him; the which if we would do, he knew a way to keep the castle in spite of the *Hollanders* teeth.

Item, he saith, that they would have killed all those which should make any resistance, and taken the rest prisoners.

Further he saith, that, within a few days after, they should have had another consultation, and that then captain *Tower-son* would give order for all things, and have given a sign to the *Japoneses*, at which they should have gone about the business within the castle.

Item, he saith, that they would have divided the goods and booty among themselves. And it was confirmed under the hand of *William Grigs*.

*The confession of John Clarke, born at Or-
dington, aged 36 years, assistant to the
English.*

Confesseth, that he treated and spake with the *Japonian* soldiers, concerning the taking of the castle.

Item, he confesseth, that he was in the consultation on *New-year's-day* last past; and that captain *Tower-son* caused them to take an oath upon the bible to be faithful and secret: saying that it was necessary so to do; for if that which he should say unto them should come to be known, it would cost them all their lives.

Confesseth moreover, that captain *Tower-son* said afterwards, that he intended, with the help of the *Japonian* soldiers, and them, to make himself master of the castle.

Item, he saith, that captain *Tower-son* said, that, when time should be fitting, he would send for all his men and slaves of the other factories.

He saith moreover, that they resolved to kill all those that should resist them; and that they should have shared all the monies and goods amongst them. And this was confirmed under the hand of *John Clarke*.

*The confession of William Webber, born at
Tiverton in Devonshire, aged about 32
years.*

He confesseth, that, about five weeks since, he received a letter from *John Clarke*, of *Hitto*, wherein, among other things, it was written, that the *English* in *Amboyna* had consulted concerning the taking of the castle.

Item, he saith, that he hath no other knowlege of the treason, nor he did not consult with any person concerning the same. And it was confirmed under the hand of *William Webber*.

*The confession of George Shacock, of the
age of 31 years, born at Westchester,
assistant to the English at Hitto.*

He confesseth and saith, that he was not in *Amboyna* since the first of *December* last past; and therefore he could not be at the consultation held here by the *English* at *New-year's-tide* last.

He confesseth, that, about a month or five weeks since, he understood of *John Clarke*, of *Hitto*, being in the gallery, that the *English* in *Amboyna* had consulted and resolved to take the castle.

Item, that he promised to *John Clarke* his aid, concerning that business. And it was confirmed under the hand of the said *George Shacock*.

*The confession of Samuel Coulson, English
merchant, born at Newcastle, aged 39
years.*

Confesseth, that he was at the conference of the *English*; and had taken an oath upon the bible to be faithful and secret, as others.

Item, he confesseth, that captain *Tower-son* complained of the great wrong and injuries that the *Hollanders* did them; and, if they would aid them, he knew, with the help of the *Japonian* soldiers, a way to take the castle.

Item, he confesseth, that he promised his aid in the same act.

Further he confesseth, that the time of the putting the same in execution was not yet determined; but, with opportunity, captain *Tower-son* would tell him.

Item, in case their intention had taken effect, they resolved to kill all that should make resistance, and take the rest prisoners. And this was confirmed by *Samuel Coulson's* name.

*The confession of Gabriel Tower-son, agent
for the English in Amboyna, of the age
of 49 years, born in London.*

He confesseth, that he was in conference with the *English*, and with the others; he took an oath upon the bible to be faithful and secret.

Item, he saith and confesseth, that he had an intention, and divers times consulted with his men, to make himself master of the castle.

Item, he confesseth, that all his men were consenting to it; and that he would have put the same in execution the next time that the governor *van Speult* had gone forth with his curricurries.

Being asked what should move him thereunto; he answered, desire of honour and profit.

Further, being asked of whom he looked to receive that honour, and for whom he would have kept the castle; he answered, that

that if his intent had been atchieved, he would have informed those of his nation in *Batavia*, and require their assistance: the which being sent him, he would have kept the castle for his company: but if they did not, he would have kept it for himself, and seek some agreement with the *Blacks*, and so by some way or other have had his intent.

He confesseth moreover, that he gave order to his men to get him men and companions to effect the same; as Mr. *Thomson*, Mr. *Johnson*, *John Clarke*, and *Abel Price*; and they had already negotiated with the *Japonian* soldiers.

He saith, that the *Japoneses* were twice in his house; but that he himself did not speak with them, but he caused them to be treated with by others.

He saith, that as yet he did not appoint the time, because it was too soon.

He saith, when time should come convenient, he would to this intent have sent for all his men and slaves from the other factories.

Further he saith, that no person whatever gave him any order, instruction, or charge, for the said business; but only he was the first inventor and author of this enterprize and plot, for the reasons aforesaid.

Item, he confesseth, that on *New-year's-day* last he consulted with the merchants, and those of his family, concerning the taking of the castle; and made them all swear upon the bible to be faithful and secret.

Further he confesseth, that he hath not given any order to any person whatsoever, to confer with those of *Loboe*, *Hitto*, or *Cambello*, concerning this matter. So far was he from promising them any powder, ordnance, bullets, or muskets, or any other ammunition of war, at the arrival of the ships. Signed *Gabriel Towerfon*.

The confession of Emanuel Thomson, English merchant in Amboyna, born in Hamburg, of the age of 50 years.

He confesseth, that, on *New-year's-day* last past, a day after or before, he, with other *English* merchants, was sent for to the chamber of captain *Towerfon*; and that the said captain *Towerfon* then said unto them, that he had a business to impart unto them, but first they must take their oaths upon the bible to be faithful and secret to him; the which they all did.

Afterwards captain *Towerfon* told them in what manner the *English* were esteemed in that country, and that every-where they must be the lowest, and that they could not receive justice in any kind, and that he had found a way to be revenged

thereof, and that he could be master of of the castle, if they would assist him; unto the which they all agreed.

Item, the said captain *Towerfon* said, that those of *Loboe* would come with certain *curricurries* to assist him.

Item, he saith, that eight days after the conference captain *Towerfon* told him, that he had sent Mr. *Johnson* and Mr. *Price* forth to treat, and get the *Japonian* soldiers to consent to the same.

Further he confesseth, that, after the said conference, he had sundry times asked captain *Towerfon* how he proceeded in the business: but he was still answered, that he should content himself, and leave the business to those that were wiser than himself; and that he should take heed, lest, by his drunkenness, the business should be discovered. Signed *Emanuel Thomson*.

The confession of John Wetherall, English merchant, dwelling at Cambello, born at Glaston, in the County of Rutland, aged 31 years.

Confesseth, that he was at the conference with others on *New-year's-day*; and took his oath, as others did, on the bible, to be faithful and secret.

That captain *Towerfon* after he had told them, how that the *English* had endured a great deal of wrong by the *Hollanders*; and that he, with the aid of the *Japonian* soldiers, and with the *Blacks*, knew a way how to get the castle, if they would all aid him; they presently promised to do it.

This exploit should have been put in execution when their ships should have arrived.

Item, he confesseth, that the next day they were again assembled, to animate and encourage one another in the advancement of their design. Signed *John Wetherall*.

The confession of John Paul, assistant to the English at Cambello, born in Bristol, aged 31 years.

Saith, that he hath not been near the castle of *Amboyna* this five months, and that he knoweth not any thing therein.

The confession of Thomas Sharke, born at Colchester, aged 36 years.

Saith, that he hath not been in *Amboyna* this six months, and that he knoweth nothing.

Augustine Peres Marinho, captain of the slaves, aged 36 years, born in Bengala.

Confesseth, that, two months since, he was asked by a *Japonesse*, called *Hytieso*, in the name of captain *Towerfon*, if he would, together with the *Japoneses*, assist the *English* in the taking of the castle:

the which he consented to. Thus confessed in the castle of *Amboyna*, the 3d of *March*, 1623.

The worshipful *Harman van Speult*, counsellor in the *Indies*, governor in *Amboyna*, &c. having seen and understood the conformable confessions of divers persons and nations, being kept in divers places, and examined at divers times, doth not think any ways necessary, by reason of the enormity of the offence, that the cause could, nor ought not to suffer any reference: because, at the present, they were charged with more than 40 prisoners, and they did not know what enemies might be besides, either within or without. Yet notwithstanding, for the abundant satisfaction of the honourable *English* company and nation, it was thought fit to be debated by council, whether the cause could suffer any referring, or no.

Whereupon, by a general voice, it was judged and resolved, that the fact and crime should be punished in the place where it was conceived and concluded, for example to others: and the rather, because, at the present, the *Ternatans* and *Moors* hereabouts, contrary to their custom, did, a while since (in likelihood, by the instigation of the *English*), begin to rebel, and had slain and killed certain of the *Dutch* nation, and servants of the company. Therefore his worship caused the fiscal *Brune* to form such demand and conclusion against the said prisoners, as in reason he should think fitting. Thus done and resolved the 8th of *March*, 1623. Subscribed,

Harman van Speult,
Lawrence de Marschalck,
Clement Kerseboom,
John Johnson Vischer,
John van Leeuwen,
John Jacobson Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Johnson Vogell,
John Joosten,
Jacob Cooper,
John van Nieupoort,
Peter Jansen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Cortbals, secretary.

Whereas, by the precedent acts and confessions, it appears sufficiently, that *Gabriel Towerison*, agent for the honourable *English* company in *Amboyna*, with his creatures and confederates aforesaid, hath committed treason, and sought the overthrow of the state of the privileged company of the *Low-Countries* in *Amboyna*; wherein depends the greatest part of the

prosperity of the said company; and, by a horrible murder and effusion of blood, wholly to ruinate the same; therefore the advocate fiscal *Isaac Brune*, *nomine officii*, forming his demand, concludes, that the said *Gabriel Towerison*, with all the other delinquents, as well *English* as *Japoneses*, above-named (except *Ephraim John Paul*, assistant to the *English*, *Thomas Sharke*, and *John Sadler*), should be carried to the place accustomed for execution of the law and justice; and that they should there be beheaded, and put to death, with the confiscation of all their goods; and that the said *Towerison*, after his death, should be cut in four quarters, and his head should be set upon the gate, upon a pole, and every quarter be fixed on a gibbet. Done in the castle of *Amboyna*, the 8th of *March*, 1623: and it was signed, *Isaac de Brune*, advocate fiscal.

The worshipful *Harman van Speult*, counsellor of the *Indies*, governor of *Amboyna*, &c. with the ordinary council of his worship, as also those in the ships named the *Rotterdam*, *Amsterdam*, *Unicorn*, *Edam*, and *Little-Hope*, having heard the demand and conclusion of the advocate fiscal *de Brune*, made against the said delinquents, after they had called upon the Name of God, that he would be pleased to assist them in their course, during this heavy assembly, and to inspire into them nothing but equity and justice, after mature consideration in all that was necessary; To you the delinquents, as well *English* as *Japoneses*; to wit, captain *Gabriel Towerison*, *Samuel Coulson*, *Emanuel Thomson*, *Timothy Johnson*, *William Grigs*, *John Clarke*, *Abel Price*, *Robert Browne*, *John Wetherall*, *John Fardo*, *Augustine Peres Marinbo*; the slaves, *Hytieso*, *Sidney Migiell*, *Pedro Conge*, *Thome Corea*, *Tsiosa*, *Quiandao*, *Sinsa*, *Tsavienda*, and *Zancheo*; Declare that you having committed treason, having conceived and plotted together a horrible massacre and treason, to be masters of the castle; and so have compassed, not only to overthrow and ruinate the state of the *East-India* company in the united provinces of the *Low-Countries*, which the conservation of this place much concerneth, but also to ruinate the united *Low-Countries* themselves, and their prosperities; partly consisting in navigation and traffick to the *Indies*, which, by this means, would have been undermined and weakened: In pursuit whereof, and in the name, and in the quality, of governor of the high and mighty lords the states general of the united provinces of the *Low-Countries*, have condemned the said delinquents, as by these presents we condemn them, to be

be carried to the place where law and justice is ordinarily executed, and there to be punished with the sword, in such sort as death may ensue; with the confiscation, according to the law, of their goods, proper and in particular. And the heads of *Gabriel Towerson*, *Sidney Migiell*, *Hytieso*, and *Pedro Conge*, for example unto others, shall be set upon poles.

Thus pronounced in the castle of *Amboyna*, the ninth day of *March*, 1623: and it was subscribed,

Harman van Speult,
Lawrence de Marschalck,
Clement Kersseboom,
John Johnson Vischer,
John van Leeuwen,
John Jacobson Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Johnson Vogell,
John Joosten,
Jacob Cooper,
John van Nieupoort,
Peter Jansen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Cortbals, secretary.

Whereas the said governor *van Speult*, for the service of the honourable *English* company, hath thought good to spare two of the said *English* merchants *pro tempore* for the grace and pardon of the lord governor-general *Peter de Carpentier*, to the end that, with other deputies of his worship, they might look to the goods of the said honourable *English* company; his worship, for certain reasons, hath chosen for one of them *John Beomont*, *English* merchant in the factory of *Lohoe*: and ordaineth, that *Mr. Collins*, *Mr. Thomson*, and *Mr. Coulson*, should draw lots between them three, which of them should enjoy the like favour; declaring notwithstanding, that their proper goods shall be particularly confiscated, according as the others. And his worship pardoned *Ephraim John Paul*, *Thomas Sharke*, and *John Sadler*, as having little or no knowlege of the said plot. Done and resolved the 8th of *March*, 1623.

Mr. Coulson, *Mr. Thomson*, and *Mr. Collins*, being brought in a place together, and the lots being presented to them, after a short prayer which every one made, they drew: first *Mr. Thomson*, next *Mr. Collins*, and last *Mr. Coulson*: the which being opened, it fell to *Mr. Collins* to be saved. Done in the castle of *Amboyna* the day aforesaid: subscribed,

Harman van Speult,
Lawrence de Marschalck,
Clement Kersseboom,
John Johnson Vischer,

John van Leeuwen,
John Jacobson Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Johnson Vogell,
John Joosten,
Jacob Cooper,
John van Nieupoort,
Peter Jansen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Cortbals, secretary.

Whereas *Augustine Peres Marinbo*, of the slaves, had knowlege of the treason and conspiracy aforesaid, and being that he promised his aid, it is concluded of him as is aforesaid; and that the wife of *Augustine Peres*, which hath been a slave of the honourable *Dutch East-India* company, who was given to the said *Augustine*, in hope of his good carriage, for the present she shall return to her ancient masters of the said company, until such time that she shall be otherwise disposed of by the governor. Done in the council of *Amboyna*, the 9th of *March*, 1623: and was subscribed,

Harman van Speult,
Lawrence de Marschalck,
Clement Kersseboom,
John Johnson Vischer,
John van Leeuwen,
John Jacobson Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Johnson Vogell,
John Joosten,
Jacob Cooper,
John van Nieupoort,
Peter Jansen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Cortbals, secretary.

We here under-named do declare for a truth, instead of an oath, that *Gabriel Towerson*, after he was examined concerning the said plot, and the governor *van Speult* condoling with him for that which is aforesaid, asking him if that was the recompence of his former friendship shewed to the said *Towerson*? The said *Towerson*, with a deep sigh, answered him, and said, Alas! if it were to begin again, it should never be done. Done the 9th of *March*, in the castle of *Amboyna*: subscribed

Harman van Speult,
Lawrence de Marschalck,
Clement Kersseboom,
Harman Crayevanger,
Peter van Zanten,
Leonard Clocq.

The 9th of *March*, 1623, in the castle of *Amboyna*, it was resolved, that the
English

English prisoners, that were for the present reserved to the pardon of the lord general *de Carpentier*, as Mr. *Beomont* and Mr. *Collins*, as likewise those that had none or little knowlege in the said intended treason, should be again remitted to the *English* lodgings, with others appointed by the governor *van Speult*, to keep and look to the goods of their company, until the arrival of some *English* ship, to dispose thereof, as should be found most necessary and profitable for the said company.

Thus done in the castle of *Amboyna* the day above-written: subscribed,

Harman van Speult,
Lawrence de Marschalck,
Clement Kerffeboom,
John Johnson Vischer,
John van Leeuwen,
John Jacobson Wincoop,
Leonard Clocq,
Martin Johnson Vogell,
John Joosten,
Jacob Cooper,
John van Nieupoort,
Peter Jansen van Zanten,
Harman Crayevanger,
Rowland Tailler,
Vincent Cortbals, secretary.

Under was written, Collationed with the original, and found to agree with the same in substance. Done the 29th of *March*, 1623, in the castle of *Amboyna*: subscribed,

Frederick Houtman,
Martin Souck,
John Jacobson Wincoop,
Garrit Fredericke,

Delbit Vesterman,
Lawrence de Marschalck,
John van Leeuwen,
Leonard Clocq,
Isaac Migielfon Bogace,
Peter Jansen van Zanten.

We whose names are underwritten, being servants unto the honourable *English* company in the *East-Indies*, having been required by the worshipful *Harman van Speult*, governor of *Amboyna*, to examine the process of captain *Towerfon* and his accomplices, being written in *Dutch* and *English*; we have heard and read the said process in two languages: and according to our judgments, and as we can comprehend it, the substance of both the translations agree in substance. Thus done in the castle of *Amboyna*, the 23d of *May*, 1623, *stilo Angliæ*. And is subscribed by those whose names hereafter follow; to wit,

Richard Welding,
John Cartwright,
Henry Gill,
John van Nieupoort,
Rowland Hollers,
George Williams.

Collation being made of this translation with the authentick copy sent from the *Indies*, and subscribed as aforesaid, is found to agree therewith. The 12th of *August*, 1624.

By me the secretary of the states-general of the united provinces,

J. van Goch.

A
R E P L Y
T O T H E
R E M O N S T R A N C E
O F T H E
B E W I N T H E B B E R S O F D I R E C T O R S
O F T H E
Netherlands East-India C O M P A N Y,

Lately exhibited to the
L O R D S S T A T E S - G E N E R A L,
In J U S T I F I C A T I O N of the P R O C E E D I N G S
of their O F F I C E R S at *Amboyna*, against the *English* There.

A **T**HE directors of the *Netherlands East-India* company, finding it needful to defend their officers at *Amboyna*, by this remonstrance, refer themselves, in the first place, unto a former deduction, which they had exhibited unto the lords states in *July* last, wherein they profess still to insist; and considering, say they, the infallible *indicia* that preceded the discovery of this conspiracy, and the just and legal proceedings used against the accomplices appearing by the judicial acts, signed as well by the parties examined, as by the governor and council of *Amboyna*; who are a college or court of judges admitted and sworn, against which no proof, much less any vain and frivolous suspicions, ought to be admitted; they therefore conceived (until they see the contrary) that the conspirators (as they call them) were lawfully and rightly apprehended; the fact well proved, according to the law and custom of the *Low-Countries*; and consequently that the punishment was lawfully inflicted, with moderation of the rigour of justice, and with clemency.

This deduction, of the month of *July*, here mentioned, hath not been yet imparted to the *English East-India* company; otherwise they would have examined the same, as they did the relation printed in the scheme of a letter missive; which yet

they verily believe to be the very same in effect, and compiled by the same pen; for that it appeareth, by comparing of the printed pamphlet with the acts of this process at *Amboyna* here mentioned (copy whereof was communicated to the said *English* company), that the body of the said pamphlet (the preamble excepted), was wholly taken out of the same acts, only with some sophistication, of the act touching Mr. *Tower*son's pretended voluntary confession, noted in the answer to the same pamphlet. Wherefore, altho' it may be supposed, that this deduction, here referred unto us, is already sufficiently answered in the said answer to the *Dutch* relation; yet, because in this very recital of the directors there are certain general heads, either recapitulated out of that deduction, or laid for new grounds of the justification of the *Dutch* proceedings, it will not be amiss to examine them as they lie.

And first for the infallible *indicia*, pretended to have preceded the discovery; it is shewed in the answer to the pamphlet, that the *indicia* to torture the first *Japon* (which was the beginning of the whole process) were insufficient in law: the behaviour that this *Japon* used, and upon which he was apprehended, being none other, than that which is and may be used by any soldier, in the place where he serveth, without blame or suspicion. For

other *indicia*, there was not the least; neither of provisions of the *English* for such an exploit, nor of letters to or from any accomplice, nor of suspicious conferences, messages, or intelligencies, nor of flight or close-keeping of the parties, nor any other, agreeing with the rules or examples given by the law, or the authors commenting thereupon. But, being destitute of these and the like lawful *indicia*, the *Dutch* officers were fain to fetch their *indicia* out of the rack; and to make the confession of one tortured person *indicium* to torture another, contrary to the very express direction of the law. Some confessions indeed were without actual torture of the persons themselves: but even such had heard the cries, and seen the bodies, of others tortured and martyred before them; which fear of the torture is, by the law, equalled to the torture itself, as hath been shewed in the said answer.

The second general ground here laid, is the judicial acts of the college of judges at *Amboyna*, shewing their just and legal proceedings. The acts indeed of any court of justice, being orderly kept, yield a very sufficient proof in the point of fact in court; that is, they prove that such and such examinations, confessions, proofs, and evidences, were taken and made; and such judgment thereupon given as is therein entred. But for the point of justice, that must be judged by the comparing of the proofs with the sentence grounded upon them. Now, as touching the orderly keeping of these acts, imparted to the *English East-India* company as afore said; the same are neither agreeable to the forms of other courts, nor uniform in themselves. For the point of conformity to other courts, it is not here meant to require, that the acts of the council of *Amboyna* should, in every point, agree with the forms of every court in the *Low-Countries*; the several courts whereof have their several forms and stile, and some differences in points not substantial. But some general requisites of form there be, which are observed in all courts, yet omitted in these acts of *Amboyna*. As first, the date of every day's passages ought to be prefixed or annexed unto them, which is not observed in the said acts. But, in these acts, the examination of all the *English*, being 18 several prisoners, goeth under the date of the 25th of *February*; altho' the confessions are so many, and so large, as could not possibly be taken in one day: yea, three of the same prisoners, to wit, *Powle*, *Wetherall*, and *Ladbrook*, were but apprehended first upon the 26th of *February*, and that at *Cambello*, the outmost factory in *Seran*; and arrived not at *Amboyna* (where these examinations

were taken) until the second of *March*, *stilo novo*. So that they could not be examined at *Amboyna* the 25th of *February*, as the acts import. Next, it is a solemnity in all courts, to note in the acts the day of the examination of the prisoner upon the torture; or in the place of the torture; and then the act of his subscription to his confession upon another day. For these two may not be done upon the same day by the law: but the confession must be iterated and confirmed by the prisoner being free of bonds and irons, at least a day after the sense or sight of the torture; else it is not held for good and concluding against the party that confessed it. But, in all these acts of *Amboyna*, there is but one date, and one act, for both these; contrary to the law itself, and the custom and form of all courts. Thirdly, the acts ought to specify, whether the prisoner confesseth upon torture, or without. But these acts do not so; but only in the general. In the beginning of the acts, of the 26th of *February*, it is entred, that some confessed before torture, others with little torture, as followeth, &c. Whereby it appeareth not who was tortured, and who not; nor what was confessed with, and what without torture. Fourthly, the acts ought to specify what finally becometh of every prisoner; but in these acts there is no entry made what became of *Sbarock*, *Webber*, and two of the *Japons*; to wit, *Soyfimo* and *Sacoube*; these being by the acts neither condemned, nor absolved, nor reprieved; and yet all four are *de facto* dismissed, and set at liberty.

As for the point of uniformity in the acts themselves, *Collins* and *Beomont* are disposed of by special act; yet *Sbarock*, *Webber*, and the two *Japons* (all in the same case), are discharged, as before, without any act for it. Yea, there is an act entred for disposing of the *Portugal's* wife, though she were neither accused nor examined, as if she had been a party to the process; rather than *Sbarock*, *Webber*, and these two *Japons*, against all whom the fiscal craved judgment. Further, some of the examinations have the governor and his council's names subscribed to them, and some not; some of the confessions have the prisoners names subscribed, and some not; with divers other defects and disconformities, which easily and plainly discover, that they are not allowable for orderly and authentical acts of a court of justice.

Thus hath been shewed what credit may be given to these acts, in the point of fact therein recorded. Now for the point of justice, appearing by comparing the proofs against the prisoners with the sen-

tence;

tence; it is, in the first place, to be noted, that there is no proof nor evidence of any thing entred in all the said acts, no not so much as a witness named, much less deposed, of the least *indicium* against the prisoners, or any of them; but only the mere confessions of the prisoners themselves, drawn from them by the pain or just fear of torture: which mere confession of the parties, without other *indicium* or proof, is no sufficient ground to condemn any by the law of the *Low-Countries*.

Secondly, it is a requisite of their law, that the prisoners subscribe their confessions, being free of bonds and irons. Now neither is there any mention in all the acts of any such free confession, and all our people that escaped are ready to confirm, upon their oaths, that, from the first apprehension until the hour of going to the execution, there was no intermission of the fetters.

Thirdly, the same confessions are full of contrarieties; as one while, that the plot should be executed when some *English* ship or ships should be there arrived, the people whereof should assist in the exploit; another while, that, when the castle was taken, then Mr. *Tower*son would first send to *Jaccatra* for assistance: likewise, one while, that it should be attempted when the *Dutch* governor was abroad, upon some enterprize; another while, that the governor himself should be killed in the castle: further, one while, that all the *Japons* were won to the plot, before Mr. *Tower*son opened it to the *English*, and consulted with them; another while, that he sent out some of the *English*, eight days after that consultation, then to win the *Japons*: also, one while, that the *Japons* had consulted divers times with Mr. *Tower*son himself in the *English* house; another while, that they never treated with Mr. *Tower*son himself, but with others in his name; with other like contradictions, differences, and incertainties. Further, the place, persons, and time, were specified to *Abel Price*, in his examination, contrary to the law. In the last place, the thing, confessed to be plotted, was not only impossible to be atchieved, by such means, and manner of execution, as was confessed; but as impossible also to come into the imagination of any man in his wits; as is already sufficiently shewn in the answer to the *Dutch* relation. By which premises appeareth, that as well through defect of other proof, besides the mere confessions of the prisoners, and that in irons; as in respect of the incertainty, inconstancy, and contrariety, of the same confessions, the specification and leading examinations, together with the impossibility of the truth

of the thing confessed, there is in these acts no lawful ground for the sentence of condemnation.

The third general ground that is laid in this remonstrance is, that the acts were signed by the prisoners themselves, and by the council of *Amboyna*, which is a court or college of judges admitted and sworn; and therefore no proofs, much less any vain and frivolous suspicions, may be admitted to the contrary.

As for the subscription of the prisoners to their confessions; of what value that is without other *indicia* and proofs, hath been already declared. Now, that no proofs may be admitted against sworn judges, is a strange maxim; which, being granted, must needs infer, either that such judges cannot err and judge unjustly; or else that, however they carry themselves, their doings must not be examined, much less punished: so that then the law hath in vain provided punishment for a judge, in case of wrong imprisonment, causeless unorderly torture, and of unjust absolving or condemning, and the like, for which there are so many, and so diligent provisions. It may be thought indeed, that, under this confidence, this whole process was begun and followed; as the safest and fairest way to be rid of the *English*, without such reckoning as was formerly made for the courses of open hostility. But, if this way go for current, though towards a foreign nation, how comes it, that, by the law and custom of nations, so many reprisals and wars have been made for injustice done by the judges of one nation to the people of another, when no other redress could be obtained; yea, and many times, in such foul causes as this, without any demand of redress?

These grounds aforesaid being thus laid, this remonstrance proceedeth to take notice of two several discourses, spread, as well in *England* as in the *Low-Countries*, against the *Dutch* cause of *Amboyna*: the first, *A brief collection of the effect of certain letters, written by the English factors at Jaccatra, dated the 19th of June 1623*. The second, a more ample writing, intitled, *A true relation of the cruel and barbarous tortures and execution of the English at Amboyna, by the Dutch there*. The former of these this remonstrance chargeth with passion, and great vehemency; because it doth, by way of prejudice, instile the process of *Amboyna* an unjust and barbarous murder; and aggravateth the fashion and manner of the tortures: so it vouchsafeth this no other answer, but this note of passion; and that it falsly nameth the *Japons* executed to be the servants of the *English*; whereas, in truth, they

they were servants of the *Dutch* at *Amboyna*. What or whose this discourse, thus excepted against, and thus answered, is, the *English* company knows not: yet they believe not, that any of the *English* party would (except it were by a slip of the pen) call these *Japons* servants of the *English*; the same being contrary to all the reports and advertisements that came from *Amboyna* and *Jaccatra*: it is likewise to be presumed, that if, in that writing, there had been any thing else, which they could have answered, they would not have dismissed it as they do. For, as for the terming the execution, *an unjust and barbarous murder*, that were no more cause to reject the discourse, without further answer, than the like stile given it in the very title of the second and larger writing, which, nevertheless, hath obtained a more particular answer.

C Having given the first writing this quick dispatch, the remonstrance proceedeth to the answer of the relation, set out by the *English East-India* company; and, in the first place, chargeth it with an impertinent description (in the very introduction) of the castle of *Amboyna*, and the *Dutch* garisons and forces there; to the end (saith this remonstrance) to shew, that there was no likelihood, nor probability, that the *English* there would undertake the surprize of the castle; being a thing impossible to be done; as if (saith the remonstrance) the want of understanding in the conspirators, and the foolish ground of their project (all other accusations ceasing), should have excused them from punishment; the contrary whereof is every-where observed.

Here, in the very first step of the answer, the end of the *English* company, in setting out the impossibility of the fact, is either mistaken or traduced. For if the conspiracy had been sufficiently proved, according to the direction, even of the laws by which the *Dutch* are governed; then the probability, or possibility, of the fact had never been alleged. For, in such case, it is true, that the foolishness of the plot excuseth no man: but, when there is no other proof, or evidence, but the mere confession of the prisoner (which is the present case), then the very text of the law of treason injoineth the judge to consider the person of the prisoner; whether he be able to execute such a thing as he is accused of; whether he ever practised the like before; what he meant; and whether he were in his wits or no; and such like: for, without these considerations, the slippery confession of the tongue ought not to be the ground of the punishment. This is their law; according to which, if they had proceeded, the *English* had never

needed to allege these impossibilities, which the judges themselves ought to have considered. But, not having done it, they have made themselves guilty of unjust judgment; which, to prove the impossibility of the fact, is both pertinent and necessary.

D But, the better to enforce the former answer, the remonstrance saith, that this presumption of the impossibility of the fact ought not to be considered, against a verity altogether notorious, and proved against the confessions of the prisoners themselves, and against the conscience and testimony of so many men of worth and credit, that managed this affair, and against a court or college of judges, &c. in publick office, and sworn.

All this is but a rhetorical flourish; and, being examined, will vanish into the air as a mere sound. For, first for the notorioufness of the pretended conspiracy, altho' now, *ex post facto*, they cry it out for notorious; yet, at the time when the notoriety should have been considered, which was before the apprehension, torturing, and execution of our people, there was not the least breath of such a fame. It is now too late to allege a notoriety, that themselves have made who allege it. As for the proofs here mentioned, why have they not, at any time, specified them? If there be no other proofs, besides the mere confessions (as other the acts do not so much as mention), why then are proofs and confessions here distinctly accumulated; as if there were any other proofs besides the said confessions? As for the conscience and testimony of those that managed the process, being a publick and sworn college of judges, it is not at all to be reckoned of; when it appeareth, that they have not proceeded according to the law. And, if this plea might be admitted, no judge should ever be found guilty of injustice. Further, if the very quality of the judges be considered, it will rather hurt than help them: there were none amongst them that had any ordinary knowledge in the law, whereby they undertake to judge causes; besides their young years, and wicked lives, which, if it were pertinent to the cause in question, might be set forth by many special instances. But, if they were never so learned, experienced, or well-famed; yet that would not avail when they have proceeded against the pre-script of their own law (to say nothing here of the treaty), as they are sufficiently proved to have done.

But this remonstrance not trusting to this answer, in slighting the improbability and impossibility of the fact, as not worth the considering; yet, for all that, in the next

next place laboureth and sweateth to make the fact seem probable and possible, the contrary whereof, in us that hold the contrary part, it rejecteth as impertinent: is it impertinent for us to shew the improbability and impossibility of the fact; and yet pertinent for them to shew the contrary probability and possibility? But let us see and consider their presumptions. First, they say they have already proved, that the *English*, for a diversion of the *Dutch* forces in the castle, had invited and induced all the *Ternatans*, *Seranians*, and neighbouring *Indians* to rebel, and do violence to the *Dutch*; that, when the *Dutch* governor should have drawn the main of his forces of men and shipping that way, then the *English* might, with ease, take the castle, so emptied and denuded of her forces.

How vain this point is, is already manifested in the answer to the *Dutch* relation: and, as for the proofs here mentioned, there is, in all the acts, not so much as any offer made of any proof of this point.

But it is worthy again to be noted, that here the device and scene is changed: for where in the *Dutch* relation it is said (tho' no-where proved), that the *Ternatans* of *Lobo* should have come with their curricurries to assist Mr. *Tower*son at *Amboyna*, and that the *Dutch* governor must have been killed there in the castle by the *Japons*; now he must be gone with all his forces out of the island to tame those *Ternatans*, and the rest of the *Seranians*, and neighbouring *Indians*; that the *English* might surprise the castle in their absence. As for the ships of the *Dutch*, which now also must have been absent, it is well known, that the service here pretended would neither need, nor could have use of their great ships, but only of curricurries and small vessels; which also the *Dutch* after used, leaving their great shipping in the road by the castle.

The strength of the *Dutch* thus extenuated, in the next place, the remonstrance, pursuing the argument of possibility, amplifieth the forces of the *English*: and first it delivereth, that the *English* had a great number of slaves in their factories; which great number is already truly confessed, in the answer to the *Dutch* relation, to be just six, and all boys. Next, it is added, that they would also have stayed their actual attempt of the castle, until some *English* ships were arrived there; which point is also at large refuted in the said answer. Thirdly, here is alleged, that Mr. *Tower*son had given charge unto his other *English*, to have daily laboured and won, by underhand practice, other subjects of the *Dutch*, thereby to augment their own

party, and to weaken the strength of the *Dutch*. Of which point, as there was no probability, so, in all the acts, there is no shadow of proof thereof made, or so much as endeavoured; however, now the desperate cause requireth the help of so gross a fiction. Fourthly, which is vaunted for the principal argument, it is here seriously observed, that the castle should have been surprised by treason, and not by siege; and so like enough the *English*, though but few, might, by this means, do wonders. A very poor note; as if the *English* relation had cited impossibilities, by way of siege, and not as well by way of treachery! But, besides that this argument beggeth the main question; to wit, that there was indeed such a treason; was there ever any such treason, or stratagem, practised in any country, to surprise a castle by a small force, without a competency of seconds, to make good and hold that which was so entred and possessed? Yet this argument is further enforced, not only by the opportunity that the *Japons* had to betray the castle, themselves serving as soldiers therein, but also, by the extraordinary valour and hardiness of that nation, set forth by two several apocryphal legends of strange feats of other *Japons*; without specifying of the number of them that performed these wonders, but leaving a blank, to help the tale at their pleasure. But let it be granted, that the *Japons* are all giants, and had opportunity of being trusted; yet is it likely, that the *Dutch* governor, in his expedition here supposed against the rebels of *Seran*, and the other *Indians*, would have left such worthies idle in their castle at home, and not have taken them with them, according to their custom? Would they have withdrawn their *Dutch*, and trusted such strangers with their castle, being yet so suspicious of them, that they would torture them for asking an ordinary harmless question? O miserable presumptions! and yet here we have all the particulars that are alleged, or could be invented.

In the next place, the remonstrants return to the answer of the *English* relation; finding themselves grieved, that their council of *Amboyna* is charged to have forged this crime against the *English*, thereby to be rid of their company, and so to enjoy the trade there alone. For their purgation wherein here are divers arguments alleged: as first, that, if they had not liked their company there, it had been easier and fairer to have kept them out, when they were out, than to have so cast them out after their admission of them by the treaty anno 1619. And God forbid (saith the remonstrance), that any should

use such wicked and bloody means for so poor an end, as only to drive the *English* out of *Amboyna*.

It is true ordinarily; *Turpius ejicitur, &c.* It is more discourtesy to turn out a guest, than at first to deny him entertainment. But sometimes there may be such a necessity, as that a man must needs, for avoiding a greater inconvenience, entertain the guest whom he is as glad to be rid of, as he was unwilling to receive him. And sometimes a man entertaineth a guest, in hope of some benefit to be made by him; whereof afterwards being frustrate, he will gladly be quit of his guest, as soon as he findeth himself defeated of his hoped ends. Both these considerations have had their place in this entertaining of the *English* by the *Dutch* at *Amboyna*, and other places. For the former, all that are acquainted with the occasion, and the passages of the treaty of the year 1619. know very well, that there was then none other or better way or means, for the *Hollanders East-India* company to give satisfaction to the king's majesty, for the blood of many of his people, and the invaluable damage done unto the *English* company, by the said *Hollanders* unjust taking of their ships and goods, only in respect of their lawful trade into the islands of the *Moluccas* and *Banda*, but the accommodation of the whole matter, by admitting of the *English East-India* company into the participation of the trade in those islands, and this of *Amboyna*. Which being yielded unto with great difficulty; yet the said *Dutch*, with might and main, reserved the forts, which they were then possessed of, in their own hands; thereby still retaining the power and opportunity to master the *English*, and weary them of their lodging at their pleasure. In the next place, it seemeth by their after-course, that, having so assured themselves of the forts and mastering power, they hoped to make benefit by this partnership, by the ordering of their accounts in such manner, as that the *English* should pay their part of the charge, as well of the garisons as of their new buildings, and of the wars which they undertook for enlarging the *Dutch* dominion, and all this in ready money, whilst the *Dutch* furnished their own share in commodities, and at what prizes they list. Now when the *Dutch* in the *Indies* saw, that the *English* there would not suffer themselves to be thus bridled and saddled, but made their protests and complaints against this dealing, they sought means to be quit of them; and, finding that the blunt way of fact would not be well taken, but give a new offence to the king (especially after the treaty to the contrary), they devise this

new mean, to thrust out their unwelcome guests with less bloodshed than they before had kept them out with, and with less fear of accounting for the same, being done under the fair colour of justice; which point being clearly enough touched in the very introduction of the *English* relation, this remonstrance, professing an answer to the whole, yet passeth over this with a dry foot, and deep silence: yea, it minceth the very matter whereof it seems to take notice, making the charge against them to be only the driving of the *English* out of *Amboyna*; where the *English* relation chargeth them to have contrived and executed this bloody business, with intention to drive them (the *English*) out of the *Moluccas* and *Banda* also, as well as out of *Amboyna*. Which end and drift of the work, however; is slighted here by the remonstrants, yet it appeareth of what value it is in their secret estimation, by that which they have formerly done, to keep the *English* from the trade of those islands.

Yet, further to clear themselves of this end and design, they allege, that the *Netherlands East-India* company here in *Europe* never gave any commission to their officers at *Amboyna* to put such a thing as this in practice; nor could have any benefit thereby, but rather loss: and the officers themselves were too honest and wise to have executed such a commission; especially since themselves should have no profit by it, but incur great danger of giving account for the same.

For the point of commission, the *English* company doth not charge the *Dutch* company, nor the whole college of directors, with any such project or direction: neither do they think that any one amongst them would, by his private advice, incite the governor of *Amboyna* to this or the like fact in particular. But they cannot tell whether some or few amongst them, of special place and authority, and of like respect with their officers in the *Indies*, may not, upon some discontent or dislike of the treaty, and the effects thereof, have given advice to the principal officers of the *Dutch* in the *Indies* to lay hands, and make use of any colourable occasion to weary the *English* of the trade established by the treaty; and so the governor of *Amboyna* may have fallen upon this particular, out of such general grounds of advice. Which suspicion of the *English* company ariseth, not only from the earnest and strained defence and justification, which they now observe to be made of this execrable fact, but also from a passage that fell out here in *London*, immediately after the treaty anno 1619. which

which now this dispute calletli to their remembrance. And herein they report themselves to the memory and conscience of those of the *Dutch* directors, that were then employed in the forming of an explanation of the articles of the treaty, intituled, *The Order of Execution, &c.* whether one of them, appearing highly discontented, for that the *English* would not condescend to a proposition of theirs, about the order of selling out the spices here in *Europe*, did not then, in a vehement manner, threaten the *English*, that dealt with them about that point, that they should repent them of their dissent herein: which the *English* not understanding by all the disputes, how it could come to pass in the course of trade, if the treaty were observed, still persisted in their former resolution. Whereupon the said party, with the rest of the *Dutch*, desired that it might be noted in the journal of the conference, that they had forewarned them, that there would a great inconvenience follow, by reason of this dissent of the *English*; which was noted in the same journal accordingly. What this carriage might portend, or what directions might be given, in consequence of this discontent, the *English* company leave to be judged by others; having themselves never since, in the course of their sale of the spices, without observation of the order then desired by the *Dutch*, found any inconvenience, but rather advantage. As for the benefit of the *Dutch*, by driving the *English* from the trade of the *Moluccas*, *Banda*, and *Amboyna*, it may be esteemed (as is before noted) by the courses that the *Dutch* formerly took to keep the *English* out of that trade: and for their contrary benefit here also pretended by holding the *English* in the communion of that trade. It is true, that, as long as the *English* would pay ready money, the *Dutch*, paying in wares, would bear their share of the charge of fortifications and conquests, whereof the benefit accrued wholly to the *Dutch*, as long as they would join with the *Dutch* to find the enemy work in one place, while the *Dutch* might thereby the easier win for themselves only in another place: so long the *Dutch* might easily make benefit of their partnership, and abide their sharing with them for one third-part of that trade. But when the *English* shewed themselves sensible of this *Leonine* society, and protested against it, and refused to pursue the action of defence in such a course; then it was time to seek out an occasion to be utterly freed from their partnership, now proving otherwise than was before hoped. As touching the honesty of their officers at *Amboyna* here alleged, there hath been

enough said already. And for their benefit also, by thus ridding themselves of the *English*, who knoweth not what benefit may be expected, by being an instrument of so great profit, atchieving it by such a conveyance, wherein whoever giveth commission, is, by joint guilt, obliged to gratify and promote his instrument, even for his own safety? Besides, their officers had their own private quarrels against the *English*, for their daily complaints against their riotous living, and the great expence thereof, derived in the greatest part upon the *English* by the acts above-mentioned. Especially the governor himself had a main grief, that the *English* had often complained to the council of defence at *Jaccatra*, of the extraordinary and excessive charge of his table, and other expences: which, by the journal of the consultations of the said council, appeareth to have been a matter of much dispute; and was at last promised by the *Dutch* party to be reformed. Another quarrel the same governor had against the *English* at *Amboyna*, about a *Dutchman* that was executed for killing of an *Englishman*; which *Dutchman* when the governor could not fairly save (the fact being too foul and manifest to bear it), he was so offended with the *English* prosecution of the matter, that he solemnly vowed, if ever any of the *English* came within his compass, such should repent, that none of them had interceded for the life of the said *Dutchman*. Lastly, it must be remembred, that, at the time of this forged crime, the news of the match with *Spain* was very rife and hot at *Amboyna*; wherewith how all the *Dutch* there were enraged, and what insolent speeches they used of the king's majesty, is well enough known; though thought unmeet to be here recited.

Having thus laboured to clear the final cause of this process, the remonstrants return to charge the *English* (that are executed) with other arguments of their pretended treason. As, say they, if it were not a true treason, why came the *Japon*, that was first apprehended, upon the walls, and made such curious inquisition about the setting of the watch, and of the *Dutch* forces in the castle? How came it, that, being examined, he forthwith spake so pertinently of this treason? If he were suborned by the *Dutch*, why then did they execute him? Why did he accuse his own countrymen as well as the *English*? Why should the *Dutch* thus use the *Japons*, whom they had no cause otherwise to hate?

The first of these questions is already answered before, *to wit*, that the *Japon* did nothing herein, but what any soldier may lawfully, and is wont to do, without blame

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blame or just suspicion. It importeth every soldier to know the strength of the place where he serveth, and the order and course of the service, as is said in the answer to the *Dutch* relation. The second question would be as easily answered, if it had seemed good to those that kept the acts, to have kept faithful record in them of the interrogatories ministred to this *Japon* in his tortures. But the *English* relation, in the examinations of *Collins*, *Sherack*, and *Beomont*, hath discovered the art used in all the rest; *to wit*, the leading interrogatories, or rather directories, specifying to the prisoner what he might say to come quit of the torture. As for the suborning of this *Japon* by the *Dutch* here mentioned in the third question; the *English* easily grant, that he was not suborned; but, which is worse, he was tortured to make him accuse both the *English* and his own countrymen, the *Japons*; which also answereth the fourth question of this rhetorical dialogism. And, for the fifth and last question, why the *Dutch* should also practise the *Japons* destruction; it is easily conceived, that else the *English* should have had no accomplices, nor hope of assistance of other nations, which would have made their crime appear more impossible to be a true charge than now it doth; although (as now it is) it is utterly void of all probability and possibility. And is it any wonder they would sacrifice the blood of ten infidels for that end, for which they spared not ten Christians, and those of that nation which most agreeth with themselves in religion; and to whom they are, of all other nations, most beholden?

L In the next place, the remonstrance proceedeth to answer a circumstance related by the *English*, that the *Japons* being examined three or four days before them, they yet fled not; whereby they shewed their innocency. To the consequence of which argument the remonstrance first answereth, that the *English* did this to avoid great suspicion, being sure enough they could not fly: the governor had (even to their knowlege) taken such order to stop all passages, as well of all other merchants that then frequented *Amboyna*, as of the *English*.

This is a mere fiction: for the curricuries, and other vessels, departed as freely from *Amboyna*, while the *Japons* were in examination, as at any time before. And if the governor had used never so much circumspection herein, and the *English* had known of it, yet how could so many guilty consciences have contained themselves, and not one of them all have attempted to fly or hide or disguise himself in all this time? All men know, that a guilty conscience

provoketh men to attempt escapes above and against all reason. And therefore the law ever inquireth of the flight or shrinking of the accused, as a special *indicium* of their guilt. Why did not the *Dutch* then, in their examinations, question and sift out, by what consultation and agreement all the *English* came to be of one mind, to shew such confidence in this case?

But to make a further and better answer to this argument, the remonstrance chargeth the matter of it with untruth: saying that the examination of the *Japons* began the 24th of *February*; and that the next day after, *to wit*, the 25th, the *English* were seized: so that here was but one days respite for the *English* to shift for themselves.

This impudence is very strange; for the acts of the process record the beginning of the examination of the *Japons* to be the 23d of *February*, and the resolution to seize the *English* to be the 26th, which is the third day after, inclusive. It is well we have a copy of their acts, such as they are; else we see how many forms this *Proteus* would turn, to avoid a true discovery.

After this the remonstrants, with the like modesty, note another untruth in the *English* relation; where it affirmeth, that the *English* had not any conversation with the *Japons*; the contrary whereof (say the remonstrants) appeareth as well by the confessions of the *English* as the *Japons*, and particularly by Mr. *Towersons* voluntary confession, made long time after his examination.

What credit the acts and confessions may deserve, is already shewed: and the very persons themselves, therein assigned to this conversation with the *Japons*, had no language to serve them therein. And for Mr. *Towersons* voluntary confession, pretended to be made so many days after his examination; besides the foul play of the *Dutch*, used in alleging it so, already discovered in the answer of the *Dutch* relation (which by this very touch appeareth to be the work of the same pen that wrote this remonstrance), that pretended voluntary confession hath not one word or mention of the *Japons* in it: and yet this remonstrance (having thus stoutly proved this point) triumpheth over the *English* relation; saying, that these contrarieties and dissimulations shew, that the same marvelously strayeth and wandereth from the truth; and that the contrary thereof, in all points, may be taken for true.

After this, the remonstrance cometh to the examination of the *English* prisoners, set down in our relation; and promiseth that the particulars thereof shall hereafter

in time be refuted, and proved utterly counterfeit in the most substantial points; as shall likewise that which is there related of the tortures. But why have they not all this while made, or at least attempted, some disproof hereof? Why could not *Maerschmalck* (whom they have now deposed in other points) have said something to these; being himself the second person in the council, and acquainted with all that passed? Well, since they be proved here by six witnesses, let them yet stand for true, until this promised counterproof arrive.

But for the point of torture, the remonstrance answereth in the interim, that, if the case lawfully require, it is no fault in the judge to examine upon the torture; being the custom in all *Europe*, and particularly in the *Low Countries*. And if any were tortured, that was done upon pregnant and weighty *indicia*, proofs and confessions of others.

This hath been sufficiently replied to, in the *English* answer to the *Dutch* relation; where it is proved, first, that the *English* were not lawfully subject to the jurisdiction of the governor of *Amboyna*, and therefore unlawfully tortured: secondly, that the kind of torture used, was not agreeable to the law and custom of the *Low-Countries*: and lastly, that there was no sufficient *indiciu*m for the torturing of the first *Japon*; nor any other proofs or *indicia* against the *English*, but the forced confessions of the tortured *Japons*; which ground of torture is prohibited by their own law.

P Yet further, the remonstrants fetch an argument out of this point of the tortures, in justification of their officers fact at *Amboyna*. If, say they, they would have drawn confessions out of the *English* by tortures, why did not they torture all the *English*?

This riddle is plainly unfolded by the same *English* relation: where it appeareth, that after they had tortured *Johnson*, *Collins*, and *Clark*, glad was that *Englishman* that could devise any thing to confess, to please the fiscal, and avoid the torture. Yea, *Sherrock* prayed to God to assist him in this kind. Others asked those that had been formerly examined, what they had confessed; saying, they would do the like, thereby to shun the cruelty of the torture. As for those that were acquitted (as having confessed nothing), the *Dutch* plot could not reach them. For, having laid the consultation of this pretended conspiracy at *Amboyna*, where none of these four were upon *New-year's-day*, they had no colour to torture them, whom their own

people that stood by knew to be so far absent: and no man imagineth, that all the *Dutch* that were by at the torture, were privy to the intention of the governor; who, in this case, was to carry himself so, as that he must not make the business so gross, that all that stood by might understand it. It sufficed him, that he caught the chief of the *English* there, and such a number by whose example all would afterwards abandon the fatal places.

Q Lastly, the remonstrance gathereth, that there was no excess used, because some of the *English* were pardoned; to none other end (forsooth) but to give testimony of their whole proceedings.

This indeed is a point wherein the *Dutch* used the quintessence of their skill; so to handle the matter as that they would seem to mix clemency with justice, to make their process pass the easier and fairer, both among their own people there, and after when it should come into *Europe*. But he that will but a little consider what the *Dutch* governor's end and aim was, will find, that as he and the fiscal laboured in all the process to reach captain *Tower-son*, the chief of the *English* there; never satisfying themselves with any confession that made not him guilty (as appeareth in the *English* relation); so when they had caught him, and so many other of the chief of the *English* there, it was a small matter for them to spare a few of the meaner sort; being assured that the execution of the rest would be a sufficient warning for all other *Englishmen* ever after to keep their distance far enough from that place. And this took so right (according to the intention), that all the *English*, as well at the *Moluccoes* and *Banda*, as the poor remnant at *Amboyna*, forthwith, upon the news of this tragedy, quitted their factories in all those islands; chusing rather to leave the places and their trade there, than their lives for it. For the *Dutch* had spoken loud enough, and plain enough, in this action, for all the *English* to understand their meaning; who therefore would not stay till the chief of them also were thus cut off, and the rest dismissed with their life for a prey, and for an argument of the *Dutch* officers clemency. But if these few *English* were saved to this end, in the *Dutch*es intention, to give testimony of all their proceedings, as is here alleged; why then do not the *Dutch* receive and allow of their testimony? For these all, with one mouth, accuse the *Dutch* to have proceeded by treachery, and most execrable injustice in, this whole action; altho' indeed some of them, that were absolved, confess, upon oath, that they conceive the

reason and end of the *Dutch*, in sparing them, to have been in hope, that, for that favour, they would have given testimony on their part, when this business should come to be examined here in *Europe*, if yet the cause should ever come to be reviewed here; for some of the *Dutch* at *Amboyna* declared plainly, that they made account the *Spanish* match would prevent the answering for this business.

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The next point that the remonstrants note, in the *English* relation of the examination of the prisoners, is the description of the tortures of water and fire: which, they say, is finely and prolixly set forth and embellished to move compassion, and to inveigle the reader to swallow the rest of the errors and untruths of the relation; but that, albeit all torture is in itself rough and harsh, especially seemeth so to the *English*, because none is used in *England*, but in cases of high treason, yet the torture of water is the most gentle, civil, and safe, of all other kinds of torture; only causing an oppression and anxiety of breathing and respiration, but no replenishing and swelling of the body, as the *English* relation setteth it out, &c. yea, that all that the said relation delivereth, touching these examinations, is but a bare narration only, without any proof; or at the most is witnessed but by very few persons, and those such as the cause concerneth: in which, being themselves once judiically convicted, they may not now be admitted and allowed as witnesses against the judge, and his proceedings; against a court and council of fourteen judges, persons well known to be of worth and virtue; and against their own confessions legally taken, and confirmed with their own subscriptions.

For reply to all this; first, for the description of the tortures, which is here (scoffingly) said to be so laboured and adorned, to move compassion, and make an easy way for untruths; it is remitted to the reader to peruse and judge it. It will be found as void of this art of painting, as it is of the untruths which the remonstrants mention, but specify not, lest they should be cleared, as other pretended untruths are already in this reply. The cause of the *English* needed no such helps. The truth of the things delivered in the whole relation so shineth in the mere series and circumstances of the fact, that it disdained those borrowed colours, feathers, and trash, wherewith the remonstrants have trimmed up this their answer. But it is a sign of their penury of matter, that they thus carp at the stile of the *English* relation. As for the gentleness of their torture of water,

that is also left to be judged; yea, even by the words of this remonstrance, that acknowledgeth it to be an oppression and stopping of the breath: than which what striveth more with the very life of a man, or more forceth the noblest and tenderest parts? It is no marvel that some of their own adventurers tell these directors in print, that they can cut off another man's ear, with as little feeling as of an old shoe. But our people (that have tasted of this water-torture of *Amboyna*, and have heard those that suffered both there, make the comparison) say, that this is more terrible and insupportable for the time, than the torture of fire, however the wound of the latter resteth longer in the flesh. The same men also tell us, and that upon their oath, that it is not only a stifling and oppression of the breath; but also a replenishing of the body, till it be swollen and stretch'd, as in *Clark's* examination is set down; contrary to that these remonstrants here affirm. Yea, but, say they, these witnesses are but very few, and the same also parties in this cause, and ought not to be heard against a college of judges, honest and substantial men, nor against their own former confessions. That they are so few, we may thank the *Dutch*, that left us no more. But all that they have spared us, agree in one unanimous and constant testimony. Neither can there in this case be any other proof required. What? Would the remonstrants have us prove these things by the testimony of the *Dutch* that were employed in this process, and are themselves guilty of this masked murder? Should we have brought a certificate hereof under the seal of *Amboyna*, with the governor and his council's hands to it? What other proof is the nature of the cause capable of, but such as we bring? And whereas the remonstrants say here, that our witnesses are parties, and formerly convict in the cause; they seem to forget, that their own acts shew, that some of them were absolved expressly, others never condemned. As for the credit of the college of judges, so often repeated, it is already examined in the beginning of this reply, as also in the answer to the *Dutch* relation.

Finally, for the declarations and writings of Mess. *Towersson*, *Coulson*, *Griggs*, and others, set down in the *English* relation; these remonstrants seem to doubt, whether any such be extant. And for the strange signs of the storm, the sudden madness and death of *Dunkyn*, and the new sickness at *Amboyna*, following the execution of the *English*, which they term pretended miracles; they say, that the truth can

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can be witnessed by those that were present and about them at the execution, that no such thing happened. And here they add, that the *English* stir heaven and earth to conceal and cover this detestable fact. But who will suppose (say they) that substantial people, men of approved worth and virtue, would shew themselves so impious and inhuman to torture and execute innocent persons? Much less must this be presumed of a court of judges sworn and established.

As for the writings of Mess. *Towerfon*, *Coulson*, *Griggs*, and others, mentioned in the *English* relation, now doubted of by the remonstrants; we report us unto the lords of his majesty's privy council, that have seen them; and to the friends of the parties, that know their several hands; and lastly, to the same writings themselves still extant and kept to be shewn upon any occasion. As for the signs related, they are sworn by our men that came thence, and further to be proved by letters written from some that then served, and (we suppose) do yet serve, the *Dutch* at *Amboyna*, if they be not since dead, whereof no news is yet come. But what witness do the remonstrants bring, that those things so set down, with their circumstances, and so the easier examined, were not so? The truth (say they) may be witnessed by those that were present and about the prisoners at the execution. But who be those? Why doth not *Maerschbalck*, in his desperate oath, anon to be examined, attest that there was no such matter as the *English* pretend? Or why shall we reject our peoples testimony, and believe these remonstrants, without any witness? But we shall have witnesses hereafter. In the interim, then, let the thing, so already witnessed, remain for true, till it be contradicted by more and better witnesses. As for the *English* stirring heaven and earth, not to conceal or cover a detestable fact of their own people (as the remonstrance speaketh), but to discover a most damned practice of the *Dutch*, and to procure justice upon it, they conceive they are not to be blamed herein; yea, that it is their duty to move heaven and earth against them, that have moved hell against innocents.

Now for the honesty and credit of their governor and council at *Amboyna*, a string often harped upon; although it be evident, that there is a great difference of the stuff between the judges of *Amboyna*, and all other judges in the parts of Christendom; yet the honesty and credit, even of the best judges, is no sufficient defence for them against such apparent proofs of

injustice, as are extant in this cause, even in the acts of the process itself, as is before declared. For the judge, that in his process observeth not the order prescribed by the law, is reputed as a private person. Otherwise indeed the judge is not without proof to be presumed to have done unjustly; but this will not serve these judges. Neither is any party accused, to be presumed guilty, without *indicia* or evidence; but every man to be presumed good, until the contrary be proved. Which should have moved those judges of *Amboyna* to have been tender and careful in the *indicias*, that were made the pretexts to torture the first *Japon*; and not to torture a poor man for asking an usual and harmless question, yea, and needful in the place of his service; as is shewed in the answer to the *Dutch* relation. Much more ought they, in this respect, to have been tender of taking the extorted confessions of the *Japons*, for a sufficient *indicium* against Mr. *Towerfon*; not only in regard of his quality, as being the agent and cape merchant for the *English* there; but also of his innocent and harmless (yea, godly) behaviour at *Amboyna*, and all his life before. For as he was a man of note, and known to most men of his quality here in *England*; so all that knew him, especially that were well acquainted with him, whereof there is no small number, join and jump in this one opinion and commendation of him, that he was of a most fair condition, and sweet disposition, harmless, and without spleen or gall; and, in a word, the unlikeliest *Englishman* that ever went into the *East-Indies* to be a plotter, or practiser of such a fact as he was condemned of.

The remonstrants, having thus finished their answer to the *English* relation, affirm, that, by their deduction of *July*, and this answer, they have sufficiently justified the proceedings of their officers at *Amboyna*; nevertheless *ex abundanti* they produce further evidence out of an attestation of signor *Houtman*, their late governor in the *Malaccas*. Which, because it is afterwards again repeated in several articles, shall be there with the rest answered.

In the mean time they appeal to the lords states general, whether they have not by all this given sufficient satisfaction and cause to the *English* company to abate and let fall their suit, leaving the blame upon the authors of this abominable conspiracy (as they term it), and of their own misfortune. Nevertheless, not daring to go to trial of the main cause, upon these their allegations and proofs, they pray that there may be no precipitation used, but a fit respite granted them for the exact inquiry

quiry of the truth in the *Indies*; and that, in the mean time, they may have the protection of the lords states, and all misunderstanding and contrary deductions may cease, at least provisionally. For put case (say they) that their officers be truly guilty, as the *English* pretend, yet they must be heard before they can be condemned. And, in their opinion, say they, the ground of the cognisance of this cause must come from *Amboyna* to *Batavia*, and thence hither: and time convenient being given, there will doubtless come daily more and more clear proofs and light in the cause. As for themselves, they at last plainly confess, that they cannot answer the objections and circumstances alleged and proposed; but that this must and can be done by them only, whom the cause toucheth and concerneth; to wit, their officers at *Amboyna*.

Here they renounce all the defence and justification which they have already made, as impertinent and insufficient. They might have done well then to have spared all this labour, and at first to have left the cause to them whom it concerns, as the *English* company by their letters requested them. As for precipitation in the cause, the *English* company requireth none. But, because the acts of the council at *Amboyna* themselves contain all that can be legally pleaded in justification of the officers (for, if in them there be no just ground of the condemnation and execution of the *English*, all supervenient proofs come too late to excuse the judges, even by their own laws), therefore the *English* company presume and maintain, that there is already ground sufficient, out of the same acts, and out of the treaty whereof this process is a plain breach, for the lords states general, by an act of state, publickly to declare the nullity and injustice of the process. But for the judicial proceedings against the particular persons that have committed this unparalleled injustice, there may be such order and course taken, as his majesty and the lords states shall find the nature of the cause to require. Wherein also the greatest care and expedition that can be used for the apprehension of the parties, will be no precipitation; considering the manifest proofs of their injustice appearing in their own acts, as is before declared.

W Having finished their prayer to the lords states general, to the effect aforesaid, the scope and drift of all being only for dilation and respite in the cause; yet, as it were, repenting them of their former fear and declination of a present trial, they come on afresh with new proofs, which

they affirm to be so strong and vigorous, that they are of power more than sufficient to give their officers an intire discharge, and to confound their adversaries; and without the help of the points before alleged. And to make good these great words, they produce eleven several articles, taken by deposition of *Laurence Maerschalck*, their late cape merchant at *Amboyna*, and now returned into *Holland*, and sworn to the same articles before the senate of *Delft*, the 4th of *November* last, *stilo novo*, whose name in this remonstrance they conceal. Next, they annex the report and deposition of signor *Houtman*, their late governor at the *Molaccas* before-mentioned. And, in the last place, they repeat some points already by them alleged in this remonstrance; and so shut up their whole work.

For the testimony of *Maerschalck*, it is to be considered in the general, that he is a party, being the second man of the council of *Amboyna*: and therefore what is before said against the whole council, falleth upon him in his particular with more enforcement. Nevertheless, this protestation against his incompetency to be a witness in this cause being thus premised, we will peruse and examine the particulars of his attestation; yet with this leave, a little to invert the order of the articles (but without prejudice of the substance of them), thereby to take all the matter of one nature together, to avoid prolixity, and needless repetition of the same thing in divers parts of the answer.

The first, second, and third articles affirm, that as well the *Japons* as the *English*, not only signed their several confessions with every of their hands respectively, but jointly and severally confirmed and persisted in the same, even out of the fetters and irons, at several sessions of the council; yea, the *English*, three or four several times, without retracting, revoking, or changing of any thing; albeit the governor seriously admonished them to alter or revoke any thing which they had falsely confessed through pain or fear, &c. but that all the *English*, shrinking up their shoulders, confirmed all they had confessed to be true, and craved mercy, and not justice.

These impudent fictions are answered by that which is already noted, concerning the requisites and solemnities of the acts of all courts of justice; which, by prescript of the law itself, record the passages of every session, with the date thereof. But, in all the acts of the court of *Amboyna*, unless they have given a false copy, which yet were to be taken for true against themselves

selves that so falsified it, there is no mention of any more confession than one of every prisoner, nor of any freedom from fetters, nor of any such admonition by the governor, as is here pretended. Besides the *English* that escaped, as well those that were absolved, as the rest, utterly deny these several points to be true. Yea, the gesture here added, of the contracting or shrinking up the shoulders, being no *English* gesture, sufficiently refuteth this fiction.

The fourth article saith, that *William Webber*, one of the accomplices, confessed he had received a letter from *John Clark*, intimating that there was some extraordinary matter, and of great importance, in hand by the *English* at *Amboyna*; and that *John Clark* confessed to have written such a letter.

The confession of *Webber*, touching this letter, is acknowledged in the *English* relation: but whereas this deposition saith, that *Clark* also confessed the writing of such a letter; the acts themselves, wherein *Clark's* confession is set down by the *Dutch* actuary, refuteth it; not making mention of any such thing, nor of any question ministred to *Clarke* touching this letter, or his meaning by that intimation; which would not have been omitted, if the fiscal had not perceived that *Webber* had feigned this matter only to avoid torture.

The fifth article being of the same nature with the eighth and ninth, shall be anon with them answered.

The sixth and seventh articles recite certain pretended voluntary confessions of *Thompson*, made before some of the council apart; to wit, that he had endured so much torture without confession, because he was often upbraided by Mr. *Towerson* with drunkenness, and warned that he should not, in his cups, discover the pretended plot. Whereupon he had vowed and sworn to himself, that he would not be the third, nor yet the fourth man that confessed, whatever torture he suffered. But afterwards he confessed (saith the seventh article) that he was glad that God had revealed the fact, for the saving of innocent blood, and that he had doubly deserved death; yet craved mercy. Here let the course of the *Dutch*, in making affidavit of the pretended voluntary confession of Mr. *Towerson*, before six of the council apart (and entered into the acts) be considered, as it is truly set down in the answer to the *Dutch* relation: and it will manifestly appear, that this confession of *Thompson's*, if any such had been, was of much more importance to the clearing of the *Dutch*

proceedings, than those obscure words of Mr. *Towerson*; and so would the rather have been brought by way of attestation into the acts, as the other were. But in the acts there is no entry of any such confession of *Thompson*: who also going to the execution, and being reproached to be a *schellam* or villain, openly and boldly answered, that he was as honest as the governor himself; and by-and-by took his death that he was innocent.

The fifth, eighth, and ninth articles affirm, that *Collins* confessed all without torture; and being confronted with Mr. *Towerson* before the council, averred his confession, and persuaded him to do the like; also that Mr. *Towerson*, being another time before the council with the rest of the *English* prisoners, reproached them with their drunkenness, and disordered lives, and imputed the discovery of the conspiracy to God's judgment upon their wickedness: yet that at last Mr. *Towerson* confessed himself to be the author, and instigator of the rest, and asked them forgiveness.

Of all these matters being far more pregnant (if they were true) to have been the ground of the sentence, than any thing entered in the acts, there is no one word or mention in all the process, although these things are here affirmed to have passed before the body of the council. But it seemeth that *Maerschbalck*, since his arrival in *Holland*, is shewed the defects of the process, and so would supply them by his own testimony. But he cometh now too late to make new acts, after the copy of the process imparted to the *English*. In particular, *Collins* was tortured with water, in such sort, as the view of him afterwards made *Coulson* confess without torture, as is set down in the *English* relation, and yet averred by those also that saw him come out as *Coulson* did. Further, how senseless had the speech of Mr. *Towerson* been, to impute the discovery of the plot to God's justice upon the bad life of his pretended accomplices, and not rather upon himself, for being the inventor and author of the conspiracy, in itself more heinous than any thing he could charge the rest withal! Lastly, it is already sufficiently proved, by more competent witnesses than *Maerschbalk*, that Mr. *Towerson* and the rest were never together before the council, from the first apprehension till the last sentence; and that, in all that time, he spake with none of the *English* but *Coulson*, *Griggs*, and *Fardo*; so impudent is this attestation of *Maerschbalck*, that he used the speeches here pretended

tended unto *Collins* and the rest; and that before the council.

The tenth article saith, there was a letter written by Mr. *Tower-son* to *Coulson*, charging him to be the prime and sole cause that moved him to this enterprize, of making himself master of the castle; and that the same letter was in the hands of the governor of *Amboyna*.

If this be true, how could Mr. *Tower-son* make himself the first author of this conspiracy, as the acts, and *Maerschalk's* own relation in the former articles, present him? How cometh it, that there is no mention of this letter in the acts; nor the same letter, or any authentic copy thereof, sent over for justification of the cause, being so pregnant and pertinent a proof?

The eleventh article telleth a tale of *Collins*, his refusing to sit and eat with the *Dutch* merchants, in their passage from *Amboyna* to *Jaccatra* in the ship, when he and *Beomont* were sent thither; upon scruple (forsooth) to eat with such honest men, being himself a traitor.

This, as it is frivolous, and of no value in itself, *Collins* being then, as a condemned man, to stand to the mercy of the *Dutch* general at *Jaccatra*; so the truth of it is utterly denied by *Beomont*, that passed with him in the same ship, and, together with *Collins*, did eat at the same table with the *Dutch* merchants, without straining of any courtesy for the matter.

X But to help the testimony of *Maerschalk*, that sweareth all the former points in his own cause, and against the very acts themselves, and all other probabilities, the remonstrants, in the next article, supply him with a contestis, beyond exception, as they pretend; to wit, signor *Houtman*, their late governor in the *Malaccas*; who, coming thence to *Amboyna*, after the execution, heard and saw some things pertaining to this business; whereof (being now returned into *Holland*) he maketh report and deposition in six several points; viz. First, that it was firmly, and without question or doubt, believed, at *Amboyna*, generally, and by every man in particular, yea, by himself also, that the *English* and *Japons* there had truly and in effect conspired the taking of the castle. Secondly, that the said signor *Houtman*, coming through *Hitto*, *George Sherrock*, one of the *English* accomplices, fell at his feet, and acknowledged the great favour that governor *Speult*, and the council at *Amboyna*, had done him, in pardoning his delict. Thirdly, that he was afterwards present at *Jaccatra*, when *John Beomont*,

another of the *English* accomplices, confessed his fault before the *Dutch* general *Carpentiere*, and craved mercy for the same. Fourthly, that himself, and divers others at *Jaccatra*, had good and sure information and notice, that *Beomont* freely confessed the conspiracy also to the *English* president there; but that the *English* president thereupon locked him up close from speaking with any man; thereby to prevent the dishonour of the treason. Fifthly, that the governor *Speult* is reputed for a man of worth, honourable and godly, by all that have conversed with him; and the rest of the council also, such as cannot any way be doubted or suspected guilty of so foul a fact, as to accuse or misuse the *English*, much less to put them to death, if they had not been guilty. Lastly, that the torture of water is always used by the *Dutch* in the *Indies*, and is not so cruel nor dangerous as other kinds of torture used in the *Low-Countries*, and in all *Europe*.

First, the *English* that were saved from the butchery of *Amboyna*, do not yet believe, that signor *Houtman* hath deposed, as is here inferred: for, when he was at *Amboyna*, and laboured to be brought in *ex post facto*, for the salving of the business, he openly professed, that he would wash his hands of it; and that *Harman van Speult* had begun it, and *Harman van Speult* should end it. And this presumption of theirs is further confirmed by the manner of citing this signor *Houtman*, even in this article, where his deposition is not simply and clearly alleged, but with this doubtful variation: *Les dires & depositions du signeur gouverneur Houtman, &c.* Neither is it specified where, or before whom, or when he took his oath; which yet is according to the custom set down, touching the deposition of *Maerschalk*; to wit, that he took his oath before the senate of *Delft*, the 4th of *November* 1624. But, admit he be sworn to these articles, let us examine their particular import. The first is only of a common opinion and fame, that he found at *Amboyna*, that it was a true treason. Is it any marvel, that the *Dutch*, that had made the people believe, that the *English* meant to have ript up the bellies of the women with child, even of the natives, and to make choice, by the beauty and feature of the several infants, which to save, and which to slay, had prepared a sufficient rumour against the coming of signor *Houtman*, to win his opinion to their cause? Next, it is not likely, that he spake with any, but those of the castle; who were most of them parties in this butchery: and therefore

fore would make no report to him, but what served their own turns. Further, the judgment being passed against our people, their fact (though never done) might be presumed notorious in law; and therefore no marvel he and others gave credit to it. Yet who knoweth not, that much false judgment happeneth, notwithstanding the notoriety induced by the acts and sentence? It were an easy matter for a judge to answer any injustice thus. But when the judgment and the judges are questioned of injustice, the notoriety that themselves have made is no plea for them. Yet, if the acts contain sufficient proofs for ground of the sentence, then such notoriety may help them. But, in this case, the acts, shewing that they have proceeded contrary to law, infer their injustice to be notorious, as is before shewed. For the second and third articles, concerning *Sherrock* and *Beomont*'s confession of their faults extrajudicially, and while they were yet in danger; they are of no moment to prove their guilt, much less the guilt of those that were executed, of whom these confessions make no mention; nor especially can they give any succour to the cause of the governor and council for their proceedings; who ought to have had the grounds of their sentence in the acts of the process, before they condemned and executed our people. More particularly, *Sherrock* indeed confesseth, that, with humble obedience, he complained to signor *Houtman* of the Dutch daily reproaching him with treason; and prayed him, that he would deal with the governor *Speult*, to take order with them for their incivility. For, said he, although I had been guilty, yet, being now pardoned, why should they thus reproach me? Other confession than this, he utterly denieth to have made to signor *Houtman*. *Beomont* also confesseth, that, when he came to *Jaccatra*, being sent thither to stand to the mercy of the general, who then told him, that he came thither to die, he was much amazed. But when suddenly the general, in better earnest, told him, he forgave him, then he gave him humble and open thanks; but made no confession of his fault, nor was by the general urged in the least thereunto. For the fourth point, that signor *Houtman*, and others, had such notice, as is here pretended, of *Beomont*'s confession to the English president, who also clapt him up for it; it were here requisite, that signor *Houtman*, if he have thus attested, did name his authors, if he will be believed. For himself is but *testis ex auditu*. In the mean time,

not only *Beomont* denieth these things, but *Collins*, that lodged in the same chamber at *Jaccatra* with him, averreth, that his restraint and close custody is utterly feigned; neither did he ever hear any word or inkling of such his confession to the president. Mr. *Augustine Spalding*, also then one of the English council at *Jaccatra* (but now returned into England), giveth the like report. For the fifth point, being the fair testimony of signor *Houtman*, touching the person of his brother governor, *van Speult*, and his council; it is a point of civility in him to help them with a good word in the general: but it is far too light to lay in the scale against the several and pregnant proofs of their foul injustice, before in this reply at large specified, by the witness of all our English that were saved (as well those that were absolved as the rest), by clear circumstances of the whole business, and by the acts themselves of the council of *Amboyna*. Lastly, for the water-torture, it appeareth, without signor *Houtman*'s testimony, to be used by the Dutch in the Indies. The poor *Polarones* and the English witness it with a mischief. But, to make it lawful, it should be proved to be used in the Low-Countries, as hath been already shewed. But why doth signor *Houtman*, nor the remonstrants, in all this discourse, say nothing for the fire-torture, which was also used, and that in most barbarous manner and degree, upon the poor *Japons*, and divers of the English?

The remonstrance, having thus pressed the testimony of *Maerschalk*, and signor *Houtman*, in the next place, being the 13th article, telleth us without any witness, that divers persons, which the English relation mentioneth to be tortured with fire and water, were never once touched.

If this were true and certain, it had been easy for the remonstrants to have named the persons, touching whom such error is committed. The English relation nameth none but *Johnson*, *Thompson*, and *Clark*, to be tortured with fire. Which of these will the remonstrants deny to be so handled, against such clear evidence of our part?

The fourteenth article promiseth, that the particulars and petty matters, as they are here termed, shall be disproved by the depositions of those that were in presence, and should have known them, if any had been. Therefore, until they be thus disproved, which will never be, let them remain for true; especially being already proved by the oath of credible persons, and carrying truth in the very circumstances.

Lastly,

Lastly, for the extraordinary signs that happened at the time of the execution, which are here (scoffingly) termed miracles, the same are also proved by oath, and further by letters, written from some of the servants of the *Dutch* themselves at *Amboyna*, ready to be exhibited upon occasion. And as it had been a silly part of the *English* to have feigned such matter, so is it no less impudence to deny that which so many, as well *Dutch* and *Indians*, as *English*, saw, and knew to be notorious.

Y After all this new charge so confidently given, yet the remonstrants fall off again; and, not desiring to put the trial of the cause upon these, nor all the rest of their allegations, they return, by way of conclusion, to pray the lords states general,

that there may be a convenient respite given for the better examination of the whole matter; and to that end, that they will mediate with his majesty, to content himself also therewith.

But the *English East-India* company, upon the grounds before at large deduced, doubt not, but that the cause will appear as well to his majesty, as the lords states, to be ripe and ready for such an act of state as is desired, and for the apprehension of the authors of this odious and execrable process, as soon as they, or any of them, can be gotten. And then the judicial process against them may follow, as shall appertain to so foul and infernal a fact.

THE
DISCOVERIES
OF THE
WORLD
FROM THEIR
FIRST ORIGINAL,
UNTO THE
YEAR of our LORD 1555.

Briefly written in the *Portugal* Tongue,

By ANTONY GALVANO, Governor of *Ternate*,
The Chief Island of the *Moluccas*.

Corrected, quoted, and now published in *ENGLISH*,

By RICHARD HAKLUYT,

Sometime Student of *Christ-Church*, in *Oxford*.

THIS ancient piece comes well recommended, and deserves both our preservation and attention, as well on account of the author, who was no less than the famous Antonio Galvano, whose praise, to this day, is deservedly commemorated among his thankful countrymen, and succinctly collected from antient authors, by Mr. Hakluyt, in the following epistle dedicatory: as again, on account of the translator, who was descended from an antient family at Yetton in Herefordshire, and educated at Westminster-school; from whence, being elected a student of Christ-Church in Oxford, he took his bachelor and master of arts degrees; and at last, entering into holy orders, he first was made prebendary of Bristol, and afterwards of Westminster, and rector of Wetheringset in Suffolk, in the room of Dr. Richard Webster. Besides this translation, which gives us a proof of his capacity in the Portuguese tongue, he illustrated Peter Martyr Anglericus's eight decads de Novo Orbe, with curious notes; translated also, from the Portu-

guese, VIRGINIA richly valued by the description of the main land of *Florida*, her next neighbour; and wrote Notes of certain commodities in good request in the *East-Indies*, the *Molucca's*, and *China*. But what has most perpetuated his name, is his great pains and judgment in collecting English Voyages, Navigations, Trafficks, and Discoveries.

Our famous Camden played the poet on this occasion, and adorned that collection with the following commendation, in Latin verse:

In eximium opus R. Hakluyti de Anglorum ad disjunctissimas regiones navigationibus G. Camdeni hexasticon.

Anglia, quæ penitus toto discluditur orbe,
 Angulus orbis erat, parvus & orbis erat.
 Nunc cum sepositos alios detexerit orbes,
 Maximus orbis honos, orbis & orbis erat.
 At quid, Haklute, tibi monstranti hæc debeat orbis?

Laustua, crede mihi, non erit orbe minor.

TO the RIGHT HONOURABLE

Sir *ROBERT CECIL* Knight,

Principal Secretary to her MAJESTY,

Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries,

The worthy Chancellor of the University of *Cambridge*,

AND ONE OF

Her Majesty's Most Honourable PRIVY-COUNCIL.

RIGHT honourable, while I went about to publish our *English* voyages and discoveries, I was advised by Mr. *Walter Cope*, a gentleman of rare and excellent parts, to draw them into a short sum, adding, that, in his opinion, that course would prove most acceptable to the world, especially to men of great action and employment. Although, in that work then under the press, I could not conveniently alter my course, yet holding his advice, as in many things else, so in this, for sound and very good, I here present unto your honour a brief treatise, most agreeable to the same. The author whereof was one *Antonio Galvano*, a *Portugal* gentleman: of whose piety towards God, equity towards men, fidelity to his prince, love to his country, skill in sea causes, experience in histories, liberality towards his nation, vigilance, valour, wisdom, and diligence, in restoring and settling the decayed state of the isles of *Moluccas* (where he remained six or seven years governor), if it please your honour to read *Fernando Lopez de Castagneda*, or *Joannes Maffei*, in their histories of the *East-Indies*, you shall find more written in his singular commendation, than a large epistle can well comprehend.

The work, though small in bulk, containeth so much rare and profitable matter, as I know not where to seek the like, within so narrow and strait a compass. For, herein is orderly declared, who were the first discoverers of the world, since the time of the flood; by what ways, from age to age, the spicery, drugs, and riches, of the *East*, were conveyed into the *West*; what were the causes of the

alterations of those courses, as namely, the changes of empires and governments; the ceasing of all traffick for many years, by the *Goths* invasion of the *Roman* empire: the rising up of the *Mahometan* sect; with their over-running of *Africa* and *Spain*; the renewing again, after many years disturbance, of the traffick and intercourse of the *East-Indies*; first by the califs of the aforesaid sect, and afterwards by the *Venetians*, *Genoese*, and *Florentines*. Then followeth the taking of *Ceuta* in *Barbary*, by *John*, the first king of *Portugal* of that name, in the year of our Lord 1415. whose third son *Don Henry* (which he had by the virtuous lady *Philippa*, daughter of *John* of *Gaunt*, and sister to *Henry* the fourth, king of *England*) was the first beginner of all the *Portugal* discoveries, and continued the same for the space of forty-and-three years, even to his dying day. By whose encouragement the kings of *Portugal* found out with much patience and constancy the last way of the bringing the spicery into *Europe*, by the cape of *Buona Speranza*; and, for these hundred years past, have become the chief lords of the riches of the *Orient*. By emulation of which their good endeavours, the *Antiles* and the *West-Indies* began to be discovered by the kings of *Spain*: The infancies of both which most important enterprises; the progress of the same from time to time, the discoveries of islands, rivers, bays, and harbours, of many rich provinces, kingdoms, and countries; the erecting of castles in sundry convenient islands and places, with the drawing of traffick unto the same, where, when, by whom, and by whose

autho-

authority, is here succinctly and faithfully recorded. So that, if it please your honour, at your convenient leisure, to take a sea-chart, or a map of the world, and carry your eye upon the coast of *Africa* from *Cape de Non*, lying on the main, in twenty-nine degrees of northerly latitude, and follow the shore about the cape of *Buona Speranza*, till you come to the mouth of the *Red-Sea*, and passing thence along by the country of *Arabia*, cross over to *India*, and doubling *Cape Comory*, compass the gulph of *Bengala*, and shooting by the city of *Malacca*, through the streight of *Cincapura*, coast all the south of *Asia* to the north-east part of *China*, and comprehend in this view all the islands from the *Açores* and *Madera* in the west, to the *Moluccas*, the *Philippina's*, and *Japan* in the east: you shall here find by order, who were the first discoverers, conquerors and planters in every place; as also the natures and commodities of the soils, together with the forces, qualities, and conditions of the inhabitants. And that which I mention of the *Orient*, is likewise to be understood of the *Occident*.

Now, touching the translation, it may please you, Sir, to be advertised, that it was first done into our language by some honest and well-affected merchant of our nation, whose name by no means I could attain unto, and that as it seemeth many years ago. For it hath lien by me above these twelve years. In all which space, though I have made much inquiry, and sent to *Lisbon*, where it seemeth it was printed, yet to this day I could never obtain the original copy; whereby I might reform the manifold errors of the translator. For, whereas a good translator ought to be well acquainted with the propriety of the tongue out of which, and of that into which he translateth, and thirdly, with the subject or matter itself: I found this translator very defective in all three, especially in the last. For the supplying of whose defects I had none other remedy, but to have recourse unto the original histories (which, as it appeareth, are very many, and many of them exceeding rare and hard to come by), out of

which the author himself drew the greatest part of this discourse. And, in very deed, it cost me more travail to find out the grounds thereof, and to annex the marginal quotations unto the work, than the translation of many such books would have put me unto. Of which quotations there is yet a farther use; to wit, that such as have leisure sufficient, and are desirous to read these things more at large (for brevity oftentimes breedeth obscurity), may fully satisfy their desires by having recourse by the help thereof to the pure fountains, out of which those waters which are drawn are for the most part most sweet and wholesome. Now, if any man shall marvel, that in these discoveries of the world, for the space almost of four thousand years here set down, our nation is scarce four times mentioned, he is to understand, that when this author ended this discourse, (which was about the year of grace 1555.) there was little extant of our mens travels. And for aught I can see, there had no great matter yet come to light, if myself had not undertaken that heavy burden, being never therein entertained to any purpose, until I had recourse unto yourself, by whose special favour, and bountiful patronage, I have been often much encouraged, and as it were revived. Which travels of our men, because as yet they be not come to ripeness, and have been made, for the most part, to places first discovered by others; when they shall come to more perfection, and become more profitable to the adventurers, will then be more fit to be reduced into brief epitomes, by myself, or some other endued with an honest zeal of the honour of our country. In the mean season, nothing doubting of your favourable acceptance of this my labour, I humbly beseech the Author of all goodness to replenish and enrich you with his best blessings, long to protect and preserve your honour to the profitable service of her majesty, and to the common benefit and good of the realm.

Your honour's chaplain,

in all duty, most ready

From London, this
29 Oct. 1601.

to be commanded,

RICHARD HAKLUYT.

FRANCIS DE SOUSA TAVARES

Unto the High and Mighty PRINCE

Don J O H N Duke of AVEIRO.

*AN*tony Galvano, upon his death-bed, left unto me, in his testament, among his papers, this book. And because I am certain he ordained it to be presented unto your grace, I have thought good herein to fulfil his will and testament, though in other things I have done nothing, the fault remaining not in me. And by all reason this treaty ought to be set forth by a *Portugal*, seeing it treateth of the variable ways from whence the pepper and spices came, in times past, into our parts; and also of all the navigations and discoveries in the old time; in both of which things the *Portugals* have most travelled. In this treatise, and in nine or ten books of things, touching *Molucca* and *India* (which the cardinal willed me to give to *Damian de Goes*, saying that he should content me, for otherwise I could not deliver them), this true *Portugal* occupied himself against the unfortunate and sorrowful times which he had been in, which were all ended before all our days and times: for when he received the captainship and fortresses of *Molucca*, all the kings and governors of all the islands about being agreed to make war against the *Portugals*, until such time as they might drive them all out of the country, he fought against them all with only an hundred and thirty *Portugals*, when they were all together, and strong in *Tidore*; and he gave them the overthrow, and killed their king, and one *Ternate*, the principal author of that war; and he took their fortress: so upon this victory they submitted themselves, and

came under the obeisance and service of our king of *Portugal*. Herein two things happened of great admiration. The first, that all the kings and governors of *Molucca* agreed together against us, a thing that never fell out, nor yet credible to be like to happen; for they are ever at variance among themselves: the second, that the captain of *Molucca*, with only his ordinary soldiers, should have the victory against so many being all together. For sometimes it happeneth, that some of the captains of *Molucca*, with many extraordinary soldiers, besides their ordinary, yea, and with the aid of all the kings and lords of *Molucca* in their favour and aid, went against one king only of them, and came back again with loss. So there may be reckoned three notable things done in *India*, I say of quality (but of more quantity and importance there have been others): which were, the taking of *Muar* by *Emanuel Falcon*; and the winning of *Bitam* by *Peter Mascarenas*; and this, whereof we presently treat. For all these three deeds seemed to be impossible to be achieved, considering the small quantity of soldiers which the captains had in giving the enterprize against so many; with the order and manner by them ordained, how and which ways to obtain their purpose, as well by their enemies as by themselves. And they could not be achieved otherwise, but by using a mean and order not thought of at the first by the *Portugals*, nor yet ever suspected by their enemies. And, besides this, his father and four of his brethren were

all slain in the king's service : and he now, being the last of his lineage, carried with him into *Molucca* about tenthousand crusadoes, which he spent not in idleness, nor yet in play, but only in bringing of many kings, and innumerable towns, unto our holy faith, and in the preserving of *Molucca*, employing all his power and strength, that all the cloves might come unto the hands of the king's highness : which, with *Molucca*, yielded unto him every year five hundred thousand crusadoes ; being all to his great prejudice, let, and hindrance. For if he had gathered cloves for himself, as the captains of *Molucca* have done, then he had come home very rich. But when he came home into *Portugal*, in great hope (such is the simplicity of the best natures) to be rewarded for his good service, and to be more favoured and honoured, than if he had brought home with him an hundred thousand crusadoes, he was greatly deceived. For he found neither favour, nor yet honour, but only among the poor and miserable, to wit, in an hospital ; where he was kept seventeen years, until the hour of his death ; and there he had allowed unto him his winding-sheet to bury him in : and the brotherhood of the convent prepared for his burial as for a poor courtier cast off by all men, leaving himself indebted in two thousand crusadoes, whereof part came out of *India*, and part thereof many of his friends had lent him to maintain him in the hospital : for in all these seventeen years he had not of his highness, to help himself with, so much as one rial of plate ; nor yet I, of the books which I delivered, received any thing to discharge his will with. Yet for all this, even as upon the prosperity of his victories, he never made any boast ; so likewise, in his adversities, his great stomach did nothing abate his heart. As there are good proofs, that with so many, and so continual disgraces as he suffered, he never, unto the hour of his death, left off to raise and augment the yearly rent unto a *Counto* : which some made strange, and would not give

ear unto : so that even as he was extreme painful in the performance of his service, so he was the like in the things founding unto the perfecting of the same, which was the cause, that he was brought unto the state that he died in. For he could not see the quality of the time, but only those of his great service, by reason of the great charges that it stood him in. And his saying was, That he was born, not to say, that his constellation was in the wars victorious, but in the overcoming of kings by the art of warfare, readiness in resolving, prudence in conserving, and great loyalty and patience with many services unto his king and master. In which of all these he had most contentation, it cannot easily be determined. Wherefore your noble grace may see, that this treaty and the others were made with sighs and afflictions, which his inferior will might have raised up in him, against his superior reason. Neither was he willing to take for his remedy that which that great *Turk Zelim*, son to the great *Mahomet*, did (for he took *Constantinople*, and died in *Rome*) who used to make himself drunk, because he would not remember the great estate which he lost : nor yet would he give ear unto those things which many of his friends would tell him, wishing he would settle his mind out of the kingdom (for otherwise he should never be able to live) : whereunto he answered, That in this point he would rather be compared unto the great *Timocles* the *Athenian*, than to be like the excellent Roman *Coriolanus*. Which is a goodly example of a true and faithful *Portugal* (Though it were not so as I do say, yet I hear, that the hospitals are full of the most faithful subjects to their prince and country). Wherefore, by all reason, this treatise ought to be of your grace favoured, setting apart all overlooks, if there be any, in this work, of the author ; I being not able to attain unto the understanding of the contrary. God prosper your grace with long life, and increase of honour.

AN EXCELLENT
T R E A T I S E
O F
ANTONY GALVANO, PORTUGAL,
Containing the most Antient and Modern
Discoveries of the W O R L D,

Especially by NAVIGATION, according to the course of Times,
From the Flood, until the Year of Grace 1555.

WHILE I had a desire to gather together some old and some new discoveries, which have been made by sea and by land, with their just times and situations; they seemed to be two things of so great difficulty, that being confused in the authors of them, I determined once to desist from any such purpose. For, touching the course of time, the *Hebrews* declare, that from the beginning of the world to the flood were 1656 years. The seventy interpreters make mention of 2242. And St. *Augustine* reckoneth 2262. In the situations likewise there be many differences. For there never sailed together in one fleet at sea, from ten pilots to the number of an hundred, but that some of them found themselves by reckoning in one longitude, and other some in another. But, considering better with myself, that the difficulties are opened, and the differences amended, by others of more exact judgment and understanding therein, I purposed notwithstanding to proceed in this work of discoveries.

Some there are that say, that the world hath fully been discovered: and they allege this reason, that as it hath been peopled and inhabited, so it might be frequented and navigable; and the rather, for that the men in that age were of a longer life, and of laws and languages almost one.

There be others of a contrary opinion to this, holding that all the earth could not be

known, nor the people conversant one with another: for though it had been so once, yet the same would have been lost again by the malice of men, and the want of justice among the inhabitants of the earth. But because the best and most famous discoveries were made by sea, and that principally in our times, I desire to know, who were the first discoverers since the time of the flood.

Some affirm that they were the *Greeks*; others say, the *Phœnicians*; others also the *Egyptians*. The people of *India* agree not hereunto; affirming that they were the first that sailed by sea: namely the *Tabencos*, which now we call the *Chinois*. And they allege for the proof of this, that they are the lords of the *Indies*, even unto the cape of *Bona Sperança*, and the island of *St. Laurence*, which is inhabited by them, and all along the sea; as also the *Javaes*, *Timores*, *Celebes*, *Macasares*, *Moluccas*, *Borneos*, *Mindanaos*, *Luçones*, *Lequeos*, *Japones*, and other islands, being many in number, and the firm lands of *Cauchin*, *China*, *Laos*, *Bramas*, *Pegu*, *Arracones*, till you come unto *Bengala*: and besides this, *New Spain*, *Peru*, *Brasil*, the *Antiles*, with the rest adjoining unto them, as appeareth by the fashions and manners of the men and women, and by their proportions, having small eyes, flat noses, with other proportions to be seen. And to this day many of these islands and countries are called

called by the names of *Bato-China*, *Bocho-China*, which is as much as to say, the countries of *China*. Further it appeareth by histories, that the ark of *Noë* rested upon the north parts of the mountains of *Armenia*, which stands in forty degrees and upwards; and that immediately thereupon *Scythia* was first peopled, for that it is an high land, and appeared first after the flood. And seeing the province and country of the *Tabencos* is one of the chiefest of all *Tartary*, as they report, it is to be thought, that they were of the most antient inhabitants, and men of the most antient navigations, the seas being as calm as the rivers be in those parts, lying between the tropicks, where the days and nights do not much differ, as well in the hours as in the temperature; where blow no outrageous winds, to cause the waters to rise, or to be troubled. And by late experience it is found, that the small barques wherein they sail, have only a great high bough in the midst of the barque, standing instead both of mast and sail; and the master holdeth only an oar in his hand to steer withal: and so they sail swiftly along the coast; and the rest of the passengers sit only upon certain poles, which are fastened in the barque, which they call *Catamarones*, and so they pass without rowing.

It is further said, that the people of *China* were sometime lords of the most part of *Scythia*, and sailed ordinarily along that coast, which seemeth to reach unto seventy degrees toward the north. *Cornelius Nepos* is the author of this; who particularly affirmeth, that in the time *Metellus* the fellow-consul of *Afranius* was pro-consul in *France*, the king of *Suevia* sent unto him certain *Indians*, which came thither in a ship from this country, coming by the north, and by the flats of *Germany*. And it is probable that they were people of *China*, for that they from twenty, thirty, and forty degrees upwards have strong ships and clinchers, that can well brook the seas, and endure the cold and intemperature of such northerly regions. As for *Cambaia*, there is shipping also in it, and the people, by report, have used the seas many years: but it seemeth not, that they were any of them which came into *France*; for that they traffick only to *Cairo*, and are men indeed of little traffick and less clothing.

As for those which escaped the destruction of the flood, they were so amazed, that they durst not descend into the plains and low countries, but kept the hills. And we read of *Nimrod*, who, an hundred and thirty years after the flood, built the *Tower of Babel*, intending thereby to save him-

self, if there should come any more such floods.

Therefore it seemeth, that they which first came to be sailors, were those which dwell in the *East*, in the province of *China*: although others, contrariwise, hold them which dwell in the *West*, as in *Syria*, to have used the trade of the sea soonest after the flood. But this contention about the antiquity of navigation I leave to the *Scythians* and *Egyptians*, who were at great variance and difference in this matter: for each of them challenged unto themselves the honour of the first sea travel. But omitting all jars and differences thereabouts, I will apply myself to my purposed discourse, and speak of that which histories have left in record.

TH E R E are some well seen in antiquities, which say, that in the hundred and forty-third year after the flood, *Tubal* came by sea into *Spain*; whereby it seemeth, that in those times navigations were used into our parts out of *Ethiopia*.

And they also say further, that not long after this, the queen *Semiramis* went against the *Indians* in that river whereof they took their name, and therein gave battle unto the king *Stabrobates*, wherein he lost a thousand ships. Which being credible by the antient history, proveth manifestly, that in those parts, in those times, were many ships, and the seas frequented in good numbers.

In the six hundred and fiftieth year after the flood, there was a king in *Spain* named *Hesperus*, who in his time, as it is reported, went and discovered as far as *Cape Verde*, and the island of *St. Thomas*, whereof he was prince: and *Gonsalvo Fernandes* of *Oviedo*, the chronicler of antiquities, affirmeth that in his time the islands of the *West-Indies* were discovered, and called somewhat after his name *Hesperides*: and he allegeth many reasons to prove it, reporting particularly, that in forty days they sailed from *Cape Verde* unto those islands.

There are others that say, that the like was done from this cape unto the islands of *St. Thomas*, and the isle *De Principe*, and that they be the *Hesperides*, and not the *Antiles*: and they differ not far from reason: seeing in those times, and many years after, they did use to sail only along the coast, not passing through the main ocean sea: for they had neither altitude nor compass then in use, nor any mariners so expert.

It cannot be denied, but that there were many countries, islands, capes, isthmuses, and points, which now are grown out of know-

Pomponius Mela, l. 3.
Plinius, l. 2. c. 67.

Berosius.

Gonsalvo Fernandes de Oviedo, l. 2. c. 3. Gen. Hist.

Plinius, l. 6. c. 31.

Joseph. Antiquit. Judaic. l. 1. c. 5.

knowledge; because the names of them are found in histories. But the age of the world, and force of waters, have wasted and consumed them, and separated one country from another, both in *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*, *New Spain*, *Peru*, and other places.

Plato in
Timæo.

Plato saith, in his dialogue of *Timæus*, that there were in antient times, in the *Atlantick* ocean, certain great islands and countries, named *Atlantides*, greater than *Africa* and *Europe*: and that the kings of those parts were lords of a great part of this our country: but with certain great tempests the sea overflowed it, and it remained as mud and shingle; so that in a long time after no ships could pass that way.

Plin. lib. 4.
cap. 22.

It is also recorded in histories, that close by the island of *Cadiz*, towards the streights of *Gibraltar*, there was a certain island which was called *Aphrodisias*, well inhabited, and planted with many gardens and orchards; and yet at this day we have no knowledge of this *Aphrodisias*, but only a bare mention of it in antient authors. The said island of *Cadiz* is further said to have been so large, that it joined with the continent of *Spain*.

The *Azores* islands were sometime a point of the mountains of *Estrella*, which join to the sea over the town of *Syntra*: and also from *Sierra Verde*, or the green mountain, which adjoineth to the water hard by the city of *Sasin* in the land of *Cucu* (which is the self-same island of *Mouchin*, where *Algarbe* is) lie the islands of *Porto Santo* and *Madeira*.

For it is held as a sure and undoubted verity, that all islands have their roots running from the firm land, though they be never so far from the continent; for otherwise they could not stand firm.

Eratothe-
nes apud
Strabo-
nem, lib. 1.
p. 26.

There are other histories which say, that from *Spain* unto *Ceuta* in *Barbary*, men sometimes travelled on foot upon dry land; and that the islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica* joined the one with the other, as did also *Sicily* with *Italy*, and *Negroponto* with *Greece*.

We read also, that there were found hulls of ships, anchors of iron, and other memorials of shipping, upon the mountains of *Susa*, far within the land; where, as it now seemeth, no salt water or sea ever came.

In *India* also, and in the land of *Malabar*, although there be now great store of people, yet many writers affirm, that it was once a main sea unto the foot of the mountains; and that the cape of *Comarim*, and the island of *Zeilan*, were all one thing: as also that the island of *Sumatra* joined with the land of *Malacca* by

the flats of *Caypasia*; and not far from thence there now stands a little island, which, a few years past, was part of the firm land that is over-against it.

Furthermore it is to be seen, how *Ptolemy*, in his tables, sets the land of *Malacca* to the south of the line, in three or four degrees of latitude, whereas now it is at the point thereof, being called *Jentana*, in one degree on the north side, as appeareth in the streight of *Cincapura*, where daily they pass through unto the coast of *Sian* and *China*, where the island of *Aynan* standeth, which also, they say, joined hard to the land of *China*: and *Ptolemy* placeth it on the north side, far from the line, standing now above 20 degrees from it towards the north, as *Asia* and *Europe* now stand.

Well it may be, that in time past the land of *Malacca* and *China* ended beyond the line on the south side, as *Ptolemy* sets them forth; because it might join with the point of the land called *Jentana*, with the islands of *Bintan*, *Banca*, and *Salitres*, being many that way, and the land might be all slime and ouze: and so the point of *China* might join with the islands of the *Luçones*, *Borneos*, *Lequeos*, *Mindanaos*, and others which stand in this parallel; they also as yet having an opinion, that the island of *Sumatra* joined with *Java* by the chanel of *Sunda*; and the islands of *Bali*, *Aujave*, *Cambava*, *Solor*, *Hogaleao*, *Maulva*, *Vintara*, *Rosalaguin*, and others that are in this parallel and altitude, did all join with *Java*; and so they seem outwardly to those that descry them. For at this day the islands stand so near each other, that they seem but one firm land; and whosoever passeth between them, may touch with their hand the boughs of the trees on the one and on the other side also. And to come nearer to the matter, it is not long since, that in the east the islands of *Banda* were divers of them overflowed and drowned by the sea: and so likewise in *China*, about ninescore miles of firm ground is now become a lake, as it is reported; which is not to be thought marvelous, considering that which *Ptolemy* and others have written in such cases; which here I omit, to return to my purpose.

After the flood 800 years, we read, that the city of *Troy* was built by the *Dardans*; and that before that time they brought out of the *Indies* into *Europe*, by the *Red-sea*, spices, drugs, and many other kinds of merchandizes, which were there more abundant than they now be. Whereunto if credit may be given, we may conceive, that the sea was of old haunted and frequented, seeing that then they

they of the east had so much and so great traffick with them of the west, that they brought their merchandize unto an haven which was named *Arfinoe*, being that which at this day is called *Suez*, standing in 30 degrees on the north part of the Arabian gulph. It is also, by authors, farther written, that from this haven of *Arfinoe* or *Suez*, these merchandizes were carried by caravans, or great companies of carriers upon camels, asses, and mules, unto the *Levant* sea, to a city called *Cassou*, standing on the coast in 32 degrees of latitude, yielding unto every degree 17 leagues and an half, as the manner is. And there are, by account, from the one sea to the other, 35 leagues, or 105 miles. These carriers, by reason of the heat of the country, travelled in the night only, directing themselves by stars, and by marks of posts and canes, which they used to stick in the ground as they went. But after that, because this course and journey had many inconveniencies, they changed and altered the same twice, to find out the most commodious way.

Strabo,
l. 17. p.
560.

Strabo,
l. 17.

Plin. l. 6. c. 29. *Italy*: so that this *Sesostris* was the first king that built great caracks to travel this way. But this enterprize, for all that, took little effect: for if it had, *Africa* had then been made as an island all compassed with water, being no more ground between sea and sea, than the space of 20 leagues, or 60 miles.

Diod. Sic. l. 4. c. 4. About this time the *Grecians* gathered together an army or fleet, which now is called *Argonautica*, whereof *Jason* and *Alceus* were captains-general. Some say they went from the isle of *Crete*, others from *Greece*: but whencesoever they departed, they sailed through the *Propontick* sea, and *Saint George's Sleeve*, unto the *Euxine* sea, where some perished, and *Jason* thereupon returned back into *Greece*. *Alceus* reported, that he was driven with a tempest to the lake *Meotis*, where he was forsaken of all his company; and they which escaped with great travel, passed through by land unto the *German* ocean, where they took shipping, pas-

sing the coasts of *Saxony*, *Friseland*, *Holland*, *Flanders*, *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and so returned to *Peloponnesus* and *Greece*, discovering the most part of the coast of *Europe*.

Strabo, l. 1. p. 23. *Strabo*, alleging *Aristonicus* the grammarian, sheweth that, after the destruction of *Troy*, *Menelaus* the king came out of the streights of the *Levant* seas into the *Atlantick* sea, and coasted *Africa* and *Guiney*, and doubled the cape of *Bona Sperança*, and so in time arrived in *India*; of which voyage of his there may be many more particulars gathered out of the histories. This *Mediterranean* sea was also sometimes called the *Adriatick*, the *Ægean*, and the *Herculean* sea, with other names, according to the lands, coasts, and islands which it passeth by, running into the great *Atlantick* sea, along the coast of *Africa*.

In the year 1300. after the flood, *Solo-* Kings, *mon* caused a navy to be prepared on the *Red-sea*, at an haven called *Ezeon-Geber*, to sail to the *East-Indies*, where, by opinion, stand the islands called *Tharfis* and *Ophir*. This navy was three years on this voyage, and then returned, and brought with them gold, silver, cypress, &c. whereby it seemeth, that those places and islands were those which now are called the *Luçones*, *Lequeos*, and *Chinaes*. For we know few other parts from whence some of those things are brought, or wherein navigation was so long since used.

It is left us also in histories, that a king of *Egypt*, called *Neco*, desiring greatly to join the *Red-sea* with the river *Nile*, commanded the *Phœnicians* to sail from the streight of *Mecca* to the farther end of the *Mediterranean* sea, to see if it made any turn back again unto *Egypt*: which command they obeyed, sailing towards the south, all along the coast and country of *Melinde*, *Quiloa*, and *Sofala*, till they came to the cape of *Bona Esperança*, finding the sea continually on the left-hand: but when they had doubled the cape, and found the coast continually on the right-hand, they marvelled much at it: notwithstanding they continued their course forward toward the north, all along the coast of *Guiney* and the *Mediterranean* sea, till they came back again into *Egypt*, whence they first went out: in which discovery they remained two years. And these are thought to be the first that compassed by sea all the coast of *Africa*, and sailed round about it.

In the year 590. before the incarnation of *Christ*, there went out of *Spain* a fleet of *Carthaginian* merchants, upon their own proper costs and charges, which sailed toward the west through the high seas, to see

Arist. lib. de mirandis in natura auditis.

see if they could find any land : and they failed so far, that they found at last the islands which we now call the *Antiles* and *New Spain* ; which *Gonzalo Fernandes de Oviedo* faith were then discovered ; although *Christopher Columbus* afterwards, by his travel, got more exact knowlege of them, and hath left us an evident notice where they be. But all these historians which wrote of these *Antiles* before, as of doubtful and uncertain things, and of places undiscovered, do now plainly confess the same to be the country of *New Spain*.

Diod. Sic. l. 1. c. 3. In the year 520. before the incarnation, and after the setting out of the aforesaid army, *Cambyfes*, king of *Persia*, took *Egypt* ; after whom succeeded *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, and he determined to make an end of the enterprize which king *Sesoftris* had begun, if they had not told him, that the *Red-sea* was higher than the land of *Egypt* ; and that, by means of the salt sea coming into the river *Nile*, all the province would have been lost and undone with hunger and thirst : for the fresh water of the river *Nile* overfloweth the whole country, and the inhabitants have no other water than that for their drink ; whereupon he left his first purpose of prosecuting that enterprize.

Now, by the way, I shall not swerve much from my matter, if I speak a word or two of some things incident to this discourse. The *Egyptians* say, that they had in their country certain vermin like unto rats, whereof many are half like earth, and the other half like a vermin. One kind of them keep the water, and another kind the land. For my part, I think that these are they which break the serpents eggs, whereof there are many in the river *Nile*, which also are called crocodiles ; which, in times past, by report, were so enchanted, that thereby they could not hurt any person : but when they were delivered from their enchantment made by the *Egyptians* art and letters, then they endeavoured to kill people, wild beasts, and cattle, doing very much harm, especially those which live in the water, which oftentimes come to the land, and, living altogether on land, become very strong poison. The people beyond the city of *Cairo* use to fish for them, and eat them ; and they take their heads, and set them upon the walls of their city.

Plin. 1. 8. c. 25. Of these crocodiles it is written, that they lay themselves along the river with their mouths open ; and that there come unto them certain white birds, little bigger than thrushes, which fly into the mouth of the crocodile, and pick out the filthiness which is between his teeth, and

in his jaws, wherewith he is greatly pleased ; but, for all that, the crocodile would close his mouth, and devour the bird, if nature had not provided the bird a sharp sting, as it were, growing out of his head, wherewith he pricketh the crocodile in the mouth, which causeth him to gape wide, and so the bird flieth away without harm ; yet there come by-and-by others of those birds, which make an end of cleansing his mouth.

In the same river there are also many beasts like horses ; and upon the land certain fowls resembling cranes, which war continually with serpents that come thither from *Arabia*, and kill many of them : which birds, as also the vermin which eat the eggs of the crocodiles, are greatly esteemed of the *Egyptians*.

But now to return to my matter, and to proceed in the discoveries : in the year 485. before the incarnation of Christ, *Xerxes* the king of *Persia* commanded *Satafpis* his nephew to go and search, and discover *India* : who, according to the precept, undertook the voyage, went through the streights of *Gibraltar*, and passed the promontory of *Africa*, which now we call the cape of *Bona Sperança*, standing southward betwixt 34 and 35 degrees in latitude ; and, being weary of so great a navigation, turned from thence back again, as *Bartholomew Diaz* did in our days.

Before the coming of Christ 443 years, *Plin. 1. 2. c. 67.* *Himilco*, and *Hanno* his brother, *Carthaginian* captains, governing that part of *Spain* which is now called *Andalusia*, departed from thence, each one with his navy. *Himilco*, sailing towards the north, discovered the coasts of *Spain*, *France*, *England*, *Flanders*, and *Germany*. And some write farther, that he sailed unto *Gotland*, and came to the island of *Thule*, or *Iceland*, standing under the *Arctick* circle, in 24 degrees from the north pole ; and continued in his navigation two years, till he came unto this island, where the day hath in *June* twenty-two hours, and in *December* the night also hath twenty-two hours, whereby it is there wonderfully cold.

Now the other brother, *Hanno*, took *Plin. 1. 6. c. 31.* his course towards *Africa* and *Guiney*, and he discovered the *Fortunate Islands*, which we call the *Canaries* ; and besides these he discovered others, as the *Orcades*, *Hesperides*, and the *Gorgades*, which now are called the *Cape de Verde* islands. There he, with his company, went along the coast till they doubled the cape of *Bona Sperança* ; and, taking their course towards the land, they went along by it unto another cape named *Aromaticum*, which

which is now called *Guardafu*, standing south-east from cape *Verde* in 14 degrees toward the north ; and he came to the coast of *Arabia*, standing in 16 and 17 degrees ; and was five years in this voyage, before he returned back into *Spain*. There are others who say, that he passed not beyond *Sierra Leona*, but peopled it, and afterwards discovered as far as the line : but it seemeth he made a full navigation, because he spent so much time in his travel. It is reported, that the inhabitants of the cape of *Bona Sperança* are great witches, and inchanters of certain snakes, which they bring to such service and command, that they keep their churches and church-yards, gardens, orchards, barns, and cattle, as well from wild beasts as from thieves : for if they see any to do or to intend to hurt, the snake winds herself to him or them, holding them as prisoners, and commanding her young ones to call their masters, until they be taken. If the thieves be many, or the wild beasts of so much strength, that they dare not meddle with them, then they go unto the house of him with whom they live ; and if it be in the night-time, they give so many strokes, that at last they awake them, to cause them to provide for their defence.

A certain *Italian*, called *Aloisius Cadamusta*, writeth, that he, being in the discovery of *Guiney* in the kingdom of *Budimol*, lay in the house of *Bisborol*, his son's son ; and, when in bed, he heard a great noise, and many blows given about the house : whereupon *Bisborol* rose and went out ; and when he came again, *Cadamusta* demanded of him where he had been ; and he answered, that he had been with his cobras, or snakes, which called him. In the *Indies* there are many of these kind of snakes, and some full of poison, which notwithstanding the *Indian* people use to carry about their necks, and put them into their bosoms, and under their arms, which, at some sounds that the people make, will dance, and do divers things at command.

There was a *Portugal* that sometime told me, that beyond the cape of *Bona Sperança*, towards *Sofala*, *Quiloa*, and *Melinde*, where he had been, there were certain birds which would come to the *Blackmoors* at their call, and according as the *Moors* removed, so the birds would do, from one tree to another ; and they used to follow them till they alighted upon some tree from whence they could not remove ; and as the *Negroes* went up the tree, they should find wax and honey thereupon, not knowing whether it grew there naturally or not. In the same country

also, under ground in ant-holes, they found much honey and wax, which the ants made, being somewhat bitter. Upon the sea-coast also they found certain fish, which commonly went upright in the water, having the faces and natures of women, which the fishermen of those places were acquainted with.

In the year 355. before Christ it is said, that the *Spaniards* sailed through the main sea till they came to the flats of *India*, *Arabia*, and those coasts adjoining, whereunto they carried divers merchandizes, which trade they used in great ships : and, sailing to the north-west, they came unto certain flats, which were covered with the flowing of the sea, and with the ebb were discovered, finding there many tunnies of great bigness, where they commonly used to fish them to their great profit, because they were the first until that time that they had seen, and were greatly esteemed.

The time of *Alexander the Great*, as appeareth by the ages of the world, was before the coming of Christ 324 years : we all know that he was born in *Europe* ; but he travelled into *Asia* and *Africa*, and passed through *Arminia*, *Affyria*, *Persia*, and *Bactria*, standing northerly in 44 degrees of latitude, which is the farthest country in longitude wherein he was in all his journeys. From thence he descended into *India*, by the mountains of *Imaus*, and the valleys of *Paropamisus*, and prepared a navy in the river *Indus*, and therewith passed into the ocean, where he turned by the lands of *Gedrosia*, *Caramania*, and *Persia*, unto the great city of *Babylon*, leaving *Onesicrius* and *Nearchus* captains of his fleet, which afterwards came unto him by the streights of the *Persian* sea, and up the river *Euphrates*, leaving that country and coast discovered.

After this *Ptolemy* reigned king of *Egypt*, who by some is reputed to have been bastard son unto *Philip*, father of the aforefaid *Alexander the Great*. This *Ptolemy*, imitating the forenamed kings *Sesostris* and *Darius*, made a trench or ditch of an hundred feet broad, and thirty feet deep, and ten or twelve leagues in length, till he came to the bitter wells, pretending to have his work run into the sea, from a mouth of the river *Nile*, called *Pelusium*, passing now by the city *Damiata*. But this thing took no effect ; for that the *Red-sea* was thought to be higher by three cubits than the land of *Egypt*, which would have overflowed all the country, to the ruin and loss thereof.

In the year 277. before the incarnation, succeeded in the government of the kingdom one *Philadelphus*, who brought

Arist. de mirandis in natura auditis. Strabo, l. 2. p. 68. de Gaditanorum longinqua navigatione & ingentibus navibus.

Plin. l. 6. c. 29.

Strabo, l. 17. p. 560, 561.

to pass that the merchandizes should come out of *Europe* to the city of *Alexandria*, upwards by the river *Nile* unto a city named *Coptus*, and from thence to be conveyed by land to an haven standing upon the *Red-sea*, called *Myos-Hormos*; which way was travelled in the night, the pilots directing themselves by the stars, who were expert in that practice. And because water was scant that way, they used to carry it with them for all the company, till at last, to avoid that trouble, they digged very deep wells, and made large cisterns for the reception of rain-water, by which the way, furnished with that commodity which at first it wanted, grew in continuance of time to be more frequented.

But whereas the steepest way was dangerous, by reason of flats and islands, the aforesaid king *Philadelphus*, with his armies, went on the side of *Troglodytica*, and in an haven, called *Berenice*, caused the ships to arrive which came out of *India*, being a place of more surety, and less peril, from whence they might easily carry the wares to the city of *Coptus*, and so to *Alexandria*: and by this means *Alexandria* grew so famous and rich, that in those days there was no city in the world comparable to it. And to speak briefly and particularly of the abundance of traffick there used, it is left written, for an assured truth, that in the time of king *Ptolemy Auletes*, father to *Cleopatra*, it yielded unto him yearly, in customs, seven millions and an half of gold, although the traffick was not then quite twenty years old, by way of that city.

But after that this province and country became subject to the emperors of *Rome*, as they were greater in power, and nearer in covetousness, they so enhanced the customs, that within a little time the city yielded double the aforesaid sum: for the traffick grew so exceeding great, that they sent every year into *India* 120 ships laden with wares, which began to set sail from *Myos-Hormos* about the middle of *July*, and returned back again within one year.

The merchandize which they carried, amounted to one million two hundred thousand crowns; and there was made, in return of every crown, an hundred; insomuch that, by reason of this increase of wealth, the matrons or noble-women of that time and place were profuse in decking themselves with precious stones, purple, pearls, musk, amber, and the like; whereof the writers and historians of that age speak very largely.

Cornelius Nepos, quoted by *Pliny*, reporteth of a king of *Egypt* that reigned in his time, called *Ptolemæus Lathyrus*,

from whom one *Eudoxus* fled upon occasion; and the better to avoid and escape his hands, he passed through the gulph of *Arabia*, and the sea, all along the coast of *Africa*, and the coast of *Bona Sperança*, till he came to the island of *Cadiz*: and this navigation, by that course, was as often used in those days as it is now, if we may give credit to history: which appeareth the more manifest by this, that *Caius Cæsar*, the son of *Augustus*, going into *Arabia*, found in the *Red-sea* certain pieces of those ships which came thither out of *Spain*. It was usual also, long after those days, to pass to *India* by land: for so did the kings of the *Soldans*, the princes of *Bactria*, and other famous captains, who travelling thither, and into *Scythia*, by land, had the view of those provinces and countries, till they came that way to the west, and to the seas thereof on the north part, whereto many merchants then travelled. *Marcus Paulus Venetus* writeth much hereof: and though at the first his book was esteemed a fabulous piece, yet now there is better credit given to it; for, by the late experience of travellers and merchants who have been into those parts, the names of the countries, cities, and towns, with their situations, latitudes, and commodities, are now found true, as he, and other historiographers of that time, have reported.

In the year 200. before the incarnation, it is recorded, that the *Romans* sent an army, by sea, into *India*, against the great can of *Cathaia*; which, passing through the streight of *Gibraltar*, and running to the north-west, found, opposite to cape *Finisterre*, ten islands, wherein were large quantities of tin, which may be those that were called the *Cassiterides*: and being come to 50 degrees of latitude, they found a streight, passing through which towards the west, they arrived in the empire of *India*, where they gave battle to the king of *Cathaia*, and then returned to the city of *Rome*. Which thing, howsoever it may seem possible or not, true or false, yet so I find it left us in the histories of that time.

In the year 100. after the incarnation Xiphil. in of Christ, the emperor *Trajan* prepared an army by sea, on the rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*; but departed from them, and sailed to the islands of *Zyzara*; and, passing the streight of *Persia*, entered into the ocean, and sailed towards *India*, along the coast, till he came to the place where *Alexander* had been: there he took certain ships which came from *Bengal*, of whom he learned the state of that country. But because he was then in years, and

weary with his travel, but especially, because he found there small relief for his army, he returned back.

After the *Romans* had got most part of the world, there were, in that age, many notable discoveries made. But then came the *Goths*, *Moors*, and other barbarous nations, and destroyed all: for in the year 412. after the incarnation of Christ, they took the city of *Rome*: and the *Vandals* came out of *Spain*, and conquered *Africa*.

And in the year 450. king *Attila* destroyed many cities in *Italy*; at which time the city of *Venice* began. And in this age the *Franks* and *Vandals* entered into *France*.

In the year 474. the empire of *Rome* was lost, and fell from the *Romans* to the *Goths*.

After this came the *Lombards* into *Italy*, namely, in the year 560.

About this time the sect of the *Arians* prevailed greatly; and *Merlin*, the English prophet, flourished.

In brief; in the year 611. sprung up the *Mahometan* sect, and *Morisco* regiment, which invaded both *Africa* and *Spain*.

By this it may appear, that in that age all the world was in a state of war, and all places very tumultuous; insomuch that traffick and merchandize ceased; for no nation durst trade one with another, either by sea or land: nothing as then remained stedfast, neither in kingdoms, signiories, religions, laws, arts, sciences, nor navigation. Nor did even the records and writings of such things remain, but were all burnt and consumed by the barbarous cruelties and unbridled power of the *Goths*, who became so covetous and ambitious, that they purposed of themselves to begin a new world, and to root out the memory, and blot out the knowlege, of all other nations besides.

But they that succeeded in the government of things, perceiving the great losses that the Christian world had by the want of traffick, and stagnation of navigation, whereby those commodities and merchandizes could not be spent, which before went ordinarily from one nation to another by the use of trade; to the end that this decay and loss might be repaired, and the treasures of the east be imparted with the west, as it was wont in times of peace, they began to devise a way to pass to *India*; which was not as the former, by the *Red-sea* and the river *Nile*, but a way of farther sailing, farther length, and greater cost also: for they brought their ware up the river *Indus*, and there unladed it, carrying it by land through the

country of *Paropamisus*, by caravans, unto the province of *Bactria*; and then shipped it in barks on the river *Oxus*, which falls into the *Caspian* sea; and so sailed over that sea to an haven of the river *Rba*, named *Citracan*, or *African*, and so upwards in the said river, which is now called *Volga*; and, as it appears, they carried it to the city of *Novogrod*, in the province of *Resan*, which now belongs to the great duke of *Muscovy*, standing towards the north, in 54 degrees latitude: thence they travelled, over land, to the province of *Sarmatia*, to the river *Tanais*, which is the division of *Europe* from *Asia*, where they again laded it in barks, and carried it down the river, into the lake *Meotis*, and to the city of *Cassa*, which, in antient time, was called *Theodosia*, and then belonged to the *Genoese*, who came thither for those wares in their galliasses, or great ships.

It is also left written, that the trade Strabo, l. 11. this way endured till the reign of *Commodus*, emperor of *Armenia*, who provided for a better course, and commanded this traffick of the spices to be continued by the *Caspian* sea, and so through the kingdom of *Hiberia*, which now is called *Georgiana*; and from thence they entered by the river *Phasis*, now *Phasso*, into *Pontus Euxinus*, and to the city of *Trapezunda*, standing in upwards of 40 degrees north latitude: and to that place came shipping for the merchandizes out of *Europe* and *Africa*.

It is further recorded concerning this Ibid. way of traffick, that *Nicanor* determined, Plin. l. 6. c. 11. or had already begun, to open above 120 miles of land, which lieth between the *Caspian* sea and *Pontus Euxinus*, that they might come and go by water with their spices, drugs, and other commodities there used: but in the mean time this mischief happened, *Ptolemy Ceraunos* killed him; and by his death this worthy and famous enterprize ceased, without effect.

But the other way being at last also lost, by reason of the wars of the *Turks*, it pleased God to open another way to these merchandizes from the isle of *Sumatra*, the city of *Malacca*, and the island of *Java*, unto *Bengal*, carrying them up the river *Ganges* to the city of *Agra*; from whence they travelled, over land, to another city standing near the river *Indus*, named *Boghar*, where they discharged, because the city of *Caber*, or *Laor*, stands too far within the land, being the principal city of the *Mogores*. From thence they went forward to the great city of *Samarcand*, standing in the country of *Bactria*: and there the merchants of *India*,

Ramufius, v. 1. f. 372. p. 2.

Ib. f. 373.

India, Persia, and Turkey, met, bringing thither their several commodities, as cloth of gold, velvets, chamolets, scarlet and woollen cloths, which were carried to *Cathay*, and the great kingdom of *China*; whence they brought back gold, silver, precious stones, pearls, silk, musk, rhubarb, and many other things of great value. After this, these merchandizes, drugs, and spiceries, were carried in ships upon the *Indian* sea, to the streight of *Ormuz*, and the rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*; and were unladen in the city of *Balsara*, standing in 31 degrees towards the north; from thence they were carried, over land, to the cities of *Aleppo*, *Damascus*, and *Barutti*, standing on the same side, in 35 degrees; and there the *Venetian* galleys, or galliasses, which transported pilgrims into the *Holy Land*, came and received those goods.

In the year 1153. in the time of *Frederick Barbarossa*, 'tis said, that there came to *Lubeck*, a city in *Germany*, a canoe, with certain *Indians*, like a long barge, which seemed to have come from the coast of *Baccalaos*, standing in the same latitude with *Germany*. The *Germans* greatly wondered to see such a barge and such people, not knowing from whence they came, nor understanding their speech, especially because there was then no knowledge of that country, as now there is. It may be credible, that though the boat was small in respect of those huge seas, yet the wind and water might bring them thither; as we see in our days, that the almadie, which is but a small boat, comes, notwithstanding, from *Quiloa*, *Mosambique*, and *Sofala*, to the island of *Saint Helena*, being a small spot of land, standing in the main ocean, off the coast of *Bona Sperança*, so far separated.

Joan. Leo African. In the year 1300. after Christ, the great foldan of *Cairo* commanded, that the spiceries, drugs, and merchandizes of *India*, should be carried through the *Red-sea*, as it was before; at which time Ramusius, v.1. f. 373. they unladen on the *Arabian* side, at the haven of *Judea*, and carried them to the house at *Mecca*; and the carriers of it were the pilgrims: so that each prince used a custom to augment the honour and increase the profit of his country: and these foldans had especial regard for *Cairo*, from whence the wares were carried to the countries of *Egypt*, *Libya*, and *Africa*; the kingdoms of *Tunis*, *Tremessen*, *Fez*, *Morocco*, and *Suz*; and some of it was carried beyond the mountains of *Atlas*, to the city of *Tombuto*, and the kingdom of the *Jalophos*; till afterwards, that the *Portuguese* brought it about the cape

of *Bona Sperança* to the city of *Lisbon*, as, in a convenient place, we purpose to shew more at large.

In the year 1344. king *Peter*, the fourth of that name, reigning in *Arragon*, the chronicles of his time report, that one *Don Lewis*, of *Cerda*, grandson of *Don John*, of *Cerda*, craved aid of him to go and conquer the *Canary* islands, standing in 28 degrees of latitude to the north, because they were given to him by pope *Clement* the sixth, who was a *Frenchman*: by which means, in those days, there grew a knowledge of those islands in all *Europe*, and particularly in *Spain*: for such great princes would not begin nor enterprise things of such moment, without great certainty.

About this time also the island of *Madeira* was discovered by an *Englishman*, named *Macham*; who, sailing out of *England* into *Spain*, with a woman of his, was driven out of his direct course by a tempest, and arrived in that island, and cast anchor in that haven which is now called *Machico*, after the name of *Macham*. And because his lover was then sea-sick, he went on land with some of his company; but in the mean time his ship weighed, and put to sea, leaving him behind; which accident occasioned his lover to die of grief. *Macham*, who was passionately fond of her, erected a chapel, or hermitage, in the island, to deposit her remains, naming it *Jesus Chapel*, and graved on the stone of her tomb both their names, with the occasion that brought them there. After this he made himself a boat out of a tree (trees being there of a great circumference), and went to sea in it, with those men of his company that were left with him, and fell in with the coast of *Africa*, without sail or oar: the *Moors*, among whom he came, took it for a miracle, and presented him to the king of the country, who, also admiring the accident, sent him and his company to the king of *Castile*.

In the year 1395. king *Henry III.* reigning in *Castile*, the information *Macham* gave of this island, and also of the ship wherein he went thither, moved many of *France* and *Castile* to go and discover it, and the great *Canary*. They who went, were principally the *Andalusians*, the *Biscanians*, and the *Guepuscoes*, carrying with them many people and horses: but I know not whether the charge of that voyage was theirs, or the king's. But by whomsoever it was set out, they seem to be the first that discovered the *Canaries*, and landed in them; where also they took 150 of the islanders prisoners.

prisoners. Concerning the time of this discovery, there is some difference among writers; for some affirm this to be done in the year 1405.

The first Beginning of the PORTUGUESE DISCOVERIES.

THE chronicles of *Portugal* have this record, that after the incarnation of Christ 1415. king *John I.* of *Portugal*, departed from the city of *Lisbon* with the prince don *Duart* or *Edward*, and don *Peter* and don *Henry*, his sons, with other lords and nobles of his realm, for *Africa*, where he took the great city of *Ceuta*, standing on the north side thereof, betwixt 35 and 36 degrees in latitude; which was one of the principal causes of the enlarging the dominions of *Portugal*.

John de
Barros
Afia de
cad. 1.
l. 1. c. 2.

When they were come from thence, *Henry*, the king's third son, desirous to enlarge the kingdom, and to discover strange and unknown countries, being then in *Algarbe*, gave direction for the discovery of the coast of *Mauritania*: for in those days none of the *Portuguese* had ever passed the cape *de Non*, standing in 29 degrees of latitude. And for the better accomplishing of this discovery, the aforefaid don *Henry* prepared a fleet, and gave command to the chief captains to proceed in discovery from the said cape forward; which they did: but when they came to another cape, named *Bajador*, there was not one of them that durst go beyond it; at which cowardly faintness the prince was exceedingly displeased.

In the year 1417. king *John II.* reigning in *Castile*, and his mother, lady *Catharine*, then governing, one monsieur *Ruben*, of *Bracamonte*, who was then admiral of *France*, craved the conquest of the *Canary* islands, with the title of king of them, for a kinsman of his, called monsieur *John Betancourt*: which being granted him by the queen, and farther also furnished out, he departed from *Seville* with a good army. But the principal cause that moved him to enter into this action, was to discover and perfectly to take a view of the island of *Madeira*, whereof *Macham* before had given so much information. But, for all that, he went to the *Canaries*, and carried with him a frier called *Mendo*, to be as bishop thereof, admitted by pope *Martin* the fifth. When they were landed, they won *Lancerota*, *Forteventura*, *Gomera*, and *Ferro*; from whence they sent into

Spain many slaves, honey, wax, camphire, hides, orchal, figs, *sanguis draconis*, and other merchandizes, whereof they made good profit: and this army also, as they report, discovered *Porto Santo*. The island that they inhabited was *Lancerota*, where they built a castle of stone, for their better defence and security.

In the year 1418. one *John Gonzales Zarco*, and *Tristram Vaz Teixeira*, gentlemen of the household to don *Henry*, the king's third son, perceiving the desire their master had to discover new countries, and willing in that course to do him some service, craved of him a bark, and licence to undertake the action; which they obtained, and then sailed to the coast of *Africa*, where they were overtaken by a terrible tempest, but were succoured by falling in with the land, and entered into an haven called *Santo*, where they landed, and remained two years.

John de
Barros,
decad. 1.
l. 1. c. 2.

In the year 1420. they discovered the island of *Madeira*, where they found the chapel, stone, and tomb, whereon the aforefaid *Macham* had ingraven his name. There are others who write, that a certain *Castilian*, perceiving the desire and favour that don *Henry* had to navigation, told him, that they had found the island of *Porto Santo*; which being but a small thing, they made no account of it. Don *Henry* sent *Bartholomew Perestrello*, *John Gonzales Zarco*, *Tristram Vaz Teixeira*; and by the signs and likelihoods they had received, they went to *Porto Santo*, and there remained two years. After that, namely, in the year 1420. they sailed also to the island of *Madeira*, where they found the memorial and monument left by *Macham* the *Englishman*.

Ib. c. 3.

As for monsieur *Betancourt*, who entered into the conquest of the *Canaries*, as is above-mentioned, he was slain in the midst of the action; and left behind him, for his heir, a kinsman of his, called *Menant*, who, after that, sold the said islands to one *Peter Barba*, of *Seville*. But others say, that monsieur *John Betancourt* went into *France* to prepare a new army to complete this conquest, and left there a nephew of his; who, because he heard

no

no more of his uncle, and finding he could no longer maintain the war, he sold the *Canaries* to don *Henry*, the king of *Portugal*'s third son, for a certain thing that he gave him in the island of *Madeira*.

Barros
decad. 1.
l. 1. c. 12. In the year 1424. they write, that the said don *Henry* prepared a navy and army to conquer these islands, wherein there went, as captain-general, one don *Ferdinando de Castro*; but by the valiantness and warlike behaviour of the natives, they were repulsed: whereupon don *Ferdinando*, considering the great charge, and little success, gave over the action, and returned back again. After this, don *Henry* resigned over these islands to the crown of *Castile*, in consideration of the aids which *Betancourt* had received. But the *Castilians* agree not to this report: for they say, that neither the kings of *Portugal*, nor don *Henry*, would render the islands, till they came in question before pope *Eugenius* the fourth; who, fully understanding the matter, gave the conquest of the islands, by order of judgment, to the king of *Castile*, in the year 1431. whereupon this contention ceased, touching the title of the *Canaries*, between the kings of *Portugal* and *Castile*.

The islands, being seven in number, were called by the name of *Fortunate*, standing in 28 degrees to the north, where the longest day is but 13 hours, and the longest night the same, lying distant from *Spain* 200 leagues, and from the coast of *Africa* 18 leagues. The people were idolaters, and eat flesh raw for want of fire: they had no iron, and sowed without any tool: they raised and tilled the ground with the horns of oxen and goats: every island spoke a separate language: they took many wives, but did not know them carnally, till they had delivered them to their superiors. Divers other paganish customs prevailed there; but now the Christian faith is planted among them.

The commodities of these islands are wheat, barley, sugar, wine, and *Canary* birds, much esteemed for their delightful harmony.

In the island of *Ferro* they have no other water but that which proceeds in the night from a tree, compassed with a cloud, whence water issueth, serving the whole island, both men and cattle; a thing notorious, and known to many.

In the year 1428. it is written, that don *Peter*, the king of *Portugal*'s eldest son, who was a great traveller, went into *England*, *France*, *Germany*, and from thence to the *Holy Land*, and other places; and came home by *Italy*, taking *Rome* and

Venice in his way; from whence he brought a map of the world, which had all the parts of the world and earth described: the streight of *Magellan* was called in it, *The Dragon's Tail*; the cape of *Bona Sperança*, *The Fore-front of Africa*; and so of other places: by which map, don *Henry*, the king's third son, was much helped, and furthered in his discoveries.

It was told me, by *Francis de Sosa Tavares*, that in the year 1528. don *Ferdinando*, the king's eldest son, shewed him a map, found in the study of *Alcobaza*, that had been made 120 years before, which map set forth all the navigation of the *East-Indies*, with the cape of *Bona Sperança*, as our later maps have described it: whereby it appeareth, that in antient time there was as much, or more, discovered, than there is now. Notwithstanding all the travel, pains, and expences, in this action of don *Henry*, yet he was never weary of his purposed discoveries. At length a servant of his, named *Gilianes*, was the first that passed the cape *Bajader*, a place before terrible to all men; who brought word, that it was not so dangerous as was reported: for on the other side of it he landed; and, in a manner of taking possession, he set up a cross of wood, to remain as a mark or token of his discovery so far.

Barros
decad. 1.
l. 1. c. 4.

In the year 1433. in the month of *August*, don *John* died, and his son don *Duarte*, or *Edward*, succeeded him in the kingdom.

In the year 1434. don *Henry* set out one *Alphonso Gonçales Baldaja*, and *Gilianes* aforesaid, and they went to another cape, which was beyond the former; and going on land, perceived the country to be inhabited; and because they were desirous to satisfy don *Henry* with as much relation and knowledge as they could get, they continued their voyage, and went forward, till they came to a certain point of land, from whence they turned back again.

In the year 1438. king *Edward*, called don *Duarte*, died; and don *Alphonso*, the prince, being young, don *Pedro*, his uncle, governed the kingdom.

In the year 1441. don *Henry* sent out two ships, and the captains were, in the one *Tristan*, and *Antonio Gonçales* in the other. Being put to sea, they took a prize upon the coast, and sailed on to cape *Blanco*, that is, the *White Cape*, standing in 20 degrees; and informed don *Henry* of the state of the country, by the *Moors* which they brought from thence. Whereupon he sent one *Fernan Lopez de Savado*, to give knowledge thereof to pope *Martin*;

Ib. c. 5.

Ib. c. 6.

Martin, trusting to make these things commodious to *Holy Church*. Upon which knowlege the pope granted indulgences, and everlasting pardon, and all other things demanded of him, unto those which should die in this enterprize.

Barros de-
cad. 1. 1. 1.
c. 7.

After this, in the year 1443. Don *Henry* commanded *Antony Gonfales* to carry back the slaves which he had brought, and to ransom them in their country; which he did, and the *Moors* gave them in exchange for them again black *Moors* with curled hair, and some gold; so that now that place is called *Rio de Oro*, that is, the *Golden River*; whereby the desire of the discovery might be the more increased.

Not long after he sent out another named *Nunnez Tristan*, who came unto the islands of *Arguin*, where he took more slaves, and brought them to *Portugal* in the year 1444.

Hereupon also one *Lanfarote*, a groom of Don *Gilian's* chamber, with others associated with him, armed out certain ships, which went coasting till they came to the islands of *Garze*, where they took two hundred slaves: which were the first that were brought from thence to *Portugal*.

Barros de-
cad. 1. 1. 1.
c. 9.

In the year 1445. there went as captain of a barque, one *Gonsalo de Syntra*, an esquire belonging to Don *Henry*, into those parts; and he went on land, where he was taken with six or seven more of his company, which place was therefore called after his name, *Angra de Gonsalvo de Syntra*. This was the first loss, which the *Portuguese* received in their discoveries.

In the year following Don *Henry* sent out three caravels, wherein went as captains *Antony Gonfales*, *Diego Aloizio*, and *Gomes Perez*, who had their direction, not to enter into *Rio de Oro*, nor to bear themselves disorderly, but to travel in peace, and to convert as many infidels as they could to Christianity. But none of these things were performed by them; for they returned without doing any memorable act.

Barros de-
cad. 1. 1. 1.
c. 9. and
c. 13.

In the same year 1446. another esquire belonging to the king of *Portugal* called, *Denis Fernandes*, of the city of *Lisbon*, entered into these discoveries, more to win fame than to reap commodity by them. And he, being in his voyage, came to the river *Sanaga*, standing between fifteen and sixteen degrees of latitude towards the north, where he took certain *Negroes*; and not contented therewith, he went forward, and discovered *Cape Verde*, standing in fourteen degrees on the same side; and there he set up upon the land a cross of wood, and then returned with great content.

Barros de-
cad. 1. 1. 1.
c. 14.

In the year 1447. one *Nunnez Tristan* went forth to discover in a caravel, and he

passed the aforesaid *Cape Verde*, and *Rio Grande*, and went past it unto another standing beyond it in twelve degrees, where he was also taken with eighteen *Portugals* more: but the ship came home again in safety, conducted by four or five which escaped the hands of the *Negroes*.

In this year also 1447. it happened that there came a *Portugal* ship through the freight of *Gibraltar*; and, being taken with a great tempest, was forced to run westward more than willingly the men would, and at last they fell upon an island which had seven cities, and the people spake the *Portugal* tongue, and they demanded if the *Moors* did yet trouble *Spain*, whence they had fled for the loss which they received by the death of the king of *Spain*, Don *Roderigo*.

The boatswain of the ship brought home a little of the sand, and sold it unto a goldsmith of *Lisbon*, out of which he had a good quantity of gold.

Don *Pedro*, understanding this, being then governor of the realm, caused all the things thus brought home, and made known, to be recorded in the house of justice.

There be some that think, that those islands whereunto the *Portugals* were thus driven, were the *Antiles*, or *New Spain*, alleging good reasons for their opinion, which here I omit, because they serve not to my purpose. But all their reasons seem to agree, that they should be that country, which is called *Nova Spagna*.

In the year 1449. the king Don *Alfonso* gave licence unto his uncle Don *Henry* to inhabit the islands of the *Açores*, which were long before discovered.

And in the year 1458. this king went into *Africa*, and there he took the town called *Alcaçer*.

And in the year 1461. he commanded Signior *Mendez*, a gentleman of his house, to build the castle of *Arguin*, whereof he gave unto him the government, as to his lieutenant.

In the year 1462. there came into the realm of *Portugal* three *Genoese* of good parentage, the chief of whom was called *Antony de Noli*, and of the other two, the one was his brother, the other was his nephew; and each of these had his several ship, craving liberty of Don *Henry* to discover the islands of *Cape Verde*, which was granted them. Others say, that the places which they discovered, were those which antiquity called the *Gorgades*, *Hesperides*, and *Dorcadés*: but they named them *Mayo*, *Saint Jago*, and *Saint Philip*, because they discovered them on those saints days: but they are also called by some the islands of *Antonio*.

In the year following, 1463. this good nobleman Don *Henry* died, leaving from *Cape de Non* discovered unto the mountain called *Sierra Leona*, standing on this side the line, in eight degrees of latitude, where no man had been before that time.

Barros de-
cad. 1. l. 2.
c. 1. In the year 1469. the king of *Portugal* did let out for yearly rent the trade of *Guiney*, unto one called *Fernan Gomez*, which country was afterwards called *The Mine*. He let it out for five years, for two hundred thousand reys by the year (which is of our *English* money 138 l. 17s. 9d.ob.); and added unto his lease this condition, that every year he should discover an hundred leagues.

In the year following, which was 1470. this king went into *Africa* with his son prince *John*, where they took the town of *Arzila*, and the people of the city of *Tangier* fled out for fear, and that he took also. It seemeth that good fortune followeth a courageous attempt.

In the year 1471. *Fernan Gomez* gave command, that the coast should be discovered as it lay. Which was undertaken by *John de S. Aren*, and *John de Scovar*; and they went and found the mine in five degrees of latitude.

And the next year, which was 1472. one *Fernando da Poo* discovered the island now called after his name. Also about this time the islands of *Saint Thomas* and *Del Principe* were discovered, standing under the line, with the firm land also, wherein is the kingdom of *Benin*, reaching to the *Cape de Santa Catarina*, standing on the south side of the line, in three degrees. The man that made this discovery was a servant of the king's, and his name was *Sequetra*.

Many suppose, that then also there were those places, countries and islands discovered, which before were never known to us since the flood.

Barros de-
cad. 1. l. 1.
c. 2. In the year 1480. the valiant king Don *Alphonso* died, and left many things worthy of memory behind him; and his son Don *John* the second succeeded him; who in the year 1481. gave direction for the building of the castle *De Mina* to one *Diego d'Azambuxa*; who did so, and was made captain of it.

Barros de-
cad. 1. l. 3.
c. 3. In the year 1484. the aforesaid king *John* sent out one *Diego Caon*, a knight of his court, to discover: and he went to the river of *Congo*, standing on the south side in seven or eight degrees of latitude; where he erected a pillar of stone, with the royal arms and letters of *Portugal*, wherein he wrote the command that he had received from the king, with the time and day, of his being there. From thence he went unto a river near the tropick of *Capricorn*,

setting still up pillars of stone where he thought it convenient; and so came back again unto *Congo*, and to the king of that country; who thereupon sent an ambassador and men of credit into *Portugal*.

In the next year, or the second following, one *John Alonso d'Aveiro*, came from the kingdom of *Benin*, and brought home pepper with a tail; which was the first of that kind seen in *Portugal*.

In the year 1487. king *John* sent to discover *India* over land: in which journey went one *Pedro de Covillan*, a servant of the king's, and *Alfonso de Payva*, because they could speak the *Arabian* tongue. They went out in the month of *May*, and the same year they took shipping at *Naples*, and arrived in the isle of *Rhodes*, and lodged in the house that was provided for the *Portugal* knights of that order: from thence they went to *Alexandria*, and so to *Cairo*, and thence to the haven of *Toro*, in the company of the caravans or carriers, which were *Moors*. There they took shipping, and, being on the *Red-sea*, they arrived at the city of *Aden*, and there they separated themselves: for *Alfonso de Payva* went towards *Ethiopia*, and *Pedro de Covillan* into *India*, who came unto the cities of *Cananor* and *Calicut*, and came back unto *Goa*; where he took shipping unto *Sofala*, being on the coast of *Africa*, in the southern latitude of twenty degrees, to see the mines that were of so great name. From *Sofala* he turned back to *Mosambique*, and unto the cities of *Quiloa*, *Mombaza*, and *Melinde*, till he came back again unto the city of *Aden*; where he and *Alfonso de Payva* divided themselves; and thence he sailed again through the *Red sea* unto the city of *Cairo*, where he thought to have met with his companion: but there he heard, that he was dead, by the letters that he received from king *John* his master; in which letters he was farther commanded to travel into the country and dominions of *Presbyter John*.

Upon this command he provided for his farther journey, and from *Cairo* went back again to the haven of *Toro*, and from thence to *Aden*, where he had been twice before; and there hearing of the fame of the city of *Ormuz*, he determined to go thither; and therefore went along the coast of *Arabia*, unto the cape *Razalgate*, standing under the tropick of *Cancer*; and from thence he went to *Ormuz*, standing in twenty-seven degrees on that side. There he learned and understood of the streight of *Persia*, and of that country: and entered there into the *Red-sea*, and passed over to the realm of the *Abassini*, which is commonly called *Presbyter John's country*, or *Ethiopia*; and there he was detained till the

the year 1520. when there came thither the embassador don *Roderigo de Lima*. This *Pedro de Covillan* was the first *Portugal* that ever knew and saw the *Indies* and those seas, and other places adjoining thereunto.

Barros de- In the year 1490. the king sent unto
cad. 1. l. 3. Congo one *Gonzalo de Sosa*, a gentleman
c. 9. with three ships; and in them sent home the embassador at Congo, which was sent into *Portugal*, whom *Diego Caon* had brought from thence: who, at his being in *Portugal*, was baptized, both himself, and others of his company.

The aforefaid *Gonzalo de Sosa* died in that journey by the way, and in his room they chose his nephew *Ruy de Sosa* for their captain; and so being come unto Congo, the king was very glad of their coming, and yielded himself, and the greater part of his realm, to be baptized: whereof the *Portuguese* had good cause to rejoice, seeing by them so many infidels were converted from gentility and paganism to Christianity.

The first Beginning of the Discoveries of the Spaniards, with the Continuation of the Discoveries of the Portuguese.

IN the year 1492. in the time of don *Ferdinando* king of *Castile*, he, being at the siege of *Granada*, dispatched one *Christopher Columbus*, a *Genoese*, with three ships, to go and discover *Nova Spagna*; who first had offered his service for a western discovery unto king *John* of *Portugal*; but he would not entertain him.

He, being sufficiently furnished for this enterprize, departed from the town of *Palos* the third day of *August*, having with him as captains and pilots *Martin Alfonso Pinzon*, *Francis Martinez Pinzon*, *Vincent Yannes Pinzon*, and *Bartholomew Columbus* his brother, with an hundred and twenty persons more in his company: and some affirm, that they were the first that sailed by latitudes. They took the *Canaries* in their way, and there refreshed themselves; taking their course thence towards *Cipango*; but finding the sea by the way full of weeds, they were amazed, and with great fear arrived at the *Antiles* the tenth day of *October*, and the first island that they descried was called *Guanabany*, where they went on land, and took possession of it, and named it *San Salvador*. This island standeth in 25 degrees of northerly latitude. And after that they found many islands, which they called the *Princes*, because they were the first that they had discovered.

The savages of those parts call these islands by the name of *Lucaios*, having indeed several names for them. And they stand on the north side almost under the tropick of *Cancer*. As for the island of *St. James* or *Jamaica*, it standeth between 16 and 17 degrees.

Thence they went to the island which the natives of the country call *Cuba*, and the *Spaniards* call it *Ferdinandina*, because their king's name was *Ferdinando*, standing in 22 degrees: from whence the *Indians* conducted them unto another island, which they call *Hayti*, and the *Spaniards* called it *Isabella*, in the memory of the queen of *Castile*, which was so called, and they named it also *Hispaniola*. In that island the admiral ship of *Columbus* was cast away; the timber and planks whereof they made a fort, wherein they left thirty-eight men, and a captain called *Roderigo de Arana*, to learn the language and customs of the country. They brought from thence musters and shews of gold, pearls, and other things, which that country yielded; and ten *Indians* also, whereof six died, the rest were brought home and baptized.

Hereupon there grew such a common desire of travel among the *Spaniards*, that they were ready to leap into the sea to swim, if it had been possible, into those new-found parts. The aforefaid company of *Columbus*, at their coming home, took in their way the isles of the *Azores*; and the fourth day of *March* in the year 1493. they entered into the bar of *Lisbon*, which discovery pleased not the king of *Portugal*. Whereupon rose a contention between those two kings.

Christopher Columbus, being arrived, went presently into *Castile*, with the news of all things, and acquainted king *Ferdinando*, with the discontentedness of the king of *Portugal*. Whereupon he, and the queen *Isabella* his wife, sent word thereof unto pope

pope *Alexander VI.* whereat he and the *Italians* were in great admiration, marvelling that there was any more land besides that that which was under the *Romans*. But the end of this matter was this: *Alexander* the pope gave these countries by his judgment unto the kingdoms of *Leon* and *Castile*; with this condition, that they should labour to extirpate idolatry, and plant the holy faith in those countries.

Fernando the king, having received this answer, was glad of it, and sent *Christopher Columbus* again on the former voyage, having made him admiral, and given him other honours, with particular arms, and a posy written about his arms to this effect:

For Castile and for Leon
A new world found out Colon.

In the year 1493. the twenty-fifth of the month of *October*, *Christopher Columbus* went back unto the *Antiles*, and from *Cadiz* he took his course, having in his company seventeen ships, and fifteen hundred men in them, with his brethren *Bartholomew Columbus*, and *Diego Columbus*, with other knights, gentlemen, men of law, and religious men, with chalices, crosses, rich ornaments, and with great power and dignity from pope *Alexander*; and the tenth day after their setting forth, they arrived at the *Canaries*; and from thence in twenty-five or thirty days they sailed unto the *Antiles*; and the first island that they saw standing in 14 degrees towards the north, due west from cape *Verde* on the coast of *Africa*. They say that the distance from thence to the *Canaries* is 800 leagues. The name they gave it was *Desèada*, that is, the *Desired* or *Wished Island*, for the great desire which the company had to come to sight of land. After that they discovered many more which they named the *Virgins*, which the natives of the country call the *Carribees*, for that the men of that country are good warriors, and shoot well with bows. They poison their arrows with an herb, whereof he that is hurt dieth, biting himself like as a mad dog doth.

From these islands and others they went unto the principal island there, which they of the country call *Boriquen*, and the *Spaniards* call it *St. John*, and thence to *Hispaniola* or *Isabella*, where they found all the men dead which they had left there. Here the admiral left the most part of the people to plant it, and appointed his brethren to be governors there; and so took two ships, and went to discover the other side of the island of *Cuba*, and from thence

to *Jamaica*. All these islands stand from 16 unto 20 degrees of northerly latitude. In the mean time that the admiral sailed about, his brethren, and they that were left with them, were much troubled, because the savages did rise against them. So that *Christopher Colon* went back again into *Spain*, to tell the king and queen of his adventures.

In the year 1494. and in the month of *January*, there was an agreement made of the differences which were between the two kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*. For the which agreement there were sent out of *Portugal* *Ruy de Sosa*, and *Don John* his son, and the doctor *Ayres de Almada*; and for the king of *Spain* there were *Don Henry Henriques*, *Don John de Cardenas*, and the doctor *Maldonado*. All these met in the town of *Tordesillas*, and they divided the world from the north to the south, by a meridian which standeth west from the islands of cape *Verde* 300 leagues: so that the one half which lay unto the east should belong unto *Portugal*, and that which lay to the west, to the king of *Spain*; whereby, notwithstanding, liberty to travel was left equal unto both.

In the year following, 1495. *John* king of *Portugal* died, and *Emanuel* his cousin began to reign.

In the year 1496. there was a *Venetian* in *England* called *John Cabota*, who having knowlege of such a new discovery as this was, and perceiving, by the globe, that the islands before spoken of stood almost in the same latitude with his country, and much nearer to *England* than to *Portugal*, or to *Castile*, he acquainted king *Henry* the seventh, then king of *England*, with the same; wherewith the said king was greatly pleased, and furnished him out with two ships, and three hundred men: which departed and set sail in the spring of the year, and they sailed westward till they came in sight of land, in 45 degrees of latitude toward the north, and then went strait northward till they came into 60 degrees of latitude, where the day is 18 hours long, and the night is very clear and bright. There they found the air cold, and great islands of ice, but no ground in an hundred fathoms sounding; and so from thence, finding the land to turn eastward, they trended along by it, discovering all the bay and river named *Desèado*, to see if it passed on the other side. Then they sailed back again till they came to 38 degrees toward the equinoctial line; and from thence returned into *England*. There be others which say, that he went as far as the cape of *Florida*, which standeth in 25 degrees.

Gomara
historiæ
l. 4. c. 21.

In the year 1497. the king of Spain, don *Fernando*, sent out *Christopher Columbus* with six ships, and he himself provided two ships at his own cost; and, sending his brother before, he made sail from the bay of *Cadiz*, carrying with him his son, don *Diego Colon*. It was then reported, that he went to take the island of *Madeira*, because he mistrusted the *Frenchmen*, and therefore sent thither three ships: others say it was to the *Canaries*. But however it was, this is true, that he and three more went unto the islands of cape *Verde*, and ran along by the line, finding great calms and rain; and the first land which they came unto of the *Antiles* was an island, standing in nine degrees of latitude, towards the north, joining fast unto the main land, which they called *La Trinidad*, and so he entered into the gulf of *Paria*, and came out of the mouth, which they name *Bocca de Dragone*, or the *Dragon's mouth*: and they took their course hard by the coast, where they found three small islands, which they named *Los Testigos*, that is to say, *The witnesses*; beyond which standeth the island of *Cubagua*, where is great fishing of muscle-pearls: where also, as they say, there springeth a well of oil: and beyond that island they came to the isles of *Frailes*, *Roques*, *Aruba*, and *Curacao*, with other small ones all along the bay: and they came to the point of *Cabo de Vela*, and discovered along the coast almost 200 leagues: from whence they crossed over to *Hispaniola*, having had also sight of the island called *Beata*.

Barros de-
cad. 1. l. 4.
c. 2. and
to the end
of the 11.
chapter.

In this same year 1497. on the 20th day of the month of *June*, one *Vasques de Gama* sailed from *Lisbon*, by king *Emmanuel's* command, to *India*, with three ships; wherein there went for captains, *Vasques de Gama*, *Paulus de Gama* his brother, and *Nicolas Coello*, with 120 men; with whom also there went one ship, laden only with provisions; and, in fourteen days, they came unto cape *Verde*, unto the island of *Saint Jago*, where they refreshed themselves: and from thence they went along the coast, beyond the cape of *Bona Sperança*, whereupon they erected certain pillars of stone, and so came unto *Mosambique*, standing in 15 degrees to the south of the line: where they staid not long, but went from thence to *Mombaza*, and unto *Melinde*; where the king of that place gave them pilots, which conducted them into *India*; in which discovery they found out *Los Baxos do Padua*, that is to say, the flats of *Padua*.

In the year 1498. in the month of *May*, they came to an anchor before the city of *Calicut*, and *Panama*, where they remained all the winter: and the first day of Sep-

tember they set sail towards the north, discovering the coast all along till they came to the island of *Angediva*, which standeth on that side in 15 degrees of latitude, where they came to an anchor in the beginning of *October*: and so they departed from *Angediva* in *February* in the year 1499, and came in sight of the coast of *Africa*, about *Melinde*, toward the north three or four degrees; and from thence they sailed unto the said city, and so unto *Mosambique* again, and to the cape of *Bona Sperança*, sailing along by the coast; and then they came to the islands of cape *Verde*, and last of all to the city of *Lisbon*, in the month of *September*, having been in the voyage twenty-six months.

In the year 1499. on the 13th of the month of *November*, there departed from *Palos* one *Vincent Yannez Pinson*, and his nephew *Aries Pinson*, with four ships, well appointed, at their own cost and charges, to discover the new world, under the licence of the king of *Castile*, and with command not to touch there, where the admiral *Columbus* had been. And so they went to the islands of cape *Verde*, and passed the line to the southward, and discovered the cape of *Saint Augustine*, standing on that side, in eight degrees of latitude; and there they wrote on the rinds of pine-trees the names of the king and queen, also the year and day when they arrived there. They fought with the people of *Brasil*, but got nothing; they took their course all along the coast towards the west, unto the river *Maria Tambal*; and at that time they had taken thirty and odd prisoners. The chief places where they touched were the cape of *Saint Augustine*, and the angle or point of *Saint Luke*, and *Tierra de los Humos*, the rivers of *Marannon*, and of the *Amazones*, and *Rio dulce*, or the sweet river, and other places along the coast: and they came to ten degrees of latitude on the north side, where they lost two ships and their company, and remained in that voyage of discovery ten months and fifteen days.

In the year 1500. and in the month of *March*, one *Pedro Alvarez Cabral* sailed out of *Lisbon* with thirteen ships, with command not to come near the coast of *Africa* to shorten his way; and he, losing the sight of one of his ships, went to seek her; and in seeking her lost his course, and sailed till he came within sight of the land. The general was so long in seeking his ship, that the company were weary of it, and intreated him to leave his enterprize. The next day they fell in sight of the coast of *Brasil*: whereupon the general commanded a bark to go to land, and seek

Gomara
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general.

Barros
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l. 5. c. 2.

seek an haven : which they did, and found a good and safe haven, and they named it *Puerto Seguro*, that is to say, *the safe haven*, standing on the south side in 17 degrees of latitude. From thence they sailed towards the cape of *Bona Sperança*, and *Melinde*, and crossed over to the river of *Cochin*, which before was not known, where they laded themselves with pepper; and, at their return, *Sancho de Thovar* discovered the city of *Sofala* upon the coast of *Africa*.

In this same year 1500. it is reported, that *Gaspar Cortereal* craved a general licence of the king *Emanuel* to discover the *Newfoundland*. He went from the island *Tercera* with two ships, well appointed, at his own cost; and he sailed unto that climate which standeth under the north in 50 degrees of latitude, which is a land now called after his name; and he came home in safety unto the city of *Lisbon*: and, making another time this voyage, the ship was lost wherein he went, and the other came back to *Portugal*. Wherefore his brother *Michael Cortereal* went to seek him, with three ships, well appointed, at his own cost; and when they came unto that coast, and found so many entrances of rivers and havens, every ship went into her several river, with this rule and order, that they all three should meet again the 20th of *August*. The two other ships did so; and they, seeing that *Michael Cortereal* was not come at the day appointed, nor yet afterwards in a certain time, returned back to *Portugal*, and never heard any more news of him, nor yet any other memory. But that country is called, *the land of Cortereal*, unto this day.

In the year 1501. in the month of *March*, *John de Nova* departed from the city of *Lisbon* with four ships, and passed the line on the south side, into eight degrees of latitude, and he discovered an island, which he called the *Iste de Ascension*: and he went unto *Mosambique*, and to *Melinde*, and from thence he crossed over to the other side, where they took lading; and so came back, and doubled the cape, and found an island called *Saint Helena*, being but a small thing, but yet of great importance in respect of the situation thereof.

In this same year 1501. and in the month of *May*, there departed out of *Lisbon* three ships, by the order of *Emanuel* the king, to discover the coast of *Brasil*: and they sailed in the sight of the *Canaries*, and from thence to cape *Verde*, where they refreshed themselves in the town of *Bezequiche*; and passed from thence beyond the line southward, and fell in with the land of *Brasil*, in five degrees

of latitude; and so went forward till they came in 32 degrees, little more or less, according as they accounted it; and from thence they came back in the month of *April*, because it was there, at that time, cold and tempestuous. They were in that voyage fifteen months, and came to *Lisbon* again in the beginning of *September* 1502.

In the year 1502. one *Alfonso Hoieda* Gomera went to discover *Terra firma*, and followed historiæ general. l. 2. his course till he came to the province of *Uraba*.

The next year following also one *Rodrigo Bastidas*, of *Sevil*, went out with two caravels, at his own cost; and the first land of the *Antiles* that he saw was an island, which he named *Isla Verda*, that is, the *Green Island*, standing fast by the island of *Guadalupe*, towards the land: and from thence they took their course towards the west to *Santa Martha*, and cape *De la Vela*, and to *Rio Grande* or the great river; and they discovered the haven of *Zamba*, the *Coradas*, *Carthagena*, and the islands of *S. Bernard* of *Baru*, and *Islas de Arenas*; and went forward unto *Isla Fuerta*, and to the point of *Caribana*, standing at the end of the gulf of *Uraba*, where they had sight of the *Farrallones*, standing on the other side, hard by the river of *Darien*: and from cape *De la Vela* unto this place are two hundred leagues: and it standeth in nine degrees and two parts of latitude. From thence they crossed over unto the island of *Jamaica*, where they refreshed themselves. In *Hispaniola* they grounded their ships, because of the holes which certain worms of the water had eaten in the planks. In that country they got four hundred marks of gold, although the people there be more warlike than in *Nova Spania*: for they poison their arrows which they shoot.

In this same year 1502. *Christopher Columbus* Gomera entered the fourth time into his historiæ general. l. 1. c. 24. discovery, with four ships, by the command of don *Fernando*, to seek the streight, which, as they said, did divide the land from the other side; and he carried with him *Ferdinando* his son. They went first to the island of *Hispaniola*, to *Jamaica*, to the river *Azua*, to the cape of *Higuera*, to the islands *Gamares*, and to the cape of *Honduras*, that is to say, the cape of the depths. From thence they sailed towards the east, unto the cape *Gracias a Dios*, and discovered the province and river of *Veragua*, and *Rio Grande*, and others, which the *Indians* call *Hienra*: and from thence he went to the river of *Crocodiles*, which now is called *Rio de Chagres*, which hath its springs near the *South-Sea*, within four leagues of *Panama*, and runneth into the

Barros

decad. 1.

l. 5. c. 10.

the *North-Sea*: and so he went unto the island which he called *Isla de Bastimentos*, that is, the isle of victuals; and then to *Porto Bello*, that is, the fair haven; and so unto *Nombre de Dios*, and to *Rio Francisco*, and so to the haven of *Retreat*; and then to the gulph of *Cabesa Cattiva*, and to the islands of *Caperosa*, and, lastly, to the cape of *Marble*, which is two hundred leagues upon the coast: from whence they began to turn again unto the island of *Cuba*, and from thence to *Jamaica*, where he grounded his ships, being much spoiled and eaten with worms.

Barros de-
cad. 1. 1. 6.
c. 8.

In this year also, 1502. don *Vasques de Gama* being now admiral, went again into *India* with nineteen or twenty caravels. He departed from *Lisbon* the 10th day of *February*, and by the last day of that month he came to an anchor at cape *Verde*, and from thence went to *Mosambique*, and was the first that crossed from that island into *India*: and he discovered another in four degrees of latitude, which he called the *island of the admiral*; and there he took in his lading of pepper and drugs, and left there one *Vincent Sodre* to keep the coast of *India* with five ships.

These were the first *Portuguese* that, with an army, run along the coast of *Arabia Felix*. It is there so barren, that their cattle and camels are only maintained with dry fish brought from the sea, whereof there is such plenty and abundance, that the cats of the country usually take them.

In the year following, as it is reported, one *Antonio de Saldania* discovered the island which formerly was called *Coradis*, and now *Socotora*, and the cape of *Guardafu*, which adjoineth to that country.

In the year 1504. *Roderigo de Bastidas* obtained licence of king *Ferdinando*; and by the means of *John de Ledesma*, and others of *Seville*, armed and furnished out two ships, having for his pilot one *John de Cosa*, of *Saint Mary Port*; and he went and discovered that part of *terra firma* where now standeth *Carthagena*, being in ten degrees and an half of northerly latitude: and it is said that they found captain *Lewis de la Guerra*; and they together took land in the island of *Codego*, where they took 600 persons of the savages: and, going farther along the coast, they entered into the gulph of *Uraba*, where they found sand mingled with gold, being the first that was brought to king *Ferdinando*. From thence they returned to *Santo Domingo*, laden with slaves, without victuals, because they of the country would not bargain with them, which added to their great trouble and grief.

In the latter end of this year died lady *Isabella*, queen of *Castile*; which queen,

while she lived, would not suffer any man of *Arragon*, *Catalonia*, *Valencia*, nor any born in the country of don *Fernando* her husband, to enter into these discoveries, save those which were their servants, or by special command, but only the *Castilians*, *Biscaians*, and those which were of their own signories, by whom all the lands aforesaid were discovered.

In the year 1505. upon our lady-day in *March*, *Francisco de Almeida*, viceroy of *India*, took his course, with twenty-two sail, towards *India*, as now is accustomed. He came to the city of *Quiloa*, where he built a fort, appointing one *Peter Fereira* to be captain thereof: and beyond *Melinde* he traversed to the island of *Anguediva*, where he placed, as captain, one *Emmanuel Passavia*. In *Cananor* also he built another fort, giving the captainship of it to *Laurence de Brito*. In *Cochin* he did the like, where don *Alphonso de Noronia* was made captain. This year one *Peter de Anabay* built the fortress of *Sofala*, whereof also himself was made captain.

In the latter end of this year the viceroy commanded his son, whose name was don *Laurenço*, to make some entry upon the islands of *Maldiva*; and, with contrary weather, he arrived at the islands, which of antient time were called *Tragane*, but the *Moors* called them *Ytterubenero*, and we call them *Ceilan*; where he went on land, and made peace with the people there, and after went back to *Cochin*, sailing along the coast, and fully discovering it. In the midst of this island there stands a rock of stone, very high, having the sign of the foot of a man on the top of it, which they say to be the footstep of *Adam* when he went up into the heavens; and the *Indians* have it in great reverence.

In the year 1506. after the death of the queen of *Spain*, king *Philip* and queen *Joan* his wife came into *Spain* to take possession thereof, and king don *Fernando* went into *Arragon*, being his own patrimony. In this same year the said king *Philip* died, and then *Fernando* came again to govern *Spain*, and gave licence to all *Spaniards* to go to the new land, and to the *Antiles*, but not to the *Portuguese*. In this year, and in the month of *May*, *Christopher Columbus* died, and his son don *Diego Columbus* succeeded in his room.

In the year 1506. and entering into the month of *March*, *Tristan de Acunba*, and *Alphonso de Albuquerque*, went into *India*, with fourteen ships in their company, and sailed till they came to an anchor at the town of *Bezequiche*, where they

Barros de-
cad. 1. 1. 2.
c. 3.

Ib. dec. 2.
1. 1. c. 1.

they refreshed themselves : and before they came to the cape of *Bona Sperança*, in 37 degrees they found certain islands, which now are named the *isles of Tristan de Acunha*, where they had such a tempest that therewithal the fleet was dispersed. *Tristan de Acunha* and *Alphonso de Albuquerque* went to *Mosambique* ; and *Alvaro Telez* ran so far, that he came to the island of *Sumatra*, and so back again to the cape of *Guardafu* ; having discovered many islands, seas, and lands, never seen before that time by any *Portuguese*. *Emanuel Telez de Meneses* was also driven without the great island of *Saint Laurence*, and he ran along the coast thereof, and arrived at last at *Mosambique*, and there met with *Tristan de Acunha*, who was the first captain that wintered there ; and by them it was told, that in this island were much ginger, cloves, and silver ; whereupon he went and discovered much of it within the land ; but finding nothing, he came back again unto *Mosambique* ; from whence he sailed to *Melinde*, and ran along that coast, and entered into *Brava* ; and from thence they crossed over to the island of *Socotora*, where they built a fortrefs, and made one don *Antonio de Noronia* captain thereof.

In the year 1507. in the month of *August*, *Tristan de Acunha* took shipping for *India*, and *Alphonso de Albuquerque* remained there with five or six ships to keep the coast and entry of the streight ; but, being not therewith satisfied, he took his course over unto *Arabia*, and, running along that coast, he doubled the cape of *Rosalgate*, standing under the tropick of *Cancer*.

In the year 1509. one *Diego Lopez de Sequeira* went out of *Lisbon*, with four sail, to the island of *Saint Laurence*, and continued in his voyage almost a year ; and in the month of *May*, the same year, he arrived in *Cochin*, where the viceroy gave him another ship : and in the beginning of the month of *September* he took his course to *Malacca*, passing betwixt the islands of *Nicubar*, and many others. He went also to the land of *Sumatra*, to the cities of *Pedir* and *Pacem*, and all along by all that coast to the island of *a Poluoreira*, and the flats of *Capacia* : and from thence he went over to *Malacca*, standing in two degrees of latitude towards the north ; but in that city the people killed and took prisoners some of his men ; whereupon he turned back to *India*, having discovered in this voyage five hundred leagues. This island of *Sumatra* is the first land wherein we knew mens flesh to be eaten by certain people which live in the mountains, called *Bacas*, who used

to gild their teeth. They hold opinion, that the flesh of the black people is sweeter than the flesh of the white. The oxen, kine, and hens, which are in that country, are in their flesh as black as any ink. They say that there are certain people there, called *Daraqui Dara*, which have tails like sheep ; and some of their wells yield oil.

The king of *Pedir* is reported to have a river in his land running with oil ; which is a thing not to be marvelled at, seeing it is found written, that in *Baëtria* there is also a well of oil : it is farther said, that there groweth here a tree, the juice whereof is strong poison ; and if it touch the blood of a man, he dieth immediately ; but if a man drinks of it, it is a sovereign remedy against poison, so serving both for life and death. Here also they coin pieces of gold, which they call *drachms*, brought into the land, as they say, by the *Romans* ; which seemeth to have some resemblance of truth, because that from that place forward there is no coined gold : but that which is thus coined, runs current in the buying of merchandize, and other things.

In the year 1508. one *Alfonso de Hojeda*, with the favour of don *Fernando*, purposed to go to *terra firma*, to conquer the province of *Darien*. He went forth at his own charges, and discovered the firm land, where it is called *Uraba*, which he named *Castilia del Oro*, that is, *Golden Castilia*, because of the gold which they found among the sand along the coast : and they were the first *Spaniards* that did this. *Alfonso de Hojeda* went first from the island of *Hispaniola* and the city of *San Domingo*, with four ships and three hundred soldiers, leaving behind him the bachelor *Anciso*, who afterwards compiled a book of these discoveries. And after him there went also a ship with victuals, ammunition, and 150 *Spaniards*. He went on land to *Carthagena* ; but there the people of the country took, slew, and eat 70 of his soldiers ; whereupon he grew very weak.

In the year 1508. one *Diego de Niquesa* prepared seven ships in the port of *Beata*, to go to *Veragua*, and carried in them almost 800 men. When he came to *Carthagena*, he found there *Alphonso de Hojeda* much weakened by his former loss : but then they joined together, and went on land, and avenged themselves on the people. In this voyage *Diego de Niquesa* went and discovered the coast called *Nombre de Dios*, and went unto the found of *Darien*, and called it *Puerto de Misas*, which is upon the river *Pito*. When they were come unto *Veragua*, he went

on shore with his army, his soldiers being out of hope to return to *Hispaniola*. *Alfonso de Hojeda* began a fortrefs in *Caribana* against the *Caribbees*; which was the first town that the *Spaniards* builded on the firm land: and in *Nombre de Dios* they built another, and called it *Nuestra Señora de la Antigua*. They builded also the town of *Uraba*. And there they left, for their captain and lieutenant, one *Francis Pizarro*, who was there much troubled. They builded other towns also, whose names I here omit. But these captains had not that good success which they hoped for.

In the year 1509. the second admiral *Don Diego Columbus* went into the island of *Hispaniola*, with his wife and household: and she being a gentlewoman, carried with her many other women of good families, who were there married, and so the *Spaniards* and *Castilians* began to people the country: for *Don Fernando* the king had given them licence to discover and people the towns of *Hispaniola*; so that the same place grew to be famous, and much frequented. The foresaid admiral also gave order to people the island of *Cuba*, which is very great and large; and placed there as his lieutenant one *Diego Velasques*, who went with his father in the second voyage.

Barros de-
cad. 2. l. 5.
c. 10. and
l. 6. c. 2.
Barros de-
cad. 2. l. 6.
c. 5.
In the year 1511. in the month of April, *Alfonso de Albuquerque* went from the city of *Cochin* unto *Malacca*: in which year and month the *Chineans* went from *Malacca* into their own country, and *Alfonso* sent with them, for master, a *Portugal* called *Duarte Fernandes*, with letters also, and order unto the king of the *Mantias*, which now is called *Sian*, standing in the south. They passed through the streight of *Cincapura*, and sailed towards the north, went along the coast of *Patane*, unto the city of *Cuy*, and from thence to *Odia*, which is the chief city of the kingdom, standing in 14 degrees of northerly latitude. The king greatly honoured and welcomed *Duarte Fernandes*, being the first *Portugal* that he had seen, and with him he sent back embassadors to *Albuquerque*. They passed over land towards the west unto the city of *Tanaçerim*, standing upon the sea on the other side in 12 degrees, where they embarqued themselves in two ships, and sailed along the coast unto the city of *Malacca*, leaving it all discovered.

The people of this country of *Sian* are people that eat of all kind of beasts, or vermin. They have a delight to carry round bells within the skin of their privy members: which is forbidden to the king and the religious people. It is said, that of all other people of those parts they be most virtuous and honest. They commend

themselves much for their chastity and poverty. They bring no hens nor doves up in their houses. This kingdom hath in length 250 leagues, and in breadth 80. Of this kingdom only the king may bring forth into the field thirty thousand elephants, when he goeth to war, besides those which remain in the cities for the guard of them. The king much esteemeth a white elephant, and a red one also, that hath eyes like unto flaming fire.

There is in this country a certain small vermin, which useth to cleave fast to the trunk of the elephant, and draweth the blood of the elephant, and so he dieth thereof. The skull of this vermin is so hard, that the shot of a musquet cannot enter it: they have in their livers the figures of men and women, which they call *Toketa*, and are much like unto a mandrake. And they affirm, that he which hath one of them about him cannot die with the stroke of any iron. They have also wild kine in this country, in the heads of whom they find stones, which are of virtue to bring good fortune to merchants.

After that *Duarte Fernandes* had been with the *Mantales* or people of *Sian*, *Alfonso de Albuquerque* sent thither a knight called *Ruy Nunnez de Acunba*, with letters and embassage unto the king of the *Seguies*, which we call *Pegu*. He went in a junk of the country, in sight of the cape *Rachado*, and from thence went unto the city of *Pera*, which standeth fast by the river *Salano*, and many other villages standing all along this river, where *Duarte Fernandes* had been before, unto the cities of *Tanaçerim* and of *Martavan*, standing in 15 degrees toward the north, and the city of *Pegu* standeth in 17. This was the first *Portugal* which travelled in that kingdom: and he gave good information of that country, and of the people, which used to wear bells in their privities, even as the *Mantales* do.

In the end of this year 1511. *Alfonso de Albuquerque* sent three ships to the islands of *Banda* and *Malacca*. And there went as
Barros de-
cad. 2. l. 6.
c. 7.
general of them one *Antonio de Breu*, and with him also went one *Francis Serrano*; and in these ships there were an hundred and twenty persons. They passed through the streight of *Saban*, and along the island of *Sumatra*, and others, leaving them on the left hand, towards the east: and they called them the *Salites*. They went also to the islands of *Palimbam* and *Lu Suporam*; from whence they sailed by the noble island of *Java*, and they ran their course east, sailing between it and the island of *Madura*. The people of this island are very warlike and strong, and do little regard their lives. The women also are there.

there hired for the wars: and they fall out often together, and kill one another, as the *Mocos* do, delighting only in shedding of blood.

Beyond the island of *Java* they sailed along by another called *Bali*: and then came also unto others called *Avejave*, *Sambaba*, *Solor*, *Galao*, *Malva*, *Vitara*, *Rosalanguin*, and *Arus*, whence are brought delicate birds, which are of great estimation because of their feathers: they came also to other islands lying in the same parallel on the south side in 7 or 8 degrees of latitude. And they are so near the one to the other, that they seem at the first to be one intire and main land. The course by these islands is about 500 leagues. The antient cosmographers call all these islands by the name of *Javos*: but late experience hath found their names to be very diverse, as you see. Beyond these there are other islands toward the north, which are inhabited with whiter people, going arrayed in shirts, doublets and slops like unto the *Portuguese*, having also money of silver. The governors among them carry in their hands red staves, whereby they seem to have some affinity with the people of *China*. There are other islands and people about this place, which are red; and it is reported, that they are of the people of *China*.

Antonio de Breu, and those that went with him, took their course toward the north, where is a small island called *Gumnape* or *Ternate*, from the highest place whereof there fall continually into the sea flakes or streams like unto fire; which is a wonderful thing to behold. From thence they went to the islands of *Burro* and *Amboyna*, and came to an anchor in an haven called *Guliguli*, where they went on land, and took a village standing by the river, where they found dead men hanging in the houses; for the people there are eaters of man's flesh. Here the *Portuguese* burnt the ship wherein *Francis Serrano* was, for she was old and rotten. They went to a place on the other side, standing in 8 degrees toward the south, where they laded cloves, nutmegs, and mace, in a junk or barque, which *Francis Serrano* bought here.

They say that not far from the islands of *Banda* there is an island, where there breedeth nothing else but snakes, and the most are in one cave in the midst of the land. This is a thing not much to be wondered at; forasmuch as in the *Levant* sea, hard by the isles of *Majorca* and *Minorca*, there is another island, of old named *Ophiusa*, and now *Formentera*, wherein is abundance of these vermin: and in the rest of the islands lying by it there are none.

In the year 1512. they departed from

Banda toward *Malacca*, and on the baxos or flats of *Luçapinbo Francis Serrano* perished in his junk or barque, from whence escaped unto the isle of *Mindanao* nine or ten *Portuguese*, which were with him, and the kings of *Malacca* sent for them. These were the first *Portuguese* that came to the islands of cloves, which stand from the equinoctial line towards the north in one degree, where they lived seven or eight years.

The island of *Gumnape*, now called *Ternate*, is much to be admired; for that it casteth out fire. There were some princes of the *Moors*, and courageous *Portuguese*, which determined to go near to the fiery place to see what it was; but they could never come near it. But *Antony Galvano*, hearing of it, undertook to go up to it, and did so; and found a river so extreme cold, that he could not suffer his hand in it, nor yet put any of the water in his mouth: and yet this place standeth under the line, where the sun continually burneth. In these islands of *Malacca* there is a kind of men that have spurs on their ancles like unto cocks. And it was told me by the king of *Tydore*, that in the islands of *Batochina* were people that had tails, and had a thing like unto a dug between their testicles, out of which came milk. There are small hens also, which lay their eggs under the ground above a fathom and an half, and the eggs are bigger than ducks eggs, and many of these hens are black in their flesh. There are hogs also with horns, and parrots which prattle much, which they call *Noris*. There is also a river of water so hot, that whatsoever living creature cometh into it, their skins will come off; and yet fish breed in it. There are crabs which are very sweet, and so strong in their claws, that they will break the iron of a pickax. There are others also in the sea, little and hairy; but whoever eateth of them dieth immediately. There are likewise certain oysters, which they call *Bras*, the shells whereof have so large a compass, that they christen in them. In the sea also there are lively stones, which grow and increase like unto fish, whereof very good lime is made: and if they let it lie when it is taken out of the water, it loseth the strength, and it never burneth after. There is also a certain tree, which beareth flowers at the sunset, which fall down as soon as they are grown. There is a fruit also, as they say, whereof if a woman that is conceived of child eateth, the child by-and-by moveth. There is further a kind of herb there growing, which followeth the sun, and removeth after it, which is a very strange and marvellous thing.

In

Barros de-
cad. 2. 1. 7.
c. 1.

In the year 1512. in the month of January, *Alonso de Albuquerque* went back from *Malacca* unto *Goa*, and the ship wherein he went was lost, and the rest went from his company. *Simon de Andrada*, and a few *Portuguese*, were driven unto the islands of *Maldiva*, being many, and full of palm-trees; and they stand low, by the water: who stayed there till they knew what was become of their governor. These were the first *Portuguese* that had seen those islands, wherein there grow *cocos*, which are very good against all kind of poison.

In this year 1512. there went out of *Castile* one *John de Solis* born in *Lisbon*, and chief pilot unto *Don Fernando*. And he having licence went to discover the coast of *Brasil*. He took the like course that the *Pinsons* had done: he went also to the cape of *St. Augustine*, and went forwards to the south, coasting the shore and land, and he came unto the port *De Lagoa*: and in 35 degrees of southerly latitude he found a river, which they of *Brasil* call *Paranaguacu*, that is, *the great water*. He saw there signs of silver, and therefore called it *Rio de Plata*, that is, *the river of silver*. And it is said, that at that time he went farther, because he liked the country well: but he returned back again into *Spain*, and made account of all things to *Don Fernando*, demanding of the king the government thereof, which the king granted him. Whereupon he provided three ships, and with them, in the year 1515. he went again into that kingdom; but he was there slain. These *Solises* were great discoverers in those parts, and spent therein their lives and goods.

Pet. Mar-
tyr de-
cad. 3.
c. 10.

Ibid. de-
cad. 2.
c. 10.
Gomara
hist. gen.
l. 2. c. 10.

Pet. Mar-
tyr de-
cad. 3.
c. 10.

Pet. Mar-
tyr de-
cad. 3.
c. 1.

In the same year 1512. *John Ponce* of *Leon*, who had been governor of the isle of *St. John*, armed two ships, and a went to seek the isle of *Boyuca*, where the natives of the country reported to be well, which maketh old men young. Whereupon he laboured to find it out, and was in searching for it the space of six months, but could find no such thing. He entered into the isle of *Bimini*; and discovered a point of the firm land standing in 25 degrees towards the north, upon *Easter-day*, and therefore he named it *Florida*. And because the land seemed to yield gold and silver, and great riches, he begged it of the king *Don Fernando*, but he died in the discovery of it, as many more have done.

In the year 1513. *Vasco Nunnes de Valboa* hearing speech and news of the *South-Sea*; determined to go thither, although his company dissuaded him from that action. But being a man of good valour, with those soldiers that he had, being two hundred and ninety; he resolved to put

himself into that jeopardy. He went therefore from *Darien* the first of *September*, carrying some *Indians* of the country with him to be his guides, and he marched across the land; sometimes quietly, sometimes in war: and in a certain place called *Careca* he found *Negroes*, captives, with curled hair. This *Valboa* came to the sight of the *South-Sea* on the twenty-fifth day of the said month, and on *St. Michael's day* came unto it: where he embarked himself against the will of *Chiapes*, who was the lord of that coast; who wished him not to do so, because it was very dangerous for him. But he, desirous to have it known, that he had been upon those seas, went forwards, and came back again to land in safety, and with great content, bringing with him good store of gold, silver, and pearls, which there they took. For which good service of his *Don Ferdinando*, the king, greatly favoured and honoured him.

This year 1513. in the month of February, *Alfonso de Albuquerque* went from the city of *Goa* towards the streight of *Mecha*, with twenty ships. They arrived at the city of *Aden*, and battered it, and passed forward, and entered into the streight. They say that they saw a cross in the element, and worshipped it. They wintered in the island of *Camaran*. This was the first *Portuguese* captain that gave information of those seas, and of that of *Persia*, being things in the world of great account.

In the year 1514. and in the month of May, there went out of *St. Lucar* one *Pedro Arias de Avila*, at the command of *Don Ferdinando*. He was the fourth governor of *Castilia del Oro* or *golden Castile*: for so they named the countries of *Darien*, *Cartagena*, and *Uraba*, and that country which was newly conquered. He carried with him his wife, the lady *Elizabeth*, and fifteen hundred men, in seven ships; and the king appointed *Vasco Nunnes de Valboa* governor of the *South-Sea*, and of that coast.

In the beginning of the year 1515. the governor *Pedro Arias de Avila* sent one *Gaspar Morales* with an hundred and fifty men, unto the gulph of *St. Michael*, to discover the islands of *Tararequi*, *Chiapes*, and *Tumaccus*. There was a *Casique*, *Valboa's* friend, which gave him many canoes or boats made of one tree, to row in, wherein they passed unto the island of *Pearls*; the lord whereof resisted them at their coming on land. But *Chiapes* and *Tumaccus* did pacify him, in such order that the captain of the isle had them home unto his house, and made much of them, and received baptism at their hands, naming him *Pedro Arias*, after the governor's

Ibid. de-
cad. 3.
c. 10.
Gomara
hist. gen.
l. 6. c. 2.
name;

name; and he gave unto them, for this, a basket full of pearls, weighing an hundred and ten pounds, whereof some were as big as hasel nuts, of twenty, twenty-five, twenty-six or thirty-one carats: and every carat is four grains. There was given for one of them one thousand two hundred ducats. This island of *Tararequi* standeth in five degrees of latitude towards the north.

In this year, 1515. in the month of *March*, the governor sent one *Gonsalvo de Badajos*, with eighty soldiers, to discover new lands; and they went from *Darien* to *Nombre de Dios*, where came unto them one *Lewis de Mercado*, with fifty men more, which the governor sent to aid him. They determined to discover toward the south, saying that that country was the richest. They took with them *Indians* to be their guides, and, going along the coast, they found slaves marked with irons as the *Portuguese* do use; and, having marched a good way through the countries with great travel, they gathered together much gold, and forty slaves to do them service: but one *Casique* named *Pariza* did set upon them, and slew and took the most part of them.

The governor, hearing of this news, the same year, 1515. sent forth his son *John Arias de Avila* to be revenged, and to discover also by sea and by land. They went westward to cape *De Guerra*, standing in little more than six degrees towards the north, and from thence unto *Punta de Borica*, and to cape *Blanco*, or the white cape, standing in eight degrees and an half: they discovered 250 leagues, as they affirm, and peopled the city of *Panama*.

In this very year, 1515. in the month of *May*, *Alfonso de Albuquerque*, governor of *India*, sent from the city of *Ormuz* one *Fernando Gomes de Lemos* as ambassador unto *Xec* or *Sbaugh Ismael* king of *Persia*; and it is declared, that they travelled in it 300 leagues, and that it is a pleasant country like unto *France*. This *Xec* or *Sbaugh Ismael* went on hunting, and fishing for trouts, whereof there are many: and there be the fairest women in all the world; and so *Alexander the Great* affirmed, when he called them, the women with golden eyes. And this year the worthy viceroy *Alfonso de Albuquerque* died.

In the year 1416. and one hundred years after the taking of *Ceuta* in *Barbary*, *Lopez Suares* being governor of *India*, there was a dispatch made by the command of the king's highness unto one *Fernando Perez de Andrada* to pass to the great country and kingdom of *China*. He went from the city of *Cochin* in the month of *April*. They received pepper, being the principal merchandize to be sold in all *China*, of any

value: and he was farther commanded by the king *Don Emanuel* to go also to *Ben-gala* with his letter and dispatch to a knight called *John Coelo*. This was the first *Portuguese* as far as I know, which drank of the water of the river *Ganges*.

This year 1516. died *Don Ferdinando*, king of *Spain*.

In the year 1517. *Fernando Perez* went unto the city of *Malacca*; and in the month of *June* he departed from thence towards *Cnina*, with eight ships, four *Portuguese*, and the others *Malabans*. He arrived in *China*: and because he could not come on land without an embassage, there was one *Thomas Perez* which had order for it: and he went from the city of *Canton*, where they came to an anchor: they went by land 400 leagues, and came unto the city of *Pekin*, where the king was: for this province and country is the biggest that is in the world. It beginneth at *Sailana*, in 20 degrees of latitude towards the north, and it endeth almost in 50 degrees, which must be 500 leagues in length: and they say, that it containeth 300 leagues in breadth. *Fernando Perez* was fourteen months in the isle *De Veniaga*, learning as much as he could of the country, according as the king his master had commanded him. And although one *Raphael Pere-strello* had been there in a junk or barque of certain merchants of *Malacca*, yet unto *Fernando Perez* there ought to be given the praise of this discovery; as well for that he had command from the king, as in discovering so much with *Thomas Perez* by land, and *George Mascarenbas* by sea, and for coasting unto the city of *Foquiem* standing in 24 degrees of latitude.

In this same year, 1517. *Charles*, which afterward was emperor, came into *Spain*, and took possession thereof. And in the same year *Francis Fernandes de Cordova*, *Christopher Morantes*, and *Lopez Ochoa*, armed three ships at their own proper charges, from the island of *Cuba*. They had also with them a barque of *Diego Velasques's*, who then was governor: they came on land in *Jucatan* standing in 20 degrees of latitude, at a point which they called *Punta de las duennas*; that is to say, the point of ladies; which was the first place wherein they had seen temples, and buildings of lime and stone. The people here go better apparelled than in any other place. They have crosses which they worship, setting them upon their tombs when they are buried: whereby it seemeth, that in times past they had in that place the faith of *Christ* among them. And some say, that thereabouts were the seven cities. They went round about it towards the north, which is on the right-hand: from

Gomar.
hist gen.
l. 3. c. 2.

Pet. Mar-
tyr de-
cad. 3.
c. 10.

Barros
decad. 2.
l. 10. c. 5.
Oforius
l. 10.
p. 277.

whence they turned back unto the island of *Cuba*, with some samples of gold, and men which they had taken. And this was the first beginning of the discovery of *New Spain*.

In the year 1518. *Lopez Suares* commanded Don *John de Silveira* to go to the islands of *Maldiva*; and he made peace with them: and from thence he went to the city of *Chatigam*, situate on the mouth of the river *Ganges*, and tropick of *Cancer*. For this river, and the river *Indus*, which standeth 100 leagues beyond the city of *Diu*, and that of *Canton* in *China*, do all fall into the sea, under one parallel or latitude. And although before that time *Fernando Perez* had been commanded to go to *Bengala*, yet notwithstanding *John de Silveira* ought to bear away the commendation of this discovery; because he went as captain-general, and remained there longest, learning the commodities of the country, and manners of the people.

In the said year 1518. the first day of *May*, *Diego Velasques*, governor of the island of *Cuba*, sent his nephew *John de Grisalva*, with four ships and two hundred soldiers, to discover the land of *Jucatan*. And they found in their way the island of *Columel*, standing towards the north in 19 degrees, and named it *Santa Cruz*, because they came to it the third of *May*. They coasted the land lying upon the left hand of the gulph, and came to an island called *Ascension*, because they came unto it upon *Ascension-day*: they went unto the end of it standing in 16 degrees of latitude: from whence they came back, because they could find no place to go out at: and from hence they went round about it to another river, which they call the river of *Grisalva*, standing in 17 degrees of latitude: the people thereabout troubled them sore, yet notwithstanding they brought from thence some gold, silver, and feathers, being there in great estimation; and so they turned back again to the island of *Cuba*.

In the same year 1518. one *Francis Garay* armed three ships in the isle of *Jamaica*, at his own charges, and went towards the point of *Florida*, standing in 25 degrees towards the north, seeming to them to be an island most pleasant, thinking it better to people islands than the firm land, because they could best conquer them and keep them. They went there on land, but the people of *Florida* killed many of them, so that they durst not inhabit it. So they sailed along the coast, and came unto the river of *Panuco*, standing 500 leagues from the point of *Florida*, in sailing along the coast; but the people resisted them in every place. Many of them also were killed in *Chila*, whom the savages flayed

and eat, hanging up their skins in their temples, in memorial of their valour. Notwithstanding all this *Francis de Garay* went thither the next year, and begged the government of that country of the emperor, because he saw in it some shew of gold and silver.

In the year 1519. in the month of *February*, *Fernando Cortes* went from the island of *Cuba*, to the land which is called *Nova Spagna*, with eleven ships and five hundred and fifty *Spaniards* in them. The first place where he went on the land was the island of *Cofumel*; where they immediately destroyed all the idols, and set crosses on the altars, and the images of the virgin *Mary*. From this island they went, and arrived on the firm land of *Jucatan*, at the point *De las duennas*, or the point of ladies; and went thence to the river of *Tavasco*, and set upon a city hard by called *Potoncion*, environed with wood, and the houses were built with lime and stone, and covered with tile: they fought there eagerly; and there appeared unto them *St. James* on horseback, which increased their courage. They called that city *Victoria*: and they were the first people which were subdued to the *Spaniards* obedience in all *New Spain*. From hence they went discovering the coast till they came unto a place named *St. John de Vilbua*, distant, as they said, from *Mexico*, where the king *Mutezuma* was, 60 or 70 leagues: and there was a servant of his that governed that province, named *Tendilli*, which gave them good entertainment, although they understood not one another. But *Cortes* had twenty women, whereof one was called *Marine*, born in that country: they were the first that were baptized in *New Spain*. And from that time forward *Marine* and *Aguilar* served as interpreters. *Tendilli* presently gave knowledge of this unto *Mutezuma*, that a kind of bearded people were arrived in his country: for so they called the *Castilians*. But he was troubled upon that news: for his Gods (which are to be thought to be devils) had told him, that such people as the *Spaniards* were, should destroy his law and country, and be lords thereof. And therefore he sent gifts unto *Cortes*, in value twenty thousand ducats, but would not come to him.

Because *S. John de Vilbua* was then no place for a navy to ride in, *Cortes* sent *Francis de Montejo*, and the pilot *Antony Alaminos*, in two brigantines, to discover that coast; who came to a place where they might ride without danger. They came to *Panuco*, standing in 23 degrees northward: from whence they came back, upon an agreement to go to *Culvacan*, being an haven of more safety. They set

Castagne-
da l. 4.
c. 36 & 37.
Olorius
l. 11. f. 315.
p. 2.

Pet. Mar-
tyr de-
cad. 4. c. 4.
Gomar.
hist. gen.
l. 2. c. 14
& 17.

Gomar.
hist. gen.
lib. 1. c. 12
and 61.

Pet. Mar-
tyr de-
cad. 4. c. 6.

Gomar.
hist. gen.
l. 2. c. 18,
&c.

Gomar.
hist. gen.
l. 2. c. 21,
22, 23, 24.

fail, but *Cortes* went by land westward, with the most part of his men, on horseback, and they came unto a city called *Zempoallan*, where they were well received. And from thence he went to another town, called *Chiavitzilan*: with the lord of which town, as with all the country besides, he made league to be against *Mutçuma*. And when he knew that his ships were come, he went unto them, and there built a town, and called it *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*. From whence he sent unto *Charles* the emperor a present, and made report of all that he had done, and that he had determined to go to *Mexico*, and to visit *Mutçuma*: and besought the emperor to give him the government of that country. And because his people should not rise in mutiny, as they began, he destroyed all his ships.

Cortes presently went from *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*, leaving there one hundred and fifty *Spanish* horsemen, and as many *Indians*, to serve them; and the villages round about became his friends. He went unto the city of *Zempoallan*: there he heard news that *Francis Garay* was on the coast with four ships, to come to land: and by subtilty he got nine of his men; of whom he understood, that *Garay* had been in *Florida*, and came unto the river *Panuco*, where he got some gold, determining to stay there, in a town which is now called *Almeria*.

Gomara
historiæ
l. 2. c. 25.

Cortes overthrew the idols in *Zempoallan*, and the tombs of their kings, whom they worshipped as Gods; and told them that they were to worship the true God. From thence he went toward *Mexico* the 16th day of *August* 1519. and travelled three days journey, and came to the city of *Zalapan*, and to another beyond it named *Sicuchimatl*, where they were well received, and offered to be conducted to *Mexico*, because *Mutçuma* had given such command. Beyond this place he passed, with his company, a certain hill, of three leagues high, wherein there were vines: in another place they found above a thousand load of wood ready cut; and beyond they met with a plain country, and in going through the same, he named it *Nombre de Dios*. At the bottom of the mountain he rested, in a town called *Teubixuacan*; and from thence they went through a desolate country, and so came to another mountain, that was very cold, and full of snow; and they lay in a town named *Zaclotan*: and so from town to town they were well received and feasted till they came into another realm, named *Tlaxcallan*, which waged war against *Mutçuma*; and, being valiant, they skirmished with *Cortes*; but

in the end they agreed, and entered into league with him against the *Mexicans*; and so they went from country to country till they came within sight of *Mexico*. The king *Mutçuma* fearing them, gave them good entertainment, with lodging and all things necessary: and they were with this for a time contented; but mistrusting that he and his should be slain, he took *Mutçuma* prisoner, and brought him to his lodging with good guard. *Cortes* demanded how far his realm did extend, and sought to know the mines of gold and silver that were in it, and how many kings, neighbours to *Mutçuma*, dwelled therein, requiring certain *Indians* to be informed thereof, whereof he had eight provided: and he joined to them eight *Spaniards*, and sent them, two and two, into four countries, namely, into *Zucolla*, *Malinaltepec*, *Tenich*, and *Tututepec*. They which went unto *Zucolla* went 80 leagues; for so much it was from *Mexico* thither: they which went to *Malinaltepec* went 70 leagues, seeing goodly countries, and brought samples of gold, which the natives of the country took out of great rivers: and all this province belonged to *Mutçuma*.

The country of *Tenich*, and up the river, were not subject to *Mutçuma*, but had war with him, and would not suffer the *Mexicans* to enter into their territory. They sent ambassadors unto *Cortes* with presents, offering him their estate and amity; whereof *Mutçuma* was nothing glad. They which went to *Tututepec*, standing near the *South-Sea*, did also bring with them samples of gold, and praised the pleasantness of the country, and the multitude of good harbours upon that coast; shewing to *Cortes* a cloth of cotton wool, all woven with goodly works, wherein all the coast, with the havens and creeks, were set forth. But this thing Gomara then could not be prosecuted, by reason of historiæ the coming of *Pamphilus de Narvaez* into general. the country, who set all the kingdom of *Mexico* in an uproar. l. 2. c. 48.

In this year 1519. the 10th day of *August*, one *Fernando de Magellanes* departed from *Sevil*, with five ships, toward the islands of *Malacca*: he went along the coast of *Brasil*, till he came unto the river of *Plate*, which the *Castilians* had before discovered. From thence therefore he began his discovery, and came to an haven, which he called the port of *Saint Julian*, standing in 49 degrees; and there he entred and wintred. they endured much cold by reason of snow and ice: the people of that country they found to be of great stature, and of great strength; taking

Gomara
historiæ
general.
l. 4. c. 2.

ing men by the legs, and rending them in the midst, as easily as one of us will rend an hen: they live by fruits and hunting. They call them *Patagones*, but the *Brazilians* call them *Morcos*.

In the year 1520. in the beginning of the month of *September*, growing then somewhat temperate, they went out of the port and river of *Saint Julian*, having lost in it one of their ships; and, with the other four, he came to the streights, named after the name of *Magellanes*, standing in 52 degrees and a half. From thence one of the ships returned back to *Castile*, whereof was captain and pilot one *Stephen de Porto*, a *Portugal*; and the other three went forward, entering into a mighty sea, called *Pacificum*, without seeing any inhabited land till they came in 13 degrees, towards the north of the equinoctial: in which latitude they came unto islands which they called *Los Jardines*; and from thence they sailed to the *Archipelagus* of *S. Lazarus*; and in one of the islands, called *Matan*, *Magellanes* was slain, and his ship was burnt; and the other two went to *Borneo*; and so from place to place they went back, until they came to the islands of *Maluccas*, leaving many others discovered, which I rehearse not, because I find not this voyage exactly written.

About this time pope *Lea* the tenth sent one *Paulus Centurio*, as ambassador to the great duke of *Muscovy*, to wish him to send into *India* an army along the coast of *Tartary*. And, by the reasons of this ambassador, the said duke was almost persuaded to that action, if other inconveniences had not prevented him.

In this same year 1520. in *February*, *Diego Lopes de Sequeira*, governor of *India*, went towards the streight of *Mecca*, and carried with him the ambassador of *Presbyter John*, and *Roderigo de Lima*, who also went as ambassador to him. They came unto the island of *Maçua*, standing in the *Red-Sea*, on the side of *Africa*, in 17 degrees towards the north; where he set the ambassadors on land, with the *Portugals* that should go with them. *Peter de Covillan* had been there before, being sent thither by king *John* the second of *Portugal*: but yet *Francis Alvarez* gave principal light and knowlege of that country.

In the year 1520. the licentiate *Lucas Vasques de Aillon*, and other inhabitants of *S. Domingo*, furnished two ships, and sent them to the isles of *Lucayos* to get slaves; and finding none, they passed along by the firm land beyond *Florida*, unto certain countries called *Chicora* and *Gualdape*, unto the river *Jordan* and the cape of *Saint*

Helena, standing in 32 degrees toward the north. They of the country came down to the sea-side to see the ships, as having never before seen the like. The *Spaniards* went on land, where they received good entertainment, and had given unto them such things as they were in need of: but they brought many of them into their ships, and then set sail, and brought them away for slaves; but in the way one of their ships sunk, and the other was also in great danger. By this news the licentiate *Aillon*, knowing the wealth of the country, begged the government thereof of the emperor, and it was given him; whither he went to get money to pay his debt.

About this time *Diego Velasques*, governor of *Cuba*, hearing the good success of *Cortes*, and that he had begged the government of *New Spain*, which he held to be his, he furnished out thither, against *Cortes*, 18 ships, with 1000 men and 80 horses, whereof he sent as general one *Pamphilus de Narvaez*. He came unto the town, called *Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz*, where he took land, and commanded those of the country to receive him as governor thereof: but they took his messenger prisoner, and sent him to *Mexico*, where *Cortes* was. Which thing being known by *Cortes*, he wrote letters unto *Narvaez*, not to raise any uproar in the country which he had discovered, offering him obedience, if he had any commission from the emperor; but he corrupted the people of the country with money. Whereupon *Cortes* went from *Mexico*, and took *Narvaez* prisoner in the town of *Zempoallan*, and put out one of his eyes.

Narvaez being thus taken prisoner, his army submitted themselves to *Cortes*, and obeyed him. Whereupon presently he dispatched 200 soldiers unto the river of *Garay*, and he sent *John Vasquez de Leon*, with other 200, unto *Cosacalco*; and withal sent a *Spaniard*, with the news of his victory, unto *Mexico*. But the *Indians*, being in the mean time risen, hurt the messenger. Which being known to *Cortes*, he mustered his men, and found 1000 footmen, and 200 horsemen, with which he went towards *Mexico*, where he found *Peter de Alvarado*, and the rest which he had left there, alive and in safety; wherewith he was greatly pleased, and *Muteçuma* made much of him. But yet the *Mexicans* ceased not, but made war against him: and the war grew so hot, that they killed their king *Muteçuma* with a stone. And then there rose up another king, such a one as pleased them, till such time as they might put the *Spaniards* out of the city; being

Gomara
historia
general.
l. 4. c. 3.
Pet. N ar-
tyr. de-
cad 5. c. 7.

Gomara
l. 4. c. 17.
Rumofius
1 vol. fol.
374.

Ramofius
1 vol. fol.
190.

Gomara
hist. gen.
l. 2. c. 7.

hist. gen.
l. 2. c. 48.

Gomara
hist. gen.
l. 2. c. 50

being no more than 504 footmen, and 40 horsemen. The *Spaniards*, with great loss, being driven out of *Mexico*, retired themselves with much ado to *Tlaxcallan*; where they were well received: and there they gathered together 900 *Spaniards*, 80 horsemen, and 200,000 *Indians*, their friends and allies; and they went back again to take *Mexico*, in the month of *August*, in the year 1521.

Gomara
hist. gen.
l. 2. c. 60

Cortes obtaining still more and more victories, determined to see farther within the country: and for this purpose, in the year 1521. and in *October*, he sent out one *Gonsalo de Sandoval*, with 200 footmen, and 35 horsemen, and certain *Indians*, his friends, unto *Tochtepec* and *Coazacoalco*, which had rebelled, but at length yielded. And they discovered the country, and built a town 120 leagues from *Mexico*, and named it *Medelin*: and another town they made, naming it *Santo Spirito*, four leagues from the sea, upon a river: and these two towns kept the whole country in obedience.

Osorius l.
12. f. 365

This year 1521. in *December*, *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, died; and after him his son king *John* the third reigned.

Gomara
hist. gen.
l. 4. c. 8.

In the year 1521. there went from *Malacca* one of *Magellan's* ships, laden with cloves: they victualled themselves in the island of *Burro*, and from thence went to *Timor*, which standeth in 11 degrees of southerly latitude. Beyond this island, 100 leagues, they discovered certain islands, and one named *Eude*, finding the places from thenceforward peopled. Afterward passing without *Sumatra*, they met with no land, till they fell with the cape of *Bona Sperança*, where they took in fresh water and wood: so they came by the islands of cape *Verde*, and from thence to *Sevil*, where they were notably received, as well for the cloves that they brought, as that they had compassed about the world.

Gomara
hist. gen.
l. 6. c. 4.

In the year 1522. in *January*, one *Gil-gonzales* armed four ships in the island of *Tararequi*, standing in the *South-Sea*, with intent to discover the coast of *Nicaragua*; and especially a streight or passage from the *South-Sea* into the *North-Sea*. And sailing along the coast, he came unto an haven, called *S. Vincent*, and there landed with 100 *Spaniards* and certain horsemen, and went within the land 200 leagues; and he brought with him 200 pesos of gold, and so came back again to *S. Vincent*: where he found his pilot *Andrew Nigno*, who was as far as *Tecoantepec*, in 16 degrees to the north, and had sailed three hundred leagues: from whence they returned to *Panama*, and so over land to *Hispaniola*.

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In the same year 1522. in the month of *April*, the other ship of *Magellan*, called *The Trinity*, went from the island of *Tidore*, wherein was captain *Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa*, steering their course toward *Nova Spania*: and because the wind was scant, they steared toward the north-east, into 16 degrees, where they found two islands, and named them the isles of *Saint John*: and in that course they came to another island, in 20 degrees, which they named *La Griega*; where the simple people came into their ships; of whom they kept some to shew them in *Nova Spania*: they were in this course four months, until they came into 42 degrees of northerly latitude; where they saw sea fishes, called seals and tunnies. And the climate seemed to them coming newly out of the heat, to be so cold and intemperate, that they could not well bear it, and therefore they turned back again to *Tidore*, being thereunto enforced also by contrary winds: these were the first *Spaniards* which had been in so high a latitude toward the north. And there they found one *Antony de Britto* building a fortress; who took from them their goods, and sent forty-eight of them prisoners to *Malacca*.

In this year 1522. *Cortes*, desirous to have some havens on the *South-Sea*, and to discover the coast of *Nova Spania* on that side, whereof he had knowlege in *Muteçuma's* time (because he thought by that way to bring the drugs from *Malacca* and *Banda*, and the spices from *Java*, with less travel and danger), he sent four *Spaniards*, with their guides, to *Tecoantepec*, *Quabutemallan*, and other havens: where they were well received, and brought some of the people with them to *Mexico*: and *Cortes* made much of them; and afterwards sent ten pilots thither to search the seas thereabout. They went 70 leagues in the sea, but found no haven. One *Casique*, or lord called *Cuchataquir*, used them well; and sent with them to *Cortes* two hundred of his men, with a present of gold and silver, and other things of the country: and they of *Tecoantepec* did the like. And, not long after, this *Casique* sent for aid to *Cortes* against his neighbours, which did war against him.

In the year 1523. *Cortes* sent unto him for his aid *Peter de Alavardo*, with two hundred footmen, and forty horsemen; and the *Casiques* of *Tecoantepec* and *Quabutemallan* asked them for the monsters of the sea, which came thither the year past, meaning the ships of *Gil Gonzales de Avila*, being greatly amazed at the sight of them, and wondering much more when they heard that *Cortes* had bigger than those:

5 F

and

Callagne-
da historia
della Indie
Orientali
l. 6. c. 41.
Gomara
hist. gen.
l. 4. c. 8.
et 12.

Gomara
hist. gen.
l. 6. c. 12.

Gomara
hist. gen.
l. 6. c. 12.

and they painted to them a mighty carake, with six masts, and sails and shrouds, and men armed on horseback. This *Alvarado* went through the county, and built there the city of *Saint Jago* or *Saint James*, and a town which he called *Segura*, leaving certain of his people in it.

Castag.
hist. delle
Ind. Ori-
ent. l. 6.
c. 42.

In the same year, 1523. in the month of May, *Antonio de Britto*, being captain of the isles of *Malacca*, sent his chosen *Simon de Bru* to learn the way, by the isle of *Borneo*, to *Malacca*: they came in sight of the islands of *Manada* and *Panguensara*: they went through the streight of *Treminao* and *Taguy*, and to the islands of *Saint Michael*, standing in seven degrees; and from thence discovered the islands of *Borneo*, and had sight of *Pedra Branca*, or the *White Stone*; and passed through the streight of *Cincapura*, and so to the city of *Malacca*.

Gomara
hist. gen.
l. 2. c. 61.

In this same year, 1523. *Cortes* went with 300 footmen, 150 horsemen, and 40000 *Mexicans*, to *Panuco*, both to discover it better, and also to inhabit it; and withal to be revenged on them that had killed and eaten the soldiers of *Francis Garay*. They of *Panuco* resisted him; but *Cortes* in the end overthrew them, and conquered the country: and hard by *Chila*, upon the river, he built a town, and named it *Santo Stephano del Puerto*, leaving in it 100 footmen and 30 horsemen, and one *Peter de Valleio* for lieutenant. This journey cost him 76000 *Castilians*, besides the *Spaniards*, horses and *Mexicans* which died there.

Ib. & en
la Conq.
de Mex.

In the year 1523. *Francis de Garay* made nine ships and two brigantines to go to *Panuco* and *Rio de las Palmas*, to be there as governor; for that the emperor had granted to him from the coast of *Florida* unto *Panuco*, in regard of the charges which he had been at in that discovery. He carried with him 850 soldiers, and 140 horses, and some men out of the island of *Jamaica*, where he furnished his fleet with ammunition for the war: and he went to *Xagua*, an haven in the island of *Cuba*, where he understood that *Cortes* had peopled the coast of *Panuco*: and that it might not happen to him as did to *Pamphilus de Narvaez*, he determined to take another companion with him, and desired the doctor *Zuazo* to go to *Mexico*, and procure some agreement between *Cortes* and him; and they departed from *Xagua*, each one about his business. *Zuazo* came in great jeopardy, and *Garay* went not clear without. *Garay* arrived in *Rio de las Palmas* on *Saint James's* day, and then he sent up the river one *Gonsalvo de Ocampo*, who at his return declared that it was an evil and

desert country: but, notwithstanding, *Garay* went there on land with 400 footmen and some horsemen; and he commanded one *John de Grijalva* to search the coast, and he himself marched by land towards *Panuco*, and passed a river, which he named *Rio Montalto*; he entered into a great town, wherein they found many hens, wherewith they refreshed themselves, and he took some of the people of *Chila*, which he used for messengers to certain places: and, after great travel, coming to *Panuco*, they found no victuals there, by reason of the wars of *Cortes*, and the spoil of the soldiers. *Garay* then sent one *Gonzalo de Ocampo* to *Saint Istevan del Puerto*, to know whether they would receive him or no; and received a good answer: but *Cortes's* men privately lay in ambush, and took 40 of *Garay's* horsemen, alleging that they came to usurp the government of another: and besides this misfortune, he lost four of his ships, whereupon he left off to proceed any farther.

While *Cortes* was preparing to set forward to *Panuco*, *Francis de las Casas*, and *Roderigo de la Paz*, arrived at *Mexico*, with letters patents, wherein the emperor gave the government of *New Spain*, and all the country which *Cortes* had conquered, to *Cortes*, and namely *Panuco*; whereupon he staid his journey: but he sent *Diego de Ocampo* with the said letters patents, and *Pedro de Alvarado* with store of footmen and horsemen. *Garay*, knowing this, thought it best to yield himself into *Cortes's* hands, and go to *Mexico*; which thing he did, having discovered a great tract of land.

In the year 1523. *Gil Gonzales de Avila* made a discovery, and peopled a town called *San Gil da Buena Vista*, standing in 14 degrees towards the north, and almost in the bottom of the bay called the *Ascension*, or the *Honduras*. He began to conquer it, because he best knew the secrets thereof, and that it was a very rich country.

In this year, 1523. the 6th day of December, *Peter de Alvarado* went from the city of *Mexico* by *Cortes's* command, to discover and conquer *Qualiutemallan*, *Utlatlan*, *Chiapa*, *Xochnuxco*, and other towns towards the *South-sea*. He had with him 300 soldiers, 170 horsemen, four field-pieces, and some noblemen of *Mexico*, with people of the country to aid him, as well in the war, as by the way being long. He went by *Tecoantepec* to *Xochnuxco*, and other places above-said, with great travel, and loss of his men; but he discovered and subdued all the country. There are in those parts certain

Gomara
en la
Conq. de
Mex.
f. 225.

Ib. f. 242.

Ib. f. 229.
& in seq.

Gomara
en la
Conq. de
Mex.
f. 230.

certain hills that have alum in them, and out of which distilleth a certain liquor, like unto oil, and sulphur or brimstone, whereof the *Spaniards* made excellent gun-powder. He travelled 400 leagues in this voyage, and passed certain rivers which were so hot, that they could not well endure to wade through them. He built a city, calling it *Saint Jago de Quabutemallan*. *Peter de Alvarado* begged the government of this country; and the report is, that it was given him.

Ib. f. 233.

In the year 1523. the 8th day of December, *Cortes* sent *Diego de Godoy*, with 100 footmen and 30 horsemen, two field-pieces, and many of his friends, *Indians*, unto the town of *Spiritu Santo*: he joined himself with the captain of that town, and they went to *Chamolla*, the head city of that province; and that being taken, all the country grew quiet.

Ib. f. 234.

In the year 1524. in February, *Cortes* sent one *Roderigo Rangel*, with 150 *Spaniards*, and many of the *Tlaxcallans* and *Mexicans*, against the *Zapotecas* and *Nixticas*, and to other provinces and countries not so well discovered: they were resisted at the first, but quickly put the people to the worst, and kept them for ever after in subjection.

Ib. hist.
gen. l. 3.
c. 21.

In the same year, 1524. one *Roderigo de Bastidas* was sent to discover, people, and govern the country of *Santa Martha*; where he lost his life, because he would not suffer the soldiers to take the spoil of a certain town. They joined with *Peter Villa-forte*; and he, being sometimes his intire friend, helped to kill him with daggers lying in his bed. Afterward don *Pedro de Lugo*, and don *Alfonso* his son, were governors of that place, who behaved themselves like covetous tyrants, and grew very troublesome.

Ib. l. 2. c. 7.

In this same year also, 1524. after the licentiate *Lucas Vasques de Aillon* had obtained of the emperor the government of *Chicora*, he armed for that purpose certain ships from the city of *Santo Domingo*, and went to discover the country, and to inhabit it: but he was lost, with all his company, leaving nothing done worthy of memory. And I cannot tell how it comes to pass, except it be by the just judgment of God, that of so much gold and precious stones as have been gotten in the *Antiles* by so many *Spaniards*, little or none remains, but the most part is spent and consumed, and no good thing done.

Ib. l. 2. c.
65. & en
la Conq.
de Mex.
f. 243.

In this year, 1524. *Cortes* sent one *Christopher de Olid*, with a fleet, to the island of *Cuba*, to receive the victuals and ammunition which *Alonso de Contreras* had prepared, and to discover and people the country about cape *De Higuera*s and the

Honduras; and to send *Diego Hurtado de Mendoza* by sea, to search the coast from thence even to *Darien*, to find out the streight which was thought to run into the *South-sea*, as the emperor had commanded. He sent also two ships from *Panuco*, to search along the coast unto *Florida*. He commanded also certain brigantines to search the coast from *Zacatullan* to *Panama*. This *Christopher de Olid* came to the island of *Cuba*, and made a league with *Diego Velasquez* against *Cortes*, and so set sail, and went on land hard by *Puerto de Cavallos*, standing in 10 degrees to the north, and built a town, which he called *Triumpho de la Cruz*. He took *Gil Gonzales de Avila* prisoner, and killed his nephew, and the *Spaniards* that were with him, saving one child; and shewed himself an enemy to *Cortes*, who had spent in that expedition 30000 *Castellans* of gold, to pleasure him.

Cortes understanding hereof the same year, 1529. and in the month of October, he went out of the city of *Mexico* to seek *Christopher de Olid* to be revenged of him, and also to discover, carrying with him 300 *Spanish* footmen and horsemen, and *Quabutimoc*, king of *Mexico*, and other great lords of the same city: and, coming to the town called *La Villa del Spiritu Santo*, he required guides of the lords of *Tavasco* and *Xicalanco*; and they sent him ten of their principal men for guides; who gave him also a map of cotton-wool, wherein was painted the situation of the whole country, from *Xicalanco* to *Naco* and *Nito*, and even as far as *Nicaragua*, with their mountains, hills, fields, meadows, valleys, rivers, cities, and towns: and *Cortes*, in the mean time, sent for three ships which were at the haven of *Medellin*, to follow him along the coast.

In this year, 1524. they came to the city of *Izancanac*, where he understood that the king *Quabutimoc*, and the *Mexicans* that were in his company, were conspired against him, and the *Spaniards*; for which he hanged the king, and two others of the chief; and so came to the city of *Mazatlan*, and after that to *Piaca*, the head city of a province so called, standing in the midst of a lake: and hereabout they began to find the train of the *Spaniards*, which they went to seek; and so they went to *Zuzullin*, and at length came to the town of *Nito*. From *Nito*, *Cortes*, with his own company, and all the *Spaniards* that he found there, departed to the shore, or strand, called *La Baja de Saint Andres*; and, finding there a good haven, he built a town in that place, and called it *Natividad de nuestra Sennora*.

From

Gomara
in the
Conq. of
Mexico, f.
270 & 273

From hence *Cortes* went to the town of *Truxillo*, standing in the haven of the *Honduras*, where the *Spaniards* that inhabited there entertained him well: and while he was there, there arrived a ship which brought news of the stir in *Mexico* in *Cortes's* absence: whereupon he sent word to *Gonsalo de Sandoval*, to march with his company from *Naco* to *Mexico* by land, towards the *South-sea*, unto *Quabutemellan*, it being the usual, plain, and safest way; and he left as captain in *Truxillo*, *Ferdinando de Saavedra* his cousin, and he himself went by sea along the coast of *Jucatan* to *Chalchicoeca*, now called *Saint Juan de Ullhua*, and so to *Medellin*, and from thence to *Mexico*, where he was well received, having been from thence eighteen months, and had gone 500 leagues, travelling often out of his way, and suffering many hardships.

Ib. hist.
gen 1 &
c. 1, 2

In the year 1525. *Francis Pizarro* and *Diego de Almagro* went from *Panama* to discover *Peru*, standing beyond the line toward the south, which they called *Nueva Castillia*. The governor *Pedro Arias* would not intermeddle with this expedition, because of the evil news which his captain *Francis Vezerra* had brought.

Francis Pizarro went first in a ship, having with him 124 soldiers; and *Almagro* went after him in another ship with 70 men. He came to *Rio de San Juan*, standing in three degrees, where he got 2000 pesos of gold; and, not finding *Pizarro*, he went to seek him, repenting his doings, by reason of a mishap that he had. But he went first to an island called *Isla del Gorgona*, and afterwards to another called *Isla del Gallo*, and to the river called *Rio del Peru*, standing in two degrees northward, wherefrom so many famous countries take their name. From thence they went to *Rio de San Francisco*, and to *Cabo de Passaos*, where they passed the equinoctial line, and came to *Puerto Vejo*, standing in one degree to the south of the line: from whence they sailed to the rivers of *Chinapanpa*, *Tumbez*, and *Payta*, standing in four or five degrees, where they had knowledge of king *Atabalipa*, and of the exceeding wealth and riches of his palace: which news moved *Pizarro* speedily to return home again to *Panama*, and so into *Spain*, and to request the government of that country of the emperor, which he also obtained. He had spent above three years before in this discovery, not without enduring great labour and perils.

Pet Mart
dec. 8. c. 9.
Gomara
hist. gen.
l. 4. c. 12.

In the same year, 1525. there was sent out of *Spain* a fleet of seven ships, whereof don *Garcia de Loaísa* was captain-general, to the islands of *Malucca*. They went

from the city of the *Groine* and passed by the islands of the *Canaries*, and went to *Brasil*, where they found an island in two degrees, and named it *Saint Matthew*: and it seemed to be inhabited, because they found in it orange-trees, hogs, and hens in caves; and upon the rinds of most of the trees there were ingraven *Portugal* letters, shewing that the *Portuguese* had been there seventeen years before that time. A patch or pinnacle of theirs passed the stright of *Magellan*, having in her one *John de Resaga*, and run all along the coast of *Peru* and *Nova Spagna*: they declared all their success unto *Cortes*; and told him, that frier *Garcia de Loaísa* was passed to the *Islands of Cloves*. But of this fleet the admiral only came thither, wherein was captain one *Martin Mingues de Carchova*; for *Loaísa* and the other captains died by the way. All the *Moors* of *Malucca* were found well-affectioned to the *Spaniards*.

Gomara
in the
Conquest
of Mexico,
p. 281.

In the same year, 1525. the pilot *Stephen Gomez* went from the port of the *Groin* toward the north, to discover the stright to *Maluccas* by the north, to whom they would give no charge in the fleet of frier *Garcia de Loaísa*: but yet the earl don *Ferdinando de Andrada*, and the doctor *Beltram*, and the merchant *Christopher de Sarro*, furnished a galleon for him; and he went from the *Groin* in *Galicia* to the island of *Cuba*, and to the point of *Florida*, sailing by day, because he knew not the land. He passed the bay *Angra*, and the river *Enseada*, and so went over to the other side. It is also reported, that he came to cape *Razo*, in 46 degrees to the north; from whence he came back again to the *Groin*, laden with slaves. The news hereof ran presently through *Spain*, that he was come home laden with cloves (mistaking the word), and it was carried to the court of *Spain*: but when the truth was known, it turned to a pleasant jest. In this voyage *Gomez* was ten months.

Pet. Mart.
ecad. 8.
p. 601
Gomara
hist. gen.
l. 1. c. 5.

In this year, 1525. don *George de Menezes*, captain of *Malucca*, and with him don *Garcia Henriques*, sent a foist to discover land towards the north, wherein went as captain one *Diego de Rocha*, and *Gomez de Sequeira* for pilot. In nine or ten degrees they found certain islands standing close together, and they called them the islands of *Gomez de Sequeira*, he being the first pilot that discovered them. And they came back again by the island of *Batochina*.

In the year 1526. there went out of *Seville* one *Sebastian Cabota*, a *Venetian* by his father, but born at *Bristol* in *England*, being chief pilot to the emperor, with

with four ships, towards *Malucca*. They came to *Pernambuco*, and staid there three months for a wind to double the cape of *Saint Augustine*. In the bay of *Patos*, or of ducks, the admiral's ship perished; and, being without hope to get to the isles of *Malucca*, they made a pinnace to enter up the river of *Plate*, and to search it. They ran 60 leagues up before they came to the bar, where they left their great ships, and with their small pinnaces passed up the river *Parana*, which the inhabitants count to be the principal river. Having rowed up 120 leagues, they made a fortress, and staid there above a year; and then rowed farther till they came to the mouth of another river, called *Paragioa*; and, perceiving that the country yielded gold and silver, they kept on their course, and sent a brigantine before, but those of the country took it: and *Cabota* understanding of it, thought it best to turn back unto their fort, and there took in his men which he had left there, and so went down the river where his ships rode; and from thence he sailed home to *Seville* in the year 1530. leaving discovered above 200 leagues within this river, reporting it to be very navigable, and that it springs out of a lake named *Bombo*. It standeth in the firm land of the kingdom of *Peru*, running through the valleys of *Xauxa*, and meets with the rivers *Parso*, *Bulcasban*, *Cay*, *Parima*, *Hiucax*, with others which make it very broad and great. It is said also, that out of this lake runneth the river called *Rio de San Francisco*; and by this means the rivers come to be so great: for the rivers that come out of lakes are bigger than those which proceed from a spring.

Ram. v 3. In the year 1517. one *Pamphilus de Narvaez* went out of *Saint Lucar de Barameda*, to be general of the coast and land of *Florida*, as far as *Rio de las Palmas*; and had with him five ships, 600 soldiers, 100 horses, besides a great sum and quantity of victuals, armour, cloathing, and other things. He could not go on land where his desire was, but went on land somewhat near to *Florida*, with 300 of his company, some horses, and some victuals, commanding the ships to go to *Rio de las Palmas*; in which voyage they were near all lost: and those which escaped passed great dangers, hunger and thirst, in an island called *Xamo*, and by the *Spaniards*, *Malhada*, being very dry and barren, where the *Spaniards* killed one another, and the people of the country did the like. *Narvaez*, and those which went with him, saw some gold with certain *Indians*, and he demanded of them where they gathered it: and they answered,

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that they had it at *Apalachen*. They, therefore, searched for this gold; and, in searching, came to the said town, where they found neither gold nor silver; but they saw many bay trees, and almost all other kind of trees, with beasts, birds, and such-like. The men and women of this place are high and strong, very light, and so swift runners, that they will take deer at their pleasure, and will not grow weary, though they run a whole day. From *Apalachen* they went to a town called *Aute*; and from thence to *Xamo*, a poor country, with small sustenance. These people bring up their children very tenderly, and make great lamentation when any of them die; but they neither weep nor lament at the death of any old person. Here the people desired the *Spaniards* to cure their sick, for they had many: and certain of the *Spaniards*, being in extreme poverty, attempted it, and used prayer; and it pleased God that they did indeed recover, as well those that were hurt, as those which were diseased; insomuch that one that was thought verily to be dead, was by them restored to life, as they themselves report. They affirm, that they passed through many countries, and many strange people, differing in language, apparel, and customs. And because they played the physicians, they were, as they passed, greatly esteemed, and held as Gods; and the people offered them no violence, but would give them part of such things as they had. Therefore they passed quietly, and travelled so far till they came to a people that use continually to live in herds with their cattle, as the *Arabians* do. They are poor, and eat snakes, lizards, spiders, ants, and all kind of vermin; and herewith they live so well contented, that commonly they sing and dance. They buy the women of their enemies, and kill their daughters, because they would not have them marry with them, whereby they might increase. They travelled through certain places, where the women gave suck to their children till they were ten or twelve years of age; and where certain men, being *Hermaphrodites*, marry one another. These *Spaniards* travelled above 800 leagues; and there escaped alive in this journey not above seven or eight of them. They came upon the coast of the *South-sea* to a city called *Saint Michael* of *Calvacan*, standing in upwards of 23 degrees towards the north.

This year, 1517. when *Cortes* understood by the pinnace aforesaid, that don *Garcia de Loaisa* was passed by the streight of *Magellan* toward the islands of *Gloves*, he provided three ships to go seek him, and

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Gom. hist. gen. l. 2. c 72. and in the Conquest of Mexico, f 282. to

to discover by that way of *New Spain*, as far as the isles of *Malacca*. There went as governor in those ships one *Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron*, cousin to *Cortes*, a man fit for that purpose. He made sail from *Ciutatlanejo*, now named *St. Christopher*, standing in twenty degrees toward the north, on *All Saints* day. They arrived at the islands which *Magellan* named *The Pleasures*; and from thence sailed to the islands which *Gomez de Sequeira* had discovered; and, not knowing thereof, they named them *Islas de los Reyes*, that is to say, *The isles of the kings*, because they came unto them on *Twelfth-day*. In the way *Saavedra* lost two ships of his company, of which they never after heard news. But from island to island he still sailed, and came to the island of *Candiga*, where he bought two *Spaniards* for seventy ducats, which had been of the company of frier *Loaisa*, who was lost thereabout.

In the year 1528. in *March*, *Saavedra* arrived at the islands of *Malacca*, and came to an anchor before the isle of *Gilolo*: he found the sea calm, and wind at will, without any tempests: and he took the distance from thence to *Nova Spagna* to be two thousand and fifty leagues. At this time *Martin Yniguez de Carquifano* died, and *Fernando de la Torre* was chosen their general, who then was in the city of *Tidore*, who had there erected a gallows, and had fierce war with *Don George de Meneses*, captain of the *Portuguese*: and in a fight which they had the fourth day of *May*, *Saavedra* took from him a galleot, and slew the captain there, called *Fernando de Baldaya*; and in *June* he returned towards *New Spain*, having with him one *Simon de Brito Patalin*, and other *Portuguese*; and, having been certain months at sea, he was forced back unto *Tidore*, where *Patalin* was beheaded and quartered, and his companions hanged.

In this year, 1528. *Cortes* sent two hundred footmen and sixty horsemen, and many *Mexicans*, to discover and plant the country of the *Chichemecas*; for it was reported to be rich of gold. This being done, he shipped himself, and came into *Castile* with great pomp, and brought with him two hundred and fifty thousand marks of gold and silver: and, being come to *Toledo*, where the emperor then lay, he was entertained according to his deserts; and the emperor made him marquis *Del Valle*, and married him to the lady *Jane de Zuniga*, daughter to the earl *de Aguilar*; and then the emperor sent him back again to be general of *New Spain*.

In the year 1529. in *May*, *Saavedra* returned back again toward *New Spain*, and he had sight of a land toward the south in

two degrees, and he ran east along by it above five hundred leagues till the end of *August*. The coast was clean, and of good anchor-ground, but the people black, and of curled hair; from the girdle downward they did wear a certain thing plaited to cover their lower parts. The people of *Malacca* call them *Papuas*, because they are black, and frizzled in their hair: and so also the *Portuguese* call them.

Saavedra, having sailed four or five degrees to the south of the line, returned unto it, and passed the equinoctial towards the north, and discovered an island which he called *Isla de los Pintados*, that is to say, *the isle of painted people*; for the people thereof are white, and all of them marked with an iron: and by the signs which they gave, he conceived that they were of *China*. There came to them from the shore a kind of boat full of these men, making tokens of threatenings to the *Spaniards*; who, seeing that the *Spaniards* would not obey them, they began to skirmish with slinging of stones; but *Saavedra* would suffer no shot to be shot at them, because their stones were of no strength, and did no harm.

A little beyond this island, in ten or twelve degrees they found many small low islands, full of palm-trees and grass, which they called *Los Jardines*; and they came to an anchor in the midst of them, where they tarried certain days. The people seemed to descend from them of *China*; but, by reason of their long continuance there, they are become so brutish, they have neither law, nor yet give themselves to any honest labour. They wear white clothing, which they make of grass. They stand in great fear of fire, because they never saw any. They eat *cocos* instead of bread, breaking them before they are ripe, and putting them under the sand, and then after certain days they take them out, and lay them in the sun, and then they will open. They eat fish, which they take in a kind of boat called a *parao*, which they make of pine-wood, which is driven thither at certain times of the year, they know not how, nor from whence; and the tools wherewith they make their boats are of shells.

Saavedra, perceiving that the time and weather was then somewhat better for his purpose, made sail toward the firm land and city of *Panama*, where he might unlade the cloves and merchandize which he had, that so in carts it might be carried four leagues to the river of *Chagre*, which they say is navigable, running out into the north sea, not far from *Nombre de Dios*, where the ships ride, which come out of *Spain*: by which way all kind of goods might be brought unto them in shorter time,

Gomara
hist. gen.
l. 2. c. 73.

Ib. l. 2.
c. 72.

Gomar.
hif. gen.
l. 4. c. 14.

time, and with lefs danger, than to fail about the cape of *Bona Sperança*. For, from *Malacca* unto *Panama* they fail continually between the tropicks and the line: but they never found wind to serve that courfe, and therefore they came back again to *Malacca* very fad, becaufe *Saavedra* died by the way: who, if he had lived, meant to have opened the land of *Castilia del Oro* and *New Spain*, from fea to fea. Which might have been done in four places: namely, from the gulph of *St. Michael* to *Uraba*, which is 25 leagues; or from *Panama* to *Nombre de Dios*, being 17 leagues diftance; or through *Xaquator*, a river of *Nicaragua*, which fpringeth out of a lake three or four leagues from the *South-Sea*, and falleth into the *North-Sea*; whereupon fail great barques and crayers. The other place is from *Tecoantepec* through a river to *Verdadera Cruz* in the bay of *Honduras*, which alfo might be opened in a ftreight. Which if it were done, then they might fail from the *Canaries* unto the *Malaccas*, under the climate of the *Zodiack*, in lefs time, and with much lefs danger, than to fail about the cape *De Bona Sperança*, or by the ftreight of *Magellan*, or by the northwest. And yet, if there might be found a ftreight there, to fail into the fea of *China*, as it hath been fought, it would do much good.

In this year, 1529. one *Damian de Goes*, a *Portugal*, being in *Flanders*, after that he had travelled over all *Spain*, was yet defirous to fee more countries, and fashions, and diverfities of people; and therefore went over into *England* and *Scotland*, and was in the courts of the kings of thofe parts: and after that came again into *Flanders*, and then travelled through *Zealand*, *Holland*, *Brabant*, *Luxenburg*, *Switzerland*, and fo through the cities of *Colen*, *Spire*, *Argentine*, *Bafil*, and other parts of *Germany*, and then came back again into *Flanders*: and from thence he went into *France* through *Picardy*, *Normandy*, *Champagne*, *Burgundy*, the dukedom of *Bourbon*, *Gafcoign*, *Languedoc*, *Dauphiné*, the dukedom of *Savoy*; and paffed into *Italy*, into the dukedom of *Milan*, *Ferrara*, *Lombardy*, and fo to *Venice*; and turned back again to the territory of *Genoa*, and the dukedom of *Florence*, through all *Tufcany*: and he was in the city of *Rome*, and in the kingdom of *Naples*, from the one fide to the other.

From thence he went into *Germany* to *Ulm*, and other places of the empire, to the dukedom of *Suevia* and of *Bavaria*, and the archdukedom of *Austria*, the kingdom of *Bobemia*, the dukedom of *Moravia*, and the kingdom of *Hungary*, and fo to the confines of *Greece*. From thence he went

to the kingdom of *Poland*, *Pruffia*, and the dukedom of *Livonia*, and came into the great dukedom of *Mofcovy*. From whence he came back into *High Germany*, and through the countries of the *Landgrave*, the dukedom of *Saxony*, the countries of *Denmark*, *Gotland*, and *Norway*, travelling fo far, that he found himfelf in 70 degrees of latitude towards the north. He did fee, fpeak, and was converfant with all the kings, princes, nobles, and chief cities of all *Chriftendom*, in the fpace of twenty-two years: fo that by reafon of the greatnefs of his travel, I thought him a man worthy to be here remembered.

In the year 1529. or 1530. one *Melchior de Sofa Tavares* went from the city of *Ormuz* unto *Balfora*, and the iflands of *Giffara*, with certain fhips of war; and paffed up as far as the place where the rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates* meet each other. And although other *Portuguese* had difcovered and failed through that ftreight, yet never any of them failed fo far upon the frefh water till that time, when he difcovered that river from the one fide to the other, wherein he faw many things which the *Portuguese* knew not.

Not long after this one *Ferdinando Coutinho*, a *Portuguese*, came unto *Ormuz*; and being defirous to fee the world, he determined to go into *Portugal*, from thence over land, to fee *Asia* and *Europe*: and, to do this the better, he went into *Arabia*, and up the river *Euphrates*, the fpace of a month; and faw many kingdoms and countries, which in our time had not been feen by the *Portuguese*: he was taken prifoner in *Damafcus*, and afterward croffed over the province of *Syria*, and came unto the city of *Aleppo*. He had been at the holy fepulchre in *Jerufalem*, and in the city of *Cairo*, and at *Conftantinople* with the great *Turk*; and, having feen his court, he paffed over unto *Venice*, and from thence into *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, and fo came again to *Lifbon*. So that he and *Damian de Goes* were in our time the moft noble *Portuguese*, that had difcovered and feen moft countries and realms, for their own fatisfactions.

Gom. hif.

In the fame year, 1530. little more or gen. l. 5. lefs, one *Francis Pifarro*, which had been c. 3. in *Spain*, to obtain the government of *Peru*, turned back again to the city of *Panama*, with all things that he defired: he brought with him four brethren, *Ferdinand*, *John*, *Gonfalvo*, and *Francis Martines de Alcantara*: they were not well received by *Diego de Almagro*, and his friends; for that *Pifarro* had not fo much commended him to the emperor as he looked for, but omitted the difcovery, wherein he had loft one of his eyes, and fpend much: yet in the end they agreed, and *Diego de Almagro* gave *Pifarro*

Pisarro seven hundred pezoës of gold, victuals, and ammunition, wherewith he prepared himself the better for his journey.

Not long after this agreement *Francis Pisarro* and his brethren went in two ships, with the most of their soldiers and horses; but he could not arrive at *Tombez*, as he was minded, and so they went on land in the river of *Peru*; and went along the coast with great pains, because there were many bogs and rivers in their way, wherein some of his men were drowned: they came to the town of *Coache*, where they rested, and found much gold and emeralds, of which they brake some, to see if they were perfect. From thence *Pisarro* sent to *Diego de Almagro* twenty thousand pezoës of gold, to send him men, horses, ammunition, and victuals; and so he went on his journey to the haven named *Porto Viejo*: and thither came unto him one *Sebastian de Benalcazar*, with all such things as he had sent for, which pleased and gratified him very much.

Gomar. hist. gen. l. 5. c. 4. In the year 1531. he, having this aid, passed over into a rich island called *Puna*, where he was well received of the governor: yet at last he conspired to kill him, and all his men: but *Pisarro* prevented him, and took many of the *Indians*, and bound them with chains of gold and silver. The governor caused those that kept his wives to have their noses, arms, and privy members cut off; so jealous was he. Here *Pisarro* found above six hundred men prisoners belonging to the king *Attabalipa*, who waged war against his eldest brother *Guascar* to win reputation. These he set at liberty, and sent them to the city of *Tombez*, who promised to be a means that he should be well received in those parts. But when they saw themselves out of bondage, they forgot their promise, and incited the people against the *Spaniards*. Then *Pisarro* sent three *Spaniards* to *Tombez*, to treat for peace, whom they took, and slew, and sacrificed; and their priests wept not for pity, but of custom. *Pisarro*, hearing of this cruel fact, passed over to the main, and set upon the city one night suddenly, and killed many of them, so that they presented him with gifts of gold and silver, and other riches, and so became friends. This done, he builded a town upon the river *Cira*, and called it *St. Michael of Tangarara*, which was the first town inhabited by Christians in those parts; whereof *Sebastian de Benalcazar* was appointed captain. Then he searched out a good and sure haven for his ships, and found that of *Payta* to be an excellent harbour.

Ib. l. 3. c. 37. In this same year, 1531. there went one *Diego de Ordas* to be governor in the river of *Maragnon*, with three ships, six hundred

soldiers, and thirty-five horses. He died by the way, so that the intention came to none effect. After that, in the year 1534. there was sent thither one *Hierom Artal*, with an hundred and thirty soldiers: yet he came not to the river, but peopled *St. Michael de Neveri*, and other places in *Paria*. Also there went unto this river *Maragnon*, a Portuguese gentleman, named *Aries Dacugna*; and he had with him ten ships, nine hundred Portuguese, and an hundred and thirty horses. He spent much, but he that lost most was one *John de Barros*. This river standeth in three degrees toward the south, having at the entrance of it fifteen leagues in breadth, and many islands inhabited, wherein trees grow that bear incense of a greater bigness than in *Arabia*, gold, rich stones; and one emerald was found there as big as the palm of a man's hand. The people of the country make their drink of a kind of oats, which are as big as quinces.

In the year 1531. one *Nunnez de Gusman* went from the city of *Mexico*, towards the northwest, to discover and conquer the countries of *Xalisco*, *Ceintilquipac*, *Ciametlan*, *Tovalla*, *Cnixco*, *Ciamolla*, *Culbuacan*, and other places. And, to do this, he carried with him two hundred and fifty horses, and five hundred soldiers. He went thro' the country of *Mechuacan*, where he had much gold, ten thousand marks of silver, and six thousand *Indians* to carry burdens. He conquered many countries, called that of *Xalisco*, *Nueva Galicia*, because it is a ragged country, and the people strong. He builded a city, which he called *Compostella*, and another named *Guadalajara*, because he was born in *Guadalajara* in *Spain*. He likewise builded the towns of *Santo Sispirito*, *de la Conception*, and *de San Miguel*, standing in 24 degrees of north latitude.

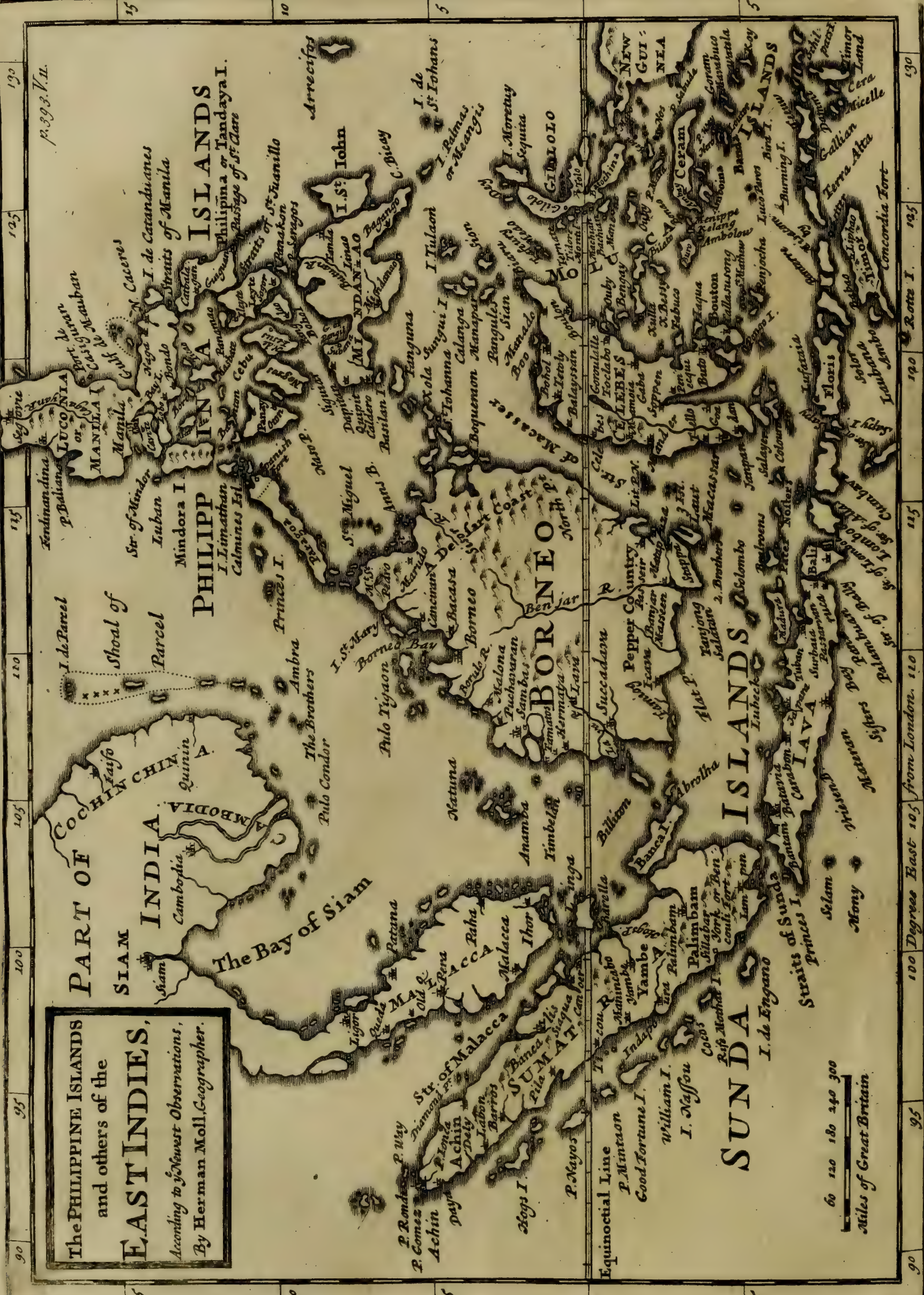
In the year 1532. *Ferdinando Cortes* Ibid. l. 2; sent one *Diego Hurtado de Mendoza* unto c. 74. *Acapulco*, 70 leagues from *Mexico*, where he had prepared a small fleet to discover the coast of the *South-sea*, as he had promised the emperor. And finding two ships ready, he went into them, and sailed to the haven of *Xalisco*, where he would have taken in water and wood; but *Nunnez de Gusman* caused him to be resisted, and so he went forward: but some of his men mutinied against him, and he put them all into one of his ships, and sent them back into *New Spain*. They wanted water, and going to take some in the bay of the *Vanderas*, the *Indians* killed them. But *Diego Hurtado* sailed two hundred leagues along the coast, yet did nothing worth the writing.

In the year 1553. *Francis Pisarro* went Ibid. l. 5; from the city of *Tombez* to *Caxamalca*, c. 6, 7, & 8. where

Gomara hist. gen. l. 6. c. 16.

The PHILIPPINE ISLANDS and others of the EAST INDIES.

According to ^{the} Newest Observations,
By Herman Moll, Geographer.



60 120 180 240 300
Miles of Great Britain

where he took the king *Atabalipa*, who promised for his ransom much gold and silver: and to accomplish it there went to *Cusco*, standing in 17 degrees on the south side, *Peter de Varco*, and *Ferdinando de Sot-to*, who discovered that journey, being 200 leagues, all causeways of stone, and bridges were made of it, and from one journey to another, lodgings made for the *yingas*; for so they call their kings. Their armies are very great and monstrous. For they bring above an hundred thousand fighting men to the field. They lodge upon these causeways; and have there provision sufficient and necessary, after the use and custom of *China*, as it is said. *Ferdinando Pizarro*, with some horsemen, went unto *Paciaca-ma*, 100 leagues from *Caxamalca*, and discovered that province: and, coming, back he understood how *Guascar*, brother to *Atabalipa*, was, by his command, killed; and that his captain *Ruminaguy* rose up in arms with the city of *Quito*. After this *Atabalipa* was, by the command of *Pi-sarro*, strangled.

Gomara
historia
general.
l. 5. c. 11.

In the year 1534. *Francis Pizarro*, seeing that the two kings were gone, began to enlarge himself in his signories, and to build cities, forts, and towns, to have them more in subjection. Likewise he sent *Sebastian de Benalcazar*, the captain of *St. Michael of Tangarara*, against *Ruminaguy*, unto *Quito*. He had with him two hundred footmen, and eighty horsemen: he went discovering and conquering an hundred and twenty leagues, from one city to the other, east, not far from the equinoctial line: where *Peter Alvarado* found mountains full of snow, and so cold, that seventy of his men were frozen to death. When he came unto *Quito*, he began to inhabit it, and named it *St. Francis*. In this country there is plenty of wheat, barley, cattle, and plants of *Spain*, which is very strange.

Ibid. l. 5.
c. 19.

Pizarro went strait to the city of *Cusco*, and found by the way the captain *Quis-quiz* risen in arms, whom shortly he defeated. About this time there came unto him a brother of *Atabalipa*, named *Mango*, whom he made *yinga*, or king of the country. Thus marching forward on his journey, after certain skirmishes he took that exceeding rich and wealthy city of *Cusco*.

Ibid. l. 5.
c. 16.

In this same year, 1534. a Briton called *Jaques Cartier*, with three ships, went to the land of *Corterealis*, and the bay of *St. Laurence*, otherwise called *Golfo Quadrato*, and fell in 48 degrees and an half towards the north; and so he sailed till he came unto 51 degrees, hoping to have passed that way to *China*, and to bring thence drugs and other merchandize into *France*. The next year after he made another voyage into those parts, and found the coun-

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try abounding with victuals, and good habitations, with many and great rivers. He sailed in one river toward the southwest 300 leagues, and named the country thereabout *Nova Francia*: at length finding the water fresh, he perceived he could not pass through to the *South-sea*; and having wintered in those parts, the next year following he returned into *France*.

In the year 1535. or in the beginning of the year 1536. Don *Antony de Mendoza* came unto the city of *Mexico*, as viceroy of *New Spain*. In the mean while *Cortes* was gone for more men, to continue his discovery, which immediately he set in hand, sending forth two ships from *Teco-antepec*, which he had made ready. There went as captains in them, *Fernando de Grijalva*, and *Diego Bezerra de Mendoza*; and for pilots there went a Portuguese named *Acosta*, and the other *Fortunio Ximenez*, a *Biscaine*. The first night they divided themselves. *Fortunio Ximenez* killed his captain *Bezerra*, and hurt many of his confederates: and then he went on land to take water and wood in the bay of *Santa Cruz*; but the *Indians* there slew him, and above twenty of his company. Two mariners which were in the boat escaped, and went unto *Xalisco*, and told *Nunnes de Gusman*, that they had found tokens of pearls: he went into the ship, and so went to seek the pearls: he discovered along the coast above 150 leagues. They said that *Ferdinando de Grijalva* sailed 300 leagues from *Tecoantepec* without seeing any land, but only one island, which he named the island of *St. Thomas*, because he came unto it on that saint's day: it standeth in 20 degrees of latitude.

In this year, 1535. *Pizarro* built the city of *los Reys*, upon the river of *Lima*. The inhabitants of *Xauxa* went to dwell there, because it was a better country, standing in 12 degrees of southward latitude. In this same year of 1535. he caused the city of *Truxillo* to be built, on a river-side, upon a fruitful soil, standing in eight degrees on that side. He built also the city of *Saint Jago* in *Porto Viejo*; besides many others along the coast, and within the land, where there breed many horses, asses, mules, kine, hogs, goats, sheep, and other beasts; also trees and plants, but principally rosemary, oranges, lemons, citrons, and other sour fruits; vines, wheat, barley, and other grains; radishes, and other kind of herbage and fruits, are brought out of *Spain* thither, to be sown and planted.

In the same year, 1535. one *Diego de Almagro* went from the city of *Cusco* to the provinces of *Arequipa* and *Chili*, reaching beyond *Cusco* towards the south unto thirty

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thirty degrees. This voyage was long, and he discovered much land, suffering great hunger, cold, and other extremities, by reason of the abundance of ice, which stoppeth the running of the rivers; so that men and horses die in those parts of the cold. About this time *Ferdinando Pizarro* came out of *Spain* to the city *de los Reyes*, and brought with him the title of marquise of *Atanillos* for his brother *Francis Pizarro*; and to *Diego de Almagro* he brought the government of 100 leagues over and besides that which was discovered; and named it, *The new kingdom of Toledo*. *Ferdinando Pizarro* went strait to the city of *Cusco*: and one *John de Rada* went to *Almagro* into *Chili*, with the emperor's patents.

Gomara
hist. gen.
l. 5. c. 25.

Ib. c. 27. *Diego de Almagro*, having received the letters patents which the emperor had sent him, went strait from *Chili* unto *Cusco*, to have it, seeing it did appertain unto him. Which was the cause of a civil war. They were mightily oppressed with want of victuals, and other things, in this their return; and were enforced to eat the horses, which had died four months and an half before, when they passed that way.

In this same year, 1535. *Nunnez Dacunha* being governor of *India*, while he was making a fortress at the city of *Diu*, he sent a fleet to the river of *Indus*, being from thence 90 or 100 leagues toward the north, under the *Tropick of Cancer*. The captain's name was *Vasquez Perez de San Paio*: also he sent another army against *Badu*, king of *Cambaia*, the captain whereof was *Cosofosar*, a renegado. They came to the bar of that mighty river in the month of *December*, of the water whereof they found such trial as *Quintus Curtius* writeth of it, when *Alexander* came thither.

Ib. l. 4.
c. 13.

In this year, 1535. one *Simon de Alcazava* went from *Seville* with two ships, and 240 *Spaniards* in them. Some say they went to *New Spain*; others, that they went to *Malacca*; but others also say, to *China*, where they had been with *Ferdinando Perez de Andrada*. Howsoever it was, they went first unto the *Canaries*, and from thence to the streight of *Magellan*, without touching at the land of *Brasil*, or any part of that coast. They entered into the streight in the month of *December*, with contrary winds, and cold weather. The soldiers would have had him turn back again; but he would not. He went into an haven on the south side, in 53 degrees: there the captain *Simon*, of *Alcazava*, commanded *Roderigo de Isla*, with sixty *Spaniards*, to go and discover land: but they rose up against him, and killed him; and appointed such cap-

tains and officers as pleased them, and returned. Coming thwart the *Brasil*, they lost one of their ships upon the coast; and the *Spaniards* that escaped drowning, were eat by the savages. The other ships went to *Saint Jago* in *Hispaniola*; and from thence to *Seville* in *Spain*.

In this same year, 1535. don *Pedro de Mendoza* went from *Cadiz* toward the river of *Plata*, with twelve ships, and had with him 2000 men; which was the greatest number of ships and men that ever any captain carried into the *Indies*. He died by the way returning to homewards. The most part of his men remained in that river, and built a great town, containing now two thousand houses, wherein great store of *Indians* dwell with the *Spaniards*. They discovered and conquered the country till they came to the mines of *Potosi*, and to the town *La Plata*, which is 500 leagues distant from them.

In the year 1536. *Cortes* understanding that his ship, wherein *Fortunio Ximenez* was pilot, was seized on by *Nunnez de Guzman*, he sent forth three ships to the place where *Guzman* was, and he himself went by land, well accompanied, and found the ship which he sought, all spoiled and rifled. When his three other ships were come about, he went on board himself, with the most part of his men and horses, leaving for captain of those which remained on land, one *Andrew de Tapia*. So he set sail; and, coming to a point the 1st day of *May*, he called it *Saint Philip*; and an island that lieth close by it, he called *Saint Jago*. Within three days after he came into the bay where the pilot *Fortunio Ximenez* was killed, which he called *La Plata de Santa Cruz*, where he went on land, and commanded *Andrew de Tapia* to discover. *Cortes* took shipping again, and came to the river now called *Rio de San Pedro y San Paulo*, where, by a tempest, the ships were separated; one was driven to the bay *de Santa Cruz*; another to the river of *Guajaval*; and the third was driven on shore near *Xalisco*, and the men thereof went by land to *Mexico*.

Cortes long expected his two ships that he wanted; but they not coming, he hoisted sail, and entered into the gulph now called *Mar de Cortes*, *Mar Vermejo*, or the gulph of *California*, and shot himself 50 leagues within it, where he espied a ship at anchor; and, sailing towards her, he had been lost, if that ship had not succoured him. But having graved his ship, he departed with both the ships from thence. He bought victuals, at a very dear rate, at *Saint Michael* of *Culvacan*; and from thence he went to the haven of *Santa Cruz*, where he heard that *Don Antonio de Mendoza* was come

Gomara
historiæ
general.
l. 3. c. 39.

Ib. l. 2. c.
74, 98.

Ib. in the
Conq. of
Mexico, f.
290, 291,
292.

come out of *Spain* to be viceroy. He therefore left to be captain of his men one *Francis de Ulloa*, to send him certain ships to discover that coast. While he was at *Acapulco*, messengers came to him from don *Antonio de Mendoza* the viceroy, to certify him of his arrival; and also sent him the copy of a letter, wherein *Francis Pizarro* wrote, that *Mango Ynga* was risen against him, and was come to the city of *Cusco*, with an hundred thousand fighting men; and that they had killed his brother *John Pizarro*, and above 400 *Spaniards*, and 200 horses, and he himself was in danger; so that he demanded succour and aid. *Cortes* being informed of the state of *Pizarro*, and of the arrival of don *Antonio de Mendoza*, because he would not as yet be at obedience, first, he determined to send to *Malacca*, to discover that way under the equinoctial line, because the islands of *Cloves* stand under that parallel: and for that purpose he prepared two ships, with provision and men, besides all other things necessary. He gave the charge of one of these ships to *Ferdinando de Grijalva*, and of the other to one *Alvarado*, a gentleman. They went first to *Saint Michael de Tangarara* in *Peru*, to succour *Francis Pizarro*; and from thence to *Malacca*, all along near the line, as they were commanded. And it is declared, that they sailed above a thousand leagues without sight of land on the one side, nor yet on the other, of the equinoctial. And in two degrees towards the north they discovered an island named *Asea*, which seemeth to be one of the islands of *Cloves*. Five hundred leagues, little more or less, as they sailed, they came to the sight of another, which they named *Isla de los Pescadores*. Going still in this course, they saw another island, called *Hayme*, towards the south, and another, named *Apia*; and then they came to the sight of *Seri*: turning towards the north one degree, they came to anchor at another island, named *Coroa*; from thence they came to another under the line, named *Meousum*, and from thence unto *Busu*, standing in the same course.

The people of all these islands are black, and have their hair frizzled, whom the people of *Malacca* call *Papuas*. The most of them eat mens flesh, and are witches; and so given to devilishness, that the devils walk among them as companions. If these wicked spirits find one of them alone, they kill him with cruel blows, or smother him. Therefore they use not to go out, but when two or three may be in a company. There is here a bird as big as a crane: he flieth not, nor hath any wings wherewith to fly, but runneth on

the ground like a deer: of their small feathers they make hair for their idols. There is also an herb, which, being washed in warm water, if the leaf thereof be laid on any member, and licked with the tongue, it will draw out all the blood of a man's body; and with this leaf they use to let themselves blood.

From these islands they came to others, named the *Guelles*, standing one degree towards the north, east, and west, from the isle of *Ternate*, wherein the *Portuguese* have a fortrefs: these men are haired, like the people of the *Malaccas*. These islands stand 124 leagues from the island named *Moro*, and from *Ternate* betwixt 40 and 50. From thence they went to the isle of *Moro*, and the islands of *Cloves*, going from the one to the other: but the people of the country would not suffer them to come on land; saying unto them, *Go unto the fortrefs, where the captain Antonio Galvano is, and we will receive you with a good-will*: for they would not suffer them to come on land without his licence; for he was factor of the country, as they stiled him. A thing worthy to be noted; that those of the country were so affectioned to the *Portuguese*, that they would venture for them their lives, wives, children, and goods!

In the year 1537. the licentiate *John de Vadillo*, governor of *Cartbagen*, went out with a good army from a port of *Uraba*, called *Saint Sebastian de Buena Vista*, being in the gulph of *Uraba*, and from thence to *Rio verde*; and from thence by land, without knowing any way, nor yet having any carriages, they went to the end of the country of *Peru*, and to the town *La Plata*, by the space of 1200 leagues: a thing worthy of memory: for, from this river to the mountains of *Abibe*, the country is full of hills, thick forests of trees, and many rivers: and for want of a beaten way, they had pierced sides. The mountains of *Abibe*, as it is recorded, have 20 leagues in breadth. They must be passed over in *January*, *February*, *March*, and *April*: for from that time forward it raineth much, and the rivers will be so greatly increased, that you cannot pass for them. There are in those mountains many herds of swine, many dantes, lions, tigers, bears, ounces, great cats, monkeys, mighty snakes, and such other vermin. Also there are in those mountains abundance of partridges, quails, turtle-doves, pigeons, and other birds and fowls of sundry sorts. Likewise in the rivers are such plenty of fish, that they killed them with staves: and, carrying canes and nets, they affirm, that a great many might be sustained that way, without being distressed for want of

Pedro de Cieça,
part. prim.
de la
Chron. del
Peru, c. 9,
10.

of victuals. Moreover they declared the diversities of the people, tongues, and apparel that they observed in the countries, kingdoms, and provinces through which they passed, and the great perils and dangers that they were in till they came to the town called *Villa de la Plata*, and to the sea thereunto adjoining. This was the greatest discovery that hath been heard of by land, and in so short a time: and if it had not been done in our days, the credit thereof would have been doubtful.

Ramusius, 3 vol. fol. 356. In the year 1538. there went out of *Mexico* certain friers, of the order of *Saint Francis*, towards the north, to preach to the *Indians* the catholick faith. He that went farthest was one frier *Mark de Nizza*, who passed through *Culvacan*, and came to the province of *Sibola*, where he found seven cities: and the farther he went, the richer he found the country with gold, silver, precious stones, and sheep bearing very fine wool. Upon the fame of this wealth, the viceroy don *Antonio de Mendoza*, and *Cortes*, determined to send a power thither: but when they could not agree thereupon, *Cortes* went over into *Spain* in the year 1540. where he afterwards died.

In this year, 1538. began the civil war between *Pizarro* and *Almagro*, wherein, at last, *Almagro* was taken, and beheaded.

Gomara hist. gen. l. 5. c. 34. In the same year, 1538. *Antonie Galvano* being chief captain in the isles of *Malacca*, sent a ship towards the north, whereof one *Francis de Castro* was captain, having command to convert as many as he could to the faith. He himself christened many; as the lords of the *Celebes*, *Makasares*, *Amboynos*, *Moros*, *Moratax*, and divers other places. When *Francis de Castro* arrived at the island of *Mindanao*, six kings received the water of baptism, with their wives, children, and subjects; and the most of them *Antonio Galvano* gave command to be called by the name of *John*, in remembrance that king *John* the third reigned then in *Portugal*.

The *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* who have been in these islands, affirm, that there are certain hogs in them, which, besides the teeth they have in their mouths, have two others growing out of their snouts, and as many behind their ears, of a large span and an half in length. Likewise they say there is a tree, the one half whereof, which standeth towards the east, is a good medicine against all poison; and the other side of the tree, which standeth towards the west, is very poison; and the fruit thereof is like large peas, of which is made the strongest poison that is in all the world. Also they report, that there

is another tree, of the fruit whereof whosoever eateth, will be twelve hours beside himself; and when he cometh again to himself, he cannot remember what he did at the time of his madness. Moreover, there are certain crabs of the land, whereof whosoever doth eat, will be a certain space of time out of his wits. Likewise the country people declare, that there is a stone in these islands, whereon whosoever sitteth, will be broken in his body. It is farther to be noted, that the people of these islands gild their teeth.

In the year 1539. *Cortes* sent three ships with *Francis Ulloa*, to discover the coast of *Culvacan* northward. They went from *Acapulco*, and touched at *Saint Jago de buena Sperança*, and entered into the gulph that *Cortes* had discovered, and sailed till they came in 32 degrees, which is almost the farthest end of that gulph, which place they named *Ancon de Saint Andres*, because they came thither on that saint's day. Then they came out along the coast on the other side, and doubled the point of *California*, and entered in between certain islands and the point, and so sailed along by it, till they came to 32 degrees; from whence they returned to *New Spain*, forced thereto by contrary winds, and want of victuals, having been out about a year. *Cortes*, according to his account, spent 200,000 ducats in these discoveries.

From *Cabo del Enganno*, to another cape called *Cabo de Liampo*, in *China*, there are 1000 or 1200 leagues sailing. *Cortes* and his captains discovered *New Spain*, from 12 degrees to 32, from south to the north, being 700 leagues, finding it more warm than cold, although snow lay upon certain mountains most part of the year. In *New Spain* there are many trees, flowers, and fruits of divers sorts, and profitable for many things. The principal tree is named *Meth*, growing neither very high nor thick. They plant and dress it as we do our vines. They say it hath forty kind of leaves, like woven cloth, which serve for many uses. When they are tender, they make conserves of them, paper, and a thing like unto flax. They make of it mantles, mats, shoes, girdles, and cordage. These trees have certain prickles, so strong and sharp, that they sew with them. The roots make fire and ashes, which ashes make exceeding good ley. They open the earth from the root, and scrape it; and the juice which cometh out is like a syrup. If you seeth it, it will become honey; if you purify it, it will become sugar. Also you may make wine and vinegar of it. It beareth the *coco*. The rind roasted, and
I crushed

Gomara hist. gen. l. 2. c. 74. Ramusius, 3 vol. fol. 329.

Gomara hist. gen. l. 6. c. 17.

crushed upon fores and hurts, healeth and cureth. The juice of the tops and roots, mingled with incense, are good against poison, and the biting of a viper. For these manifold benefits it is the most profitable tree known to grow in those parts.

Also there are certain small birds named *Vicmalim*. Their bill is small and long; they live of the dew, and the juice of flowers and roses; their feathers are very small, and of divers colours; they are greatly esteemed to work gold with; they die or sleep every year, in the month of *October*, sitting upon a little bough, in a warm and close place: they revive or awake again in the month of *April*, after that the flowers are sprung, and therefore they call them the revived birds.

Likewise there are snakes in those parts, which sound as though they had bells when they creep. There are others which ingender at the mouth, even as they report of the viper. There are dogs which have a navel on the ridge of their backs, which, as soon as they are killed and cut out, will corrupt and stink.

Besides these there are certain fish which make a noise like unto hogs, and will snort, for which cause they are named *Snorters*.

Gomar, In the year 1538. and 1539. after that
hist. gen. *Diego de Almagro* was beheaded, the mar-
l. 5. c. 35. quis *Francis Pizarro* was not idle. For
he immediately sent one *Peter de Baldivia*,
with a good company of men, to discover
and conquer the country of *Chili*. He
was well received of those of the country;
but afterwards they rose against him, and
would have killed him by treason. Yet,
for all the war that he had with them, he
discovered much land, and the coast of the
sea toward the south-east, till he came into
40 degrees and more in latitude. While
he was in these discoveries, he heard news
of a king called *Lucengolma*, who com-
monly brought to the field two hundred
thousand fighting men, against another king
his neighbour; and that this *Leucengol-
ma* had an island, and a temple therein,
with two thousand priests; and that be-
yond them were the *Amazones*, whose
queen was called *Guanomilla*, that is to
say, *The golden Heaven*. But as yet there
are none of these things discovered. About
this time *Gomez de Alvarado* went to con-
quer the province of *Guanuco*: and *Francis
de Chavez* went to subdue the *Conchincos*,
which troubled the town of *Truxillo*, and
the countries adjoining. *Peter de Vergara*
went to the *Bracamores*, a people dwelling
toward the north from *Quito*. *John Pe-
rez de Vergara* went against the *Ciaciapo-
ians*: *Alfonso de Mercadiglio* went unto
Mulubamba. *Ferdinando* and *Gonsalvo Pi-
zarros* went to subdue *Collao*, a country

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rich in gold. *Peter de Candia* went to the
lower part of *Collao*. *Peranzures* also went
to conquer the said country. And thus the
Spaniards dispersed themselves, and con-
quered above 700 leagues of country in a
very short space, though not without great
travels and loss of men.

The countries of *Brazil* and *Peru* stand
east and west, almost 800 leagues distant.
The nearest is from the cape of *St. Augus-
tine* unto the haven of *Truxillo*; for they
stand both almost in one parallel and lati-
tude. And the farthest is 950 leagues,
reckoning from the river of *Peru* to the
streights of *Magellan*, which places lie di-
rectly north and south, through which
country pass certain mountains called the
Andes, which divide *Brazil* from the em-
pire of the *Yngas*. After this manner the
mountains of *Taurus* and *Imaus* divide *Asia*
into two parts: which mountains begin in
36 and 37 degrees of northerly latitude, at
the end of the *Mediterranean* sea, over-
against the isles of *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*,
running still towards the east unto the sea
of *China*. And so likewise the mountains
of *Atlas* in *Africa* divide the tawny *Moors*
from the black *Moors*, which have frizzled
hair, beginning at mount *Meies* about the
desert of *Barca*, and running along under
the tropick of *Cancer* unto the *Atlantick
Ocean*.

The mountains of the *Andes* be high,
ragged, and in some places barren, without
trees or grass, whereon it raineth and snow-
eth most commonly. Upon them are
winds, and sudden blasts; there is likewise
such scarcity of wood, that they make fire
of turfs, as they do in *Flanders*. In some
places of these mountains and countries the
earth is of divers colours, as black, white,
red, green, blue, yellow, and violet, where-
with they dye colours without any other
mixture. From the bottoms of these moun-
tains spring many small and great rivers,
principally from the east side, as appeareth
by the rivers of the *Amazones*, of *St. Fran-
cis*, of *Plata*, and many others which run
through the country of *Brazil*, being larger
than those of *Peru*, or those of *Castilia del
Oro*. There grow on these mountains
many turneps, rapes, and other such-like
roots and herbs. One there is like unto
aipo, or rue, which beareth a yellow flower,
and healeth all kind of rotten sores; and if
you apply it unto whole and clean flesh, it
will eat it unto the bone: so that it is good
for the unsound, and naught for the whole.

They say there are in these mountains
tygers, lions, bears, wolves, wild-cats, foxes,
dantes, ounces, hogs, and deer; birds, as
well ravenous as others, and the most part
of them are black, as under the north both
beasts and birds are white. Also there are

5 i

great

great and terrible snakes, which destroyed a whole army of the *ynga*'s passing that way : yet they say, that an old woman did enchant them, in such sort that they became so gentle, that a man might sit upon one of them. The country of *Peru* adjoining unto the mountains of *Andes* westward, toward the sea, and containing 15 or 20 leagues in breadth, is all of very hot sand, yet fresh, bringing forth many good trees and fruits, because it is well watered ; where there grow abundance of flags, rushes, herbs, and trees, so slender and loose, that, laying your hands upon them, the leaves will fall off. And among these herbs and fresh flowers the men and women live and abide, without any houses or bedding, even as the cattle do in the fields : and some of them have tails. They are gross, and wear long hair. They have no beards, yet have they divers languages.

Those which live on the tops of these mountains of *Andes*, between the cold and the heat, for the most part are blind of one eye, and some altogether blind ; and scarce you shall find two men of them together, but one of them is half blind. Also there groweth in these fields, notwithstanding the great heat of the sand, good maiz, and potatoes, and an herb which they name *cocoa*, which they carry continually in their mouths (as in the *East-India* they use another herb named *betele*), which also, they say, satisfieth both hunger and thirst. Also there are other kinds of grains and roots, whereon they feed. Moreover there is plenty of wheat, barley, millet, vines, and fruitful trees, which are brought out of *Spain*, and planted there. For all these things prove well in this country, because it is so commodiously watered.

Also they sow much cotton-wool, which is naturally white, red, black, green, yellow, orange-tawny, and of divers other colours.

Likewise they affirm, that from *Tumbez* southward, it doth neither rain, thunder, nor lighten, for the space of five hundred leagues of land : but sometimes there falleth some little shower. Also it is reported, that from *Tumbez* to *Chili*, there breed no peacocks, hens, cocks, nor eagles, falcons, hawks, kites, nor any other kind of ravening fowls, and yet there are of them in all other regions and countries ; but there are many ducks, geese, herons, pigeons, partridges, quails, and many other kinds of birds. There is also a certain kind of fowl like unto a duck, which hath no wings to fly withal, but it hath fine thin feathers, which cover all the body. Likewise there are bitterns that make war with the seal, or sea-wolf : for, finding them out of the water, they will labour to

pick out their eyes, that they may not see to get to the water again, and then they kill them. They say it is a pleasant sight to behold the fight between the said bitterns and seals. With the beards of these seals men make clean their teeth, because they are wholesome for the tooth-ach. There are certain beasts which those of the country call *xacos*, and the *Spaniards* sheep, because they bear wool like unto a sheep, but are made much like unto a deer, having a saddle-back like unto a camel. They will carry the burden of an hundred weight. The *Spaniards* ride upon them, and, when they are weary, they will turn their heads backward, and void out of their mouths a wonderful stinking water.

From the river of *Plata* and *Lima* southward, there breed no crocodiles nor lizards, no snakes, nor any kind of venomous vermin, but great store of good fish breed in those rivers. On the coast of *St. Michael*, in the *South-sea*, there are many rocks of salt covered with eggs. On the point of *St. Helena* are certain well-springs, which cast forth a liquor, that serveth instead of pitch and tar. They say, that in *Chili* there is a fountain, the water whereof will convert wood into stone. In the haven of *Truxillo* there is a lake of fresh water, the bottom thereof is good hard salt. In the *Andes* beyond *Xauxa* there is a river of fresh water, in the bottom whereof there lieth white salt. Also they affirm, by the report of those of the country, that there have dwelt giants in *Peru*, of whose statures they found in *Porto Viejo*, and in the haven of *Truxillo*, bones, and jaws with teeth, which were three and four fingers long.

In the year 1540. the captain *Ferdinando Ramufius*, *Alorchon* went, by the command of the viceroy Don *Antonio de Mendoza*, with two ships, to discover the bottom of the gulph of *California*, and divers other countries.

In this year, 1540. *Gonsalvo Pizarro* went out of the city of *Quito* to discover the country of *Canell*, or *Cinnamon*, a thing of great fame in that country. He had with him two hundred *Spaniards*, horsemen and footmen, and three hundred *Indians* to carry burdens. He went forward till he came to *Guixos*, which is the farthest place governed by the *yngas* : where there happened a great earthquake, with rain and lightning, which sunk seventy houses. They passed over cold and snowy hills, where they found many *Indians* frozen to death, marvelling much of the great snow that they found under the equinoctial line. From hence they went to a province called *Cumaco*, where they tarried two months, because it rained continually. And beyond they saw the cinnamon-trees, which are very great, the leaves thereof resembling bay-leaves,

Gomar.
hist. gen.
1. 5. c. 36.

vol. 3.
f. 303.

leaves, both leaves, branches, roots, and all, tasting of cinnamon. The roots have the whole taste of cinnamon. But the best are certain knobs like unto *alcornoques*, or acorns, which re good merchandize. It appeareth to be wild cinnamon, and there is much of it in the *East-Indies*, and in the islands of *Jaoa* or *Java*.

From hence they went to the province and city of *Coca*, where they rested fifty days. From that place forwards they travelled along by a river's side, being sixty leagues long, without finding of any bridge, nor yet any ford to pass over to the other side. They found one place of this river, where it had a fall of 200 fathoms deep, where the water made such a noise, that it would make a man almost deaf to stand by it. And not far beneath this fall, they say they found a chanel of stone, very smooth, of two hundred foot broad, and the river runneth by : and there they made a bridge to pass over on the other side, where they went to a country called *Gue-ma*, which was so poor, that they could get nothing to eat, but only fruits and herbs. From that place forward they found a people of some reason, wearing certain cloathing made of cotton-wool, where they built a brigantine, and there they found also certain canoes, wherein they put their sick men, and their treasure, and best apparel, giving the charge of them to one *Francis de Orellana* : and *Gonsalvo Pizarro* went by land with the rest of the company along by the river's side, and at night went into the boats ; and they travelled in this order two hundred leagues, as it appeareth. When *Pizarro* came to the place where he thought to find the brigantine and canoes, and could have no sight of them, nor yet hear of them, he thought himself out of all hope, because he was in a strange country without victuals, cloathing, or any thing else : wherefore they were fain to eat their horses, yea, and dogs also, because the country was poor and barren, and the journey long, to go to *Quito*. Yet, notwithstanding, taking a good heart to themselves, they went on forwards in their journey, travelling continually 18 months : and it is reported, that they went almost five hundred leagues, wherein they did neither see sun, nor any thing else whereby they might be comforted : wherefore, of two hundred men which went forth at the first, there returned not more than ten unto *Quito* ; and these so weak, ragged, and disfigured, that they knew them not. *Orellana* went five or six hundred leagues down the river, seeing divers countries and people on both sides thereof, among whom he affirmed some to be *Amazones*. He came into *Castile*, excusing himself, that the water and streams drove him down by

force. This river is named the river of *Orellana*, and others name it the river of the *Amazones*, because there are women there who live like unto them.

In the year 1540. *Cortes* went with his wife into *Spain*, where he died of a disease seven years after.

In the year 1541. it is recorded, that *Don Stephen de Gama*, governor of *India*, sailed toward the streight of *Mecca*. He came with all his fleet to an anchor in the island of *Maçua*, and from thence upwards in small shipping he went along the coast of the *Abassins* and *Ethiopia*, till he came to the island of *Suachen*, standing in 20 degrees towards the north, and from thence to the haven of *Cofir*, standing in 27 degrees ; and so he crossed over to the city of *Toro*, standing on the shore of *Arabia*, and along by it he went unto *Stiez*, which is the farthest end of the streight, and so he turned back the same way, leaving that country and coast discovered so far as never any other *Portuguese* captain had done, although *Lopez Suarez*, governor of *India*, went to the haven of *Juda*, and the haven of *Mecca*, standing on the coast of *Arabia*, in 23 degrees of latitude, and 150 leagues from the mouth of the streight. *Don Stephen de Gama*, crossing over from *Cofir* to the city of *Toro*, as it is reported, found an island of brimstone, which was dispeopled by the hand of *Mahomet*, wherein many crabs do breed, which increase nature : wherefore they are greatly esteemed of such as are unchaste. Also they say, that there are in this streight many roses, which open when women are in their labour.

John Leo writeth in the very end of his geography which he made of *Africa*, that there is in the mountains of *Atlas* a root called *furnag*, over which if a maid chance to make water, she shall lose her virginity.

In the same year, 1541. *Don Diego de Almagro* killed the marquis *Francis Pizarro*, and his brother *Francis Martinez* of *Alcantara*, in the city of *los Reyes*, otherwise called *Lima* ; and made himself governor of that country.

In the year 1540. the viceroy *Don Antony Gomara*, *de Mendoza* sent one *Francis Vasquez do Colorado* by land, unto the province of *Sibola*, with an army of *Spaniards* and *Indians*. They went out of *Mexico*, and came to *Culvacan*, and from thence to *Sibola*, which standeth in 30 degrees of latitude. They required peace with the people, and some victuals, being thereof destitute : but they answered, that they used not to give any thing to those that came unto them in warlike manner. So the *Spaniards* assaulted the town, and took it, and called it *Nueva Granada*, because the general himself was born in *Granada*. The soldiers found them-

hist. gen.
l. 6. c. 17.

themselves deceived by the words of the friers, which had been in those parts before; and because they would not return back to *Mexico* again with empty hands, they went to the town of *Acuco*, where they had knowlege of *Axa* and *Quivira*, where there was a king very rich, that did worship a cross of gold, and the picture of the queen of heaven. They endured many extremities in this journey, and the *Indians* fled away from them, and in one morning they found thirty of their horses dead. From *Cicuic* they went to *Quivira*, which was 200 leagues off, according to their account, passing all through a plain country, and making by the way certain hillocks of cow-dung, because thereby they might not lose their way in their return. They had there hail-stones as big as oranges. Now, when they were come to *Quivira*, they found the king called *Tatarrax*, which they sought for, with a jewel of copper hanging about his neck, which was all his riches. They saw neither any cross, nor any image of the queen of heaven, nor any other token of Christian religion. It is written of this country, that it is poorly inhabited, principally in the plain and champagne places, because the men and women go in herds with their cattle, whereof they have great plenty, even as the *Arabians* do in *Barbary*; and they remove from place to place, as the season serveth, and the pastures to feed their cattle. In these parts are certain beasts almost as big as horses, they have very great horns, and they bear wool like unto sheep, and so the *Spaniards* call them. They have abundance of oxen, very monstrous, being camel-backed, and having long beards, and on their neck long manes like unto horses. They live with eating of these oxen, and drinking of their blood; and apparel themselves with the skins of the same. The most part of the flesh that they eat is raw, or evil-roasted, for they lack pots to seeth it in. They cut their meat with certain knives made of flint-stone. Their fruit are damsons, hazel-nuts, walnuts, melons, grapes, pines, and mulberries. There are dogs so big that one of them alone will hold a bull, though he be never so wild. When they remove, these dogs carry their children, wives, and stuff, upon their backs, and they are able to carry fifty pounds weight. I pass over many things, because the order which I follow will not permit me to be long.

In the year of our Lord 1542. one *Diego de Frietas* being in the realm of *Siam*, and in the city of *Dodra*, as captain of a ship, there fled from him three *Portuguese* in a junk (which is a kind of ship) toward *China*. Their names were *Antony*

de Mota, *Francis Zeimoro*, and *Antony Pexoto*, directing their course to the city of *Liampo*, standing in thirty and odd degrees of latitude. There fell upon their stern such a storm, that it set them off the land; and in a few days they saw an island toward the east, standing in 32 degrees, which they name *Japan*, which seemeth to be the isle of *Zipangri*, whereof *Paulus Venetus* maketh mention, and of the riches thereof. And this island of *Japan* hath gold, silver, and other riches.

In this year, 1542. Don *Antonio de Mendoza*, viceroy of *Nova Spagna*, sent his captains and pilots to discover the coast of cape *del Engannon*, where a fleet of *Cortes* had been before. They sailed till they came to a place called *Sierras Nevadas*, or *The snowy mountains*, standing in 40 degrees toward the north, where they saw ships with merchandizes, which carried on their stems the images of certain birds called *alcatrazzi*, and had their yards gilded, and their bow laid over with silver. They seemed to be of the isles of *Japan*, or of *China*; for they said, that it was not above thirty days sailing unto their country.

In the same year, 1542. Don *Antony de Mendoza* sent unto the islands of *Mindanao* a fleet of six ships, with four hundred soldiers, and as many *Indians* of the country, the general whereof was one *Ruy Lopez de Villa Lobos*, being his brother-in-law, and a man in great estimation. They set sail from the haven of *Natividad*, standing in 20 degrees toward the north, upon *All Saints* eve, and shaped their course toward the west. They had sight of the island of *St. Thomas*, which *Hernando de Grijalva* had discovered; and beyond, in 17 degrees, they had sight of another island, which they named *La Nublada*, that is, *The cloudy island*. From thence they went to another island named *Roca partida*, that is, *The cloven rock*. The third of *December* they found certain baxos or flats, of six or seven fathoms deep. The fifteenth of the same month they had sight of the islands, which *Diego de Roca*, and *Gomez de Sequeira*, and *Alvaro de Saavedra*, had discovered, and named them *Los Reyes*, because they came unto them on *Twelfth-day*. And beyond them they found other islands in 10 degrees, all standing round; and in the midst of them they came to an anchor, where they took fresh water and wood.

In the same year, 1542. Don *Diego de Almagro* was slain in *Peru*, by the hands of one *Don Vaca de Castro*.

In the year 1543. in *January* they departed from the aforesaid islands with all the fleet; and had sight of certain islands, out of which there came unto them men in a certain kind of boats, and they brought in their

Gomara,
hist. gen.
l. 6. c. 18,
& 19.

Gomara
hist. gen.
l. 6. c. 18.
Ib. l. 4.
c. 12.
Ramus.
vol. 1.
f. 375. p. 2.

their hands crosses, and saluted the *Spaniards* in the *Spanish* tongue, saying, *Buenas dias, matelotes*, that is to say, *Good day, companions*; whereat the *Spaniards* much marvelled, being then so far out of *Spain*, to see the men of that country with crosses, and to be saluted by them in the *Spanish* tongue; and they seemed in their behaviour to incline somewhat to our catholick faith. The *Spaniards* not knowing that many thereabout had been christened by *Francis de Castro*, at the command of *Antony Galvano*, some of them named these islands *Islas de las cruzos*, and others named them *Islas de los matelotes*.

In the same year, 1543. the first of *February*, *Ruy Lopez* had sight of that noble island *Mindanao*, standing in nine degrees: they could not double it, nor yet come to an anchor, as they would, because the christened kings and people resisted them, having given their obedience to *Antony Galvano*, whom they had in great estimation; and there were five or six kings that had received baptism, who by no means would incur his displeasure. *Ruy Lopez*, perceiving this, and having a contrary wind, sailed along the coast, to find some aid; and in four or five degrees he found a small island, which they of the country call *Sarangani*, which they took by force; and in memory of the viceroy, who had sent them thither, they named it *Antonia*, where they remained a whole year, in which time there fell out things worthy to be written; but because there are more histories that treat of the same, I leave them, meaning to meddle with the discoveries only.

In the same year, 1543: and in the month of *August*, the general *Ruy Lopez* sent one *Bartholomew de la Torre* in a small ship into *New Spain*, to acquaint the viceroy *Don Antonio de Mendoza* with all things. They went to the islands of *Siria*, *Gaonata*, *Bisaia*, and many others, standing in 11 and 12 degrees towards the north, where *Magellan* had been, and *Francis de Castro* also, who there baptized many; and the *Spaniards* called them the *Philippinas*, in memory of the prince of *Spain*. Here they took victuals and wood, and hoisted sails: they sailed for certain days with a fair wind, till it came upon the skanting, and came right under the tropick of *Cancer*. The twenty-fifth of *September* they had sight of certain islands, which they named *Malabrigos*, that is to say, *The evil roads*. Beyond them they discovered *Las dos Hermanas*, that is, *The two sisters*. And beyond them also they saw four islands more, which they called *los Volcanes*. The second of *October* they had sight of *Farfana*, beyond which there standeth an high-pointed rock, which casteth out fire at five places. So

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sailing in 16 degrees of northerly latitude, from whence they had come, as it seemeth, wanting wind, they arrived again at the islands of the *Philippinas*. They had sight of six or seven islands more, but they anchored not at them. They found also an archipelagus of islands well inhabited with people, lying in 15 or 16 degrees: the people are white, and the women well proportioned, and beautiful, and better array'd, than in any other of those parts, having many jewels of gold, which was a token; that there was some of that metal in the same country. Here were also barques of forty-three cubits in length, and two fathoms and an half in breadth, and the planks five inches thick, which barques were rowed with oars. They told the *Spaniards*, that they used to sail in them to *China*; and that, if they would go thither, they should have pilots to conduct them, the country not being above 5 or 6 days sailing from thence. There came unto them also certain barques or boats, handsomely decked, wherein the master and principal men sat on high, and underneath were very black *Moors*, with frizzled hair: and, being demanded where they had these black *Moors*, they answered, that they had them from certain islands, standing hard by *Sebut*, where there were many of them; a thing that the *Spaniards* much marvelled at, because from thence it was above 300 leagues to the places where the black people were. Therefore it seemed, that they were not naturally born in that climate, but that they are in certain places scattered over the whole circuit of the world. For even so they are in the islands of *Nicobar* and *Audemani*, which stand in the gulph of *Bengal*, and from thence by the space of 500 leagues we do not know of any black people. Also *Vasco Nunnez de Valboa* declareth, that as he went to discover the *South-sea*, in a certain land named *Quaraca*, he found black people, with frizzled hair, whereas there were never any other found either in *Nova Spagna*, or in *Castilia del Oro*, or in *Peru*.

In the year 1544. don *Gutierre de Vargas*, bishop of *Placenza*, sent a fleet from the city of *Seville* to the streights of *Magellan*; which is reported to have been done by the counsel of the viceroy don *Antonio de Mendoza* his cousin. Some suspected that they went to *Malacca*; others to *China*; others, that they went only to discover the land betwixt the streight and of *Peru*, and the other side of *Chili*; because it was reported to be very rich in gold and silver. But this fleet, by reason of contrary winds, could not pass the streight: yet a small bark passed the same, and sailed along the coast, and discovered all the land till he came to *Chirima*

Gomar.
hist. gen.
l. 4. c. 14

mai and *Arequipa*, which is above 500 leagues; for the rest was already discovered by *Diego de Almagro*, *Francis Pizarro*, and their captains and people, at divers times. By this it appeareth, that from the streight to the equinoctial line, on both sides, is wholly discovered.

In the year 1545. and in the month of January, *Ruy Lopez de Villa Lobos*, and *Girardo*, with the *Castilians*, came to the island of *Moro*, and the city of *Camaso*, where they were well received of the kings of *Gilolo* and *Tidore*, and of the people of the country (because *Antonio Galvano* was gone), and put the captain *don George de Castro* to great trouble, as appeared by those things which passed between him and the *Portuguese*, and the great expences whereunto he put the fortrefs.

In the same year, 1543. *Ruy Lopez de Villa Lobos* sent from the island of *Tidore* another ship towards *New Spain*, by the south side of the line, wherein was captain one *Ignatius Ortez de Rotba*, and for pilot one *Jasper Rico*. They sailed to the coast of *Os Papuas*, and ranged all along the same; and because they knew not, that *Saavedra* had been there before, they challenged the honour and fame of that discovery. And because the people there were black, and had frizzled hair, they named it *Nueva Guiney*. For the memory of *Saavedra* as then was almost lost; as all things else fall into oblivion, which are not recorded and illustrated by writing.

In this year, 1545. and in the month of June, there went a junk from the city of *Borneo*, wherein went one *Peter Fidalgo*, a *Portuguese*; but, by contrary winds, he was driven towards the north, where he found an island standing in nine or ten degrees, that stretched itself to 22 degrees of latitude, which is called, the isle of the *Luçones*, because the inhabitants thereof were so named. It may have some other name and harbours, which as yet we know not. It runneth from the north

to the south-west, and standeth between *Mindanao* and *China*. They say they sailed along by it 250 leagues, where the land was fruitful, and well covered: and there, they affirm, that they will give two pefos of gold for one of silver; and yet it standeth not far from the country of *China*.

In the year 1553. there went out of *England* certain shipping; and, as it appeared, they sailed northward along the coast of *Norway* and *Finark*, and from thence east till they came between 70 and 80 degrees to *Muscovy*; for so far one of the ships went: but I know not what became of the rest: and this was the last discovery made till this time. From this land of *Muscovy*, eastward, you sail to *Tartary*, and at the farther end of it stands the country and province of *China*. It is said, that between *China* and *Tartary* there is a wall above 200 leagues in length, standing near to 50 degrees of latitude.

Now I gather by all the precedent discoveries, that the whole earth is in circuit 360 degrees, according to the geometry thereof: and to every degree antient writers allow 17 leagues and an half, which amount to 6300 leagues: yet, I take it that every degree is just 17 leagues. However it be, all is discovered, and sailed, from the east to the west, almost even as the sun compasseth it: but from the south to the north there is great difference; for, towards the north pole, there is found discovered no more than 77 or 78 degrees, which come to 1326 leagues: and towards the south pole there is discovered from the equinoctial to 52 or 53 degrees; that is, to the streight which *Magellan* passed through; which amounts to about 900 leagues: and, putting both these said main sums together, they amount to 2226 leagues. Now, take so many out of 6300 leagues, there remaineth as yet undiscovered, north and south, above the space of 4000 leagues.

THE
DESCRIPTION
OF A
VOYAGE

MADE

By certain Ships of *Holland* into the *East-Indies*.

With their ADVENTURES and SUCCESS.

Together with the Description of the COUNTRIES, TOWNS,
and INHABITANTS of the same.

Who set forth on the Second of *April* 1595, and returned on the Four-
teenth of *August* 1597.

Translated out of DUTCH into ENGLISH by W. P.

To which is added,

The Sea-Journal, or Navigation of the *Hollanders* into *Java*, &c.

To the Right Worshipful

Sir JAMES SCUDAMORE, Knight.

Right Worshipful,

THIS small treatise (written in *Dutch*, shewing a late voyage performed by certain *Hollanders* to the islands of *Java*, part of the *East-Indies*) falling into my hands, and in my judgment deserving no less commendation than those of our countrymen, (as captain *Raymond* in the *Penelope*, master *Foxcroft* in the *Merchant Royal*, and Mr. *James Lancaster* in the *Edward Bonaventure*, unto the said *East-Indies*, by the cape de *Bona Sperance*, anno 1591; as also Mr. *John Newbery*, and *Raphael Fitch*, over land through *Syria* from *Aleppo* unto *Ormuz* and *Goa*; and by the said *Raphael Fitch* himself to *Bengala*, *Malocca*, *Pegu*, and other places, anno 1583. as at large appeareth in a book written by Mr. *Richard Haclute*, a gentleman very studious therein, and entitled *The English Voyages*.) I thought it not inconvenient to translate the same into our mother tongue, thereby to procure more light and encouragement to such as are desirous to travel those countries, for the commonwealth and commodity of this realm and themselves. And knowing that all men are not like affected, I was so bold to shrowd it under your worship's protection, as being assured of your good disposition to the favouring of travel and travellers, (and whereby it hath pleased God to advance you to that honourable title, which at this present you bear) and so not fitter for the protection of any than yourself; and, as a poor friend, wishing all happiness and prosperity in all your valiant actions. Which if it please your worship to like and accept, it may procure the proceeding in a more large and ample discourse of an *East-India* voyage, lately performed and set forth by one *John Hugben* of *Linschoten*, to your further delight. Wherewith craving your favour, and beseeching God to bless your worship, with my good lady your wife, I most humbly take my leave this 16th of *January* 1597.

Your worship's to command,

W. PHILLIP.

T O T H E

Bailiffs, Burgomasters, and Council of the
Town of *Middleburg* in *Zeeland*.

IT may well be thought (right worshipful) as many learned men are of opinion, that the actions and adventures of the ancients long since done and performed, have been set forth with more show of wonder and strangeness than they in truth deserved. The Reason, as I think was, because that in those days there were many learned and wise men, who in their writings sought by all means they could to excel each other, touching the description of Countries and Nations. And again to the contrary, for want of good historiographers and writers, many famous acts and travels of divers nations and countries lie hidden, and in a manner buried under ground, as wholly forgotten and unknown, unless it were such as the Grecians and Romans for their own glories and advantages thought good to declare. But to come to the matter of voyages by sea, it is evident to all the world, what voyage Jason, with certain young Grecian Princes made to Colchos, in the Oriental countries to win the golden Fleece; as also the travels by Hercules performed into Lybia in the west parts, to win the Aurea Mala, or golden Apples of Hesperides; which notwithstanding, neither for length, danger nor profit, are any thing comparable to the Navigations and Voyages, that of late within the space of one hundred years have been performed, and made into the East and West-Indies, whereby in a manner there is not one haven on the sea coast, nor any point of land in the whole world, but hath in time been sought and found out. I will not at this present dispute or make an argument, whether the countries and nations of late years found out and discovered, were known to the ancients; but this is most certain, that not any strange work or adventure was, or ever shall be performed, but by the special grace, favour and mighty hand of God, and that such are worthy perpetual memory, as with noble minds have sought to effect, and be the first enterprizers thereof, and with most valiant courages and wisdoms, have performed such long and dangerous voyages into the East and West-Indies; as also such Kings and Princes, as with their princely liberalities have employed their treasures, ships, men and munitions to the furtherance and performance of so worthy acts, which notwithstanding, in the end turned to their great advancements, and enriching with great treasures, which by those means they have drawn, and caused in great abundance to be brought from thence, in such manner, that the King of Spain now living, (having both the Indies in his possession, and reaping the abundant treasures which yearly are brought out of those countries) hath not only (although covertly) sought all the means he could to bring all Christendom under his dominion; but also (that which no King or country whatsoever, although of greater might than he hath ever done) he is not ashamed to use this posy, Nec spe, nec metu. And although the first founders and discoverers of those countries, have always sought to hinder and intercept other nations from having any part of their glory; yet hereby all nations, and indifferent persons may well know and perceive the special policy, and valour of these United Provinces, in travelling into both the Indies, in the faces,
and

P R E F A C E.

and to the great grief of their many and mighty enemies. Whereby it is to be hoped, that if they continue in their enterprizes begun, they will not only draw the most part of the Indian treasures into these countries*, but thereby disinheret and spoil the country of Spain of her principal revenues, and treasures of merchandizes and trafficks, which she continually useth and receiveth out of these countries, and out of Spain are sent into the Indies, and so put the King of Spain himself in mind of his foolish device which he useth for a posy touching the new world, which is, Non sufficit orbis, like a second Alexander magnus, desiring to rule over all the world, as it is manifestly known. And because this description is fallen into my hands, wherein is contained the first voyage† of the Low-countrymen into the East-Indies, with the adventures happened unto them, set down and justified by such as were present in the voyage, I thought it good to put it in print, with many pictures and cards, whereby the reader may the easilier perceive and discern, the natures, apparels, and fashions of those countries and people, as also the manner of their ships, together with the fruitfulness and great abundance of the same; hoping that this my labour will not only be acceptable unto all merchants and sailors, which hereafter mean to traffick into those countries, but also pleasant and profitable to all such as are desirous to look into so new and strange things, which never heretofore were known unto our nation. And again, for that all histories have their particular commodity, (especially such as are collected and gathered together) not by common report, from the first, second, or third man, but by such as have seen and been present in the actions, and that are living to justify and verify the same: And although eloquence and words well placed in shewing a history, are great ornaments and beautifyings to the same, yet such reports and declarations are much more worthy credit, and commendabler for the benefit of the commonwealth, which are not set down or deciphered by subtle eloquence, but shown and performed by simple plain men, such as by copiousness of words, or subtilty do not alter or change the matter from the truth thereof, which at this day is a common and notorious fault in many historiographers: And thinking with myself to whom I were best to dedicate the same, I found it not fitter for any than for the right worshipful Governors of this famous town of Middleburg, wherein for the space of nineteen years I have peaceably continued, especially because your worships do not only deal with great store of shipping, and matters belonging to navigation, but are also well pleased to hear, and great furtherers to advance both shipping and trafficks, wherein consisteth not only the welfare of all merchants, inhabitants, and citizens of this famous city, but also of all the commonwealth of the United Provinces, hoping your worships will not only accept this my labour, but protect and warrantise the same against all men. Wherewith I beseech God to bless you with wisdom, and godly policy, to govern the commonwealth.

* How far this author may be deemed a Prophet in this particular, the present East-India trade and settlements of the Dutch are sufficient proofs.

† This is a different account from that published by Purchas and Harris.

Your Worships Servant to command,

MIDDLEBURG,
Oct. 19. 1597.

BERNARDT LANGHENEZ.

A brief Description of a Voyage performed by certain *Hollanders* to and from the *EAST-INDIES*, with their Adventures and Success.

THE ancient historiographers and describers of the world have much commended, and at large with great praise set down the divers and several voyages of many noble and valiant captains (as of *Alexander Magnus*, *Seleucus*, *Antiochus*, *Patrocles*, *Onesecritus*) into the *East-Indies*, which notwithstanding have not set down a great part of those countries, as not being as then discovered; whereby it is thought and judged by some men, that *India* is the full third part of all the world, because of the great provinces, mighty cities, famous islands (full of costly merchandises, and treasures from thence brought into all parts of the world) that are therein; wherein the ancient writers were very curious, and yet not so much as men in our age: they had some knowledge thereof, but altogether uncertain; but we at this day are fully certified therein, both touching the countries, towns, streams, and havens, with the trafficks therein used and frequented; whereby all the world, so far distant and separated from those strange nations, are by trade of merchandises united thereunto, and thereby commonly known unto them. The *Portugueze* first began to enterprize the voyage, who by art of navigation (in our time much more experienced and greater than in times past, and therefore more easily performed) discovered those wild countries of *India*, therein procuring great honour to their king, making his name famous, and bringing a special and great profit of all kinds of spices into their country, which thereby is spread throughout all the world; yet that sufficed not, for that the *Englishmen* (not inferior to any nation in the world for art of navigation) have likewise undertaken the *Indian* voyage, and by their said voyages into those countries, made the same commonly known unto their country; wherein Sir *Francis Drake* and Mr. *Candish* are chiefly to be commended, who not only sailed into the *East-Indies*, but also round about the world, with most prosperous voyages, by which voyages ours have been furthered and set forward: for that the condition of the *Indies* is, that the more it is sailed into, the more it is discover'd by such as sail the same, so strange a country

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it is. So that besides the famous voyages of the countries aforesaid, in the end, certain people came into *Holland* (a nation well known) certifying them, that they might easily prepare certain ships to sail into the *East-Indies*, there to traffic and buy spices, &c. by sailing straight from *Holland*, and also from other countries bordering about it, with desire to see strange and rich wares of other countries, and that should not be brought unto them by strangers, but by their own countrymen; which some men would esteem to be impossible, considering the long voyage and the dangers thereof, together with the unaccustomed sailings and little knowledge thereof by such as never sailed that way, and rather esteem it madness than any point of wisdom, and folly rather than good consideration. But notwithstanding, we have seen four ships make that voyage, who after many dangers having performed their voyage, returned again, and have brought with them those wares, that would never have been thought could have been brought into these countries by any *Holland* ships. But what should I herein most commend, either the willingness and good performance of the parties, or the happiness of their voyage? whereof that I may give the reader some knowledge, I will shew what I have heard and been informed of, concerning the description of the countries, customs, and manners of the nations, by them in this voyage seen and discovered, which is as followeth.

In the year of our Lord 1595, upon the 10th day of the month of *March*, there departed from *Amsterdam* three ships and a pinnace to sail into the *East-Indies*, set forth by divers rich Merchants. The first called *Mauritius*, of the burthen of 400 tons, having in her six demi-canon, fourteen culverins, and other pieces, and four pieces to shoot stones, and eighty-four men; the master *John Moleuate*, the factor *Cornelius Houtman*. The second named *Hollandia*, of the burthen of 400 tons, having 85 men, seven brass pieces, twelve pieces for stones, and 13 iron pieces; the master *John Dignums*, the factor *Gerrit van Buiningen*. The third, called *Amsterdam*, of the burthen of 200 tons, wherein were 59 men, six brass pieces, ten iron pieces,

When and how the ships set sail.

The Four Hollanders Ships Voyage.

and six pieces for stones; the master *John Jacobson Schellinger*, the factor *Reginer van Hel*. The fourth being a pinnace called the *Dove*, of the burthen of 50 tons, with twenty men, the master *Simon Lambertson*. Which four ships upon the 21st of the same month came unto the *Texel*, where they stayed for the space of twelve days to take in their lading; and the second of *April* following, they set sail with a north-east wind, and following on their course the 4th of the same month, they passed the Heads; the 6th they saw *Heyssant*, the 10th of *April* they passed by the Borels of *Lisbon*: with an east and north-east wind; the 17th of *April* they discovered two of

the islands of *Canaries*^a; the 19th, *Palm* and *Pic*, *Los Romeros*, and *Fero*, or the island of *Iron*, which is part of the *Canaries*. The 25th of *April* they saw *Bona visita*^b; the 26th they anchored under *Isole de May*^c; the 27th they set sail again, and held their course south south-east. The 4th of *May* we espied two of the king of *Spain*'s ships that came from *Lisbon*, and went for the *East-Indies*, about 1000 or 1200 tons each ships, with whom we spake, and told them that we were bound for the streights of *Magellan*; but being better of sail than they, we got presently out of their sight. The 12th of *May*, being under five degrees on this side

^a The islands which the ancients call'd *The Fortunate Islands*, by reason of their fertility and temperature of the air, having been discovered by the *Spaniards* in the year 1402. they named them the *Canaries*, or the islands of dogs; because they found great numbers of them there. They are seven in all, viz. *Lancerota*, *Fuerte* or *Forte Ventura*, the *Great Canary*, *Teneriff*, *Gomera*, *Hierro* or *Ferro*, and *Palma*. The *Great Canary* is far distant from the others, and contains 9000 inhabitants. It is the seat of the bishop, the inquisitors, and of the council-royal, which governs all the seven islands.

There is a mountain in the *Teneriff*, call'd the *Peak of Teneriff* or *Terraira*, which according to the common opinion, is the highest in the world. It may be distinctly seen at six leagues distance. There is no travelling to the top of it, but in *July* and *August*; because all the year besides it is covered with snow, though there is none to be seen in the other places of that island, nor in the other six at any time of the year. It is three days journey to the top of it, whence you may easily see all the *Canary* islands, though some of them are 60 leagues distant.

Hierro or *Ferro*, is also one of the biggest, but very barren, and so dry, that there is not one drop of fresh water to be found in it, except in some places along the sea-side, where it is also very troublesome and dangerous to fetch it; but this place the providence of God supplies with rain to remedy that inconvenience; for there grows almost in every place a sort of a tree which is pretty big, and incomparably fine; its leaves are long and narrow, always green and lively. This tree is always covered with a little cloud that hangs over it, and wets the leaves by its dew; so that a fine clear water distils from them into little pails, which the inhabitants set to catch it. This water falls in such large quantities, that it not only abundantly supplies the necessity of the people, but is sufficient also to water the cattle.

The *Canaries* in general are very fertile, and abound with all sorts of provisions. They afford great numbers of cattle, store of corn, honey, wax, sugar, cheese and skins. The wine of that country is pleasant and very strong, and transported into all parts. Here the *Spanish*, and ships of other nations in peace with *Spain*, often call and take in provisions, especially wine in their voyage to *America*.

About 100 leagues from these islands is another call'd *St. Paraura*, which though often seen by the mariners, was never yet entered by the *Spaniards*. It looks like a continued wood, and is reported to be very pleasant, plentiful, and inhabited by *Christians*; but upon what authority this is asserted I know not; for it is certain that it is not known of what nation the inhabitants are, nor what language they speak. Nor have they any communication with any other part of the universe.

^b This island is dry, full of rocks, has neither water nor provisions.

^c Here is abundance of goats and kids; sea-salt and coco-trees. This is one of the 10 islands, called the green islands, or which the *Dutch* call the salt islands, from the quantity of salt found there, which were discovered by the *Portuguese* in the year 1572. who inhabit some of them to this day. They are ten in number, viz. *St. Jago*, *St. Lucia*, *St. Vincente*, *St. Antonio*, *St. Nicholas*, *Ilha Blanca*, *Ilha de Sal*, *Ilha de Maio*, *Ilha de Fogo*, and *Ilha de Bona Vista*. They reach from the green Cape, 160 leagues into the sea. Some are of opinion that they were named *Green Islands* from the Green Cape; others, because the sea that surrounds them is covered with a green herb, call'd by the *Portuguese*, *Sargasso*, or *Cresses*, for that it is much like *Water-Cresses*.

This herb so covers the sea, that you can hardly see the water; nor can the ships sail through it, but with a stiff gale of wind. It brings forth berries much like white gooseberries; but they have no manner of taste. No body can tell how it grows; for there is no ground or land about the place where it floats upon the water, and it cannot come from the bottom of the sea; because the sea is very deep, and in many places unfathomable. You begin to see that herb when you are come to the latitude of 34 degrees, where it lies so thick, that one would take it for so many islands; but, what is more observable, you cannot see this herb any where else.

When the *Portuguese* discovered those islands, they were all desert and uninhabited; but now it affords plenty of rice, mill, *Tartarian* wheat, oranges, lemons, citrons, banana's, anana's, ignanes, batara's, melons, cucumbers, pumpkins, and several other sorts of fruits. It produces also garden and wild figs, vineyards which bring forth grapes twice a year, and abundance of great and small cattle, but especially kids. The islands of *Bona Vista*, *Maio*, and *de Sal*, have meat enough to lade the ships that go to *Brazil*.

The capital city is *St. Jago*, the governor whereof commands all the islands under the authority of the king of *Portugal*, and resides there. It hath also an Archiepiscopal See; and the jurisdiction of that prelate reaches not only over the islands, but over all the conquests the *Portuguese* have made on this side the *Cape of Good Hope*.

All the islands of cape *Verd* are good places to take in fresh water in a long voyage; for in the island of *Maio*, there is a little river to the east; and the land being uninhabited, no body can hinder you from taking it; and coming back, you may touch at the island of *St. Antonio*, where there is also very good fresh water, with good refreshments of fruits; as oranges, &c. There are in that island some *Portuguese*, but so few, that they cannot hinder you from taking what you please.

Their victuals stunk and spoiled.

They passed the sands of Brasil.

Tokens of the Cape de bona Sperance, or of Good Hope.

They entered into Agne Sambras.

side the equinoctial line, we espied five ships laden with sugar, coming from the island of *St. Thomas*, and sailed for *Lisbon*, to whom we gave certain letters, which were safely delivered in *Holland*. Departing from them and keeping on our course, upon the 4th of *June* we passed the equinoctial line, where the extreme heat of the air spoiled all our victuals: our flesh and fish stunk, our bisket moulded, our beer sowed, our water stunk, and our butter became as thin as oil, whereby divers of our men fell sick, and many of them died; but after that we learned what meat and drink we should carry with us that would keep good. The 28th of *June* we passed the sands of *Brasil*, by the *Portuguese* called *Abrolhos*, which are certain places which men must look warily unto, otherwise they are very dangerous.

These sands lye under eighteen degrees, and you must pass between the coast of *Guinea*, and the sands aforesaid, not going too near either of them, otherwise close by the coast there are great calms, thunders, rains and lightnings, with great storms; hard by the sands men are in danger to be cast away: And so sailing on their course, first east-south-east, then east and east and by north. Upon the second of *July* we passed *Tropicus Cancræ*, under twenty-three degrees, and half. The 13th of the same month, we espied many black birds. The 19th great numbers of white birds, and the 20th a bird as big as a swan, whereof four or five together is a good sign of being near the *Cape de bona Sperance*.

These birds are always about the said cape, and are good signs ^d of being before it.

The second of *August* we saw the land of the *Cape de bona Sperance*^e, and the 4th of the same month we entered into a haven called *Agne Sambras*, where we anchor-

ed, and found good depth at eight or nine fathom water, sandy ground.

The 5th day we went on shore to gather fruit, therewith to refresh our sick men, that were thirty or thirty-three in one ship. In this bay lieth a small island, wherein are many birds called *Penguins*, about the bigness of a goose; not good to eat: and sea wolves, or sea dogs, not good to eat; but very tame, that are taken with mens hands. We went into the country and spake with the inhabitants, who brought divers fresh victuals aboard our ships, for a knife, or small piece of iron, &c. giving us an ox, or a sheep, &c. three oxen and five sheep for a bill, an axe, a shovel, a great iron nail, a knife, and other little pieces of iron not worth four livres. The sheep in those countries have great tails, and are fat and delicate. Their oxen are indifferent good, having lumps of flesh upon their backs, that are as fat as any of our good brisket beef^f. The inhabitants are of small stature, well jointed and boned^g. They go naked, covering their members with foxes and other beasts tails. They seem cruel, yet with us they used all kind of friendship; but are very beastly and stinking, in such sort, that you may smell them in the wind at the least a fathom from you. They are apparelled with beasts skins made fast about their necks^h. Some of them, being of the better sort, had their mantles cut and raised chequerwise, which is a great ornament with themⁱ. They eat raw flesh as it is new killed, and the entrails of beasts without washing or making clean, gnawing it like dogs; and men-eaters, where they have the advantage. Under their feet they tie pieces of beasts skins instead of shoes, that they may travel in the hard ways. We could not see their habitations, for we saw

no

^d *Trumbus*, or knots of rushes, with their roots floating at sea, is also a certain sign now of being near the *Cape of Good Hope*.

^e This Cape is the most southerly point of *Africa*, and was so named by the *Portuguese*. *Bartholomew Dias* discovered it in the year 1493. or thereabout. When he returned to *Portugal*, and gave a relation of all that had happened to *John II.* speaking of this cape, he told the king it might be call'd *The Tempestuous Cape*, because of the furious and dangerous winds that blow continually in that latitude. But the king reply'd, it was better to call it the *Cape of Good Hope*; because men were always in good hopes of doubling it; and from that time the mariners call it by that name.

The *Portuguese* coming from the *East-Indies*, always congratulate one another when they have doubled that cape; for they fear no dangers afterwards, but reckon themselves to be safely arrived already, because they cannot be driven back into the *East-Indies*, as it sometimes happens when they are beyond that cape; and for that reason also it was justly call'd *The Cape of Good Hope*. The *Portuguese* pretend that *Vasco de Gama* was the first that discovered it.

^f The oxen there are as big as *Spanish* oxen, they have a bunch upon their backs, and some of them have no horns. The sheep are also very large, and well tasted. Their tails are half an ell thick, and have as much meat upon them, as a leg. Their fleece is long, and like the hair of a goat. This place does likewise afford quails, larks, several sorts of hawks, and a great many sparrows.

^g They are of a reddish brown complexion, some more and some less. They are very ugly, and paint their faces with black painting. Their hair is like that of a man that hath hanged a long time on a gibbet.

^h And a large girdle of the same about their middle, hiding their privy parts with the tail of the skin.

ⁱ For ornament they wear bracelets made of ivory and copper, shells finely polished, and gold rings upon their fingers, with little balls of bone and wood. For weapons they use long javelins, the irons of which are very broad and dangerous.

no houses they had, neither could we understand them; for they speak very strangely, much like the children in our country with their pipes, and clocking like turkey-cocks; or like the *Germans* that live upon the mountains of *Switzerland* towards the *Julian Alps*, who by drinking spring and snow water very cold, have always swellings in their throats. At the first we saw about thirty of them, with weapons like pikes, with broad heads of iron, and about their arms they wore rings of elpen bones. There we could find neither oranges nor lemons, which we purposely sought for.

With what
wind they
failed to
St. Lau-
rence.

The 11th of *August* we weighed anchor, sailing towards the island of *St. Laurence*, and the 22d of the same month we had a contrary wind that blew north-east. The 25th a west wind, and so held our course east north-east. The 28th there blew a south-east wind, and the 30th a south-west wind, and our course lay north north-east to sail to the isle of *St. Laurence*. The 1st of *September* we discovered the point of the island^k of *St. Laurence*, under 16 degrees; and the third day we saw the island, being very desirous to go on land, for that many of our men were sick, whereby we could hardly rule our ships, or bring them farther, without healing or refreshing our men. The 9th of *September* *John Schellinger* sent out his boat to row to land, where they found three fishermen^l, of whom for two or three knives they had great store of fishes. The 13th we enter'd into a small bay, but because we found no good anchor ground, as also being very foul, we failed out again. The 14th we failed under a small island, about a mile or two from the greater, by the *Hollanders* called their *Church-yard*, or the dead island, because many sailors dying in that place were buried in the *African* earth; and the 29th of the same month died *John Dignumsz*, master of the *Lion of Holland*, and was buried the next day after^m.

They had
great store
of fish for
two or 3
knives.

There *John Peters* of *Delft*, sailer of the *Hollandia*, and *Koelken van Maidenblick* of the *Amsterdam*, were set on shore upon the island of *St. Laurence*, with promise of pardon, if they returned in five days with oranges and other refreshments; where they were left, because they had mutinied and committed certain notorious crimes.

Mean time the pinnace was sent out to look for fresh water, which having found, the boat returned to bring us news, and therewith the fleet failed thither; and the 10th of *October* the ships anchored before the river, and went on shore, where we found good provision of all necessaries, the inhabitants being very willing thereunto, bringing us of all things that we needed, where for a pewter spoon we had an ox, or three sheep. The 11th of *October* we went on shore with a boat full of sick men, and the next day we were assailed by a company of wild men, against whom our weapons little prevailed; for they hurt one of our men, took their arms from 'em, stripped 'em naked, and took all that we had from us; whereby, upon the thirteenth of the same month, we were forced to insconce ourselves with pieces of wood and branches of trees, making cabins within our scone, for that the 15th of *October* they came again, but then we took one, and slew another of them. The 19th of *November*, our pilot, *Claes Janson*, or *Nicholas Jansen*, pilot of the *Maurice*, was intrapped and murdered by the wild people, though we used all the means we could to help him; but they feared no weapons: about ten or twelve days after we took one of them, concerned in the foresaid murder, that paidⁿ for his death. The first of *December*, our men having for the most part recovered their healths, were all carried aboard the ships. In that part of *Madagascar*^o, the people are of good condition, and go naked, only with a cotton cloth before their privy members, and some from their breasts downward.

How the
wild men
assailed
them, and
forced 'em
to insconce
themselves

The man-
ner and
custom
of the wild
people.

^k The land is low and smooth; except the cape *San Roman*, which is the western point, and very high and hilly, having a double mountain.

^l Other accounts of this voyage say, *three fisher-boats*. Here are good oysters and bream.

^m On the 5th of *October*, the seal'd letters of the directors were opened, and read before them all; by which it was ordered, That *Peter Dirker Keyser*, should be nominated master of the said ship. They consequently declared their obedience to him.

ⁿ By being shot to death, tied to a stake.

^o The island is call'd by the inhabitants *Madagascar*, and by the *Portuguese* *St. Lawrence*; because they discovered it on *St. Lawrence's* day in the year 1506. It is reckoned to be one of the longest islands in the world. Some affirm that it contains 3000 *Italian* miles in circumference, which make 400 leagues, at 15 leagues a degree: So that according to this account, it is bigger than *Portugal*, and longer than *Italy*. The air is here very temperate, and for that reason the island is very populous.

The inhabitants, especially those that dwell upon the sea-coasts, are for the generality *Mahometans*. Their manners, cloaths, religion, and way of living, have been already accounted for in some measure.

Mark Paul of *Venice*, reports that the island is governed by four of the seniors or ancient men, and enjoys plenty of fowl, and several other things. Here are elephants, and two sorts of unicorns, one call'd *Indian* asses, which have claws, but no cloven feet; the other sort called *Orix*, and have both claws and cloven feet. There is a great quantity of lizards in the island, and a great wood of red sanders trees, which are much valued, because they are so plentiful.

ward. Their ornaments are copper rings about their arms, but tin rings are more esteemed with them, and therefore tin with them is good merchandize. Their oxen have great lumps of fat upon their backs. Their sheeps tails weigh at the least twelve pound, being of an ell long, and two and twenty inches thick. They gave us six of those sheep for a tin spoon. They dwell in cottages and live very poorly. They fear the noise of a piece, for with one caliver you shall make an hundred of them run away. We could not perceive any religion they had; but after we were informed that they held the law of *Mahomet*; for the two boys that we took from off the land, shewed us their circumcision. There we found no fruit of *Tambaxiumes*, but great numbers of parrots, medicats, and turtle-doves, whereof we killed and eat many^p. The second of *December*, we burned our sconce, and fourteen of our men going farther into the island, brought certain of the countrymen prisoners, and being aboard our ships taught

them what they should do. The 13th of *December*, we hoisted anchor, minding to hold on our course for the islands of *Java*, and for that by reason of the pleasantness of the air, we had in a manner all recovered our healths, we set our course east and by north, and east north-east. The 19th of the same month we were separated by foul weather, and the 22d with great joy we met again. The 10th of *January* *Vechter Willemson* died, being a very honest man, and pilot in *Molender's* ship, for whom we were much grieved, and the same day we determined to put back again for the island of *St. Laurence*; for as then we began again to have a great scouring among our men, and many of them fell sick: but presently thereupon we espied the island of *St. Mary*^q, and the next day being arrived there, some of the inhabitants came aboard our ships with a basket of rice, sugar-canes, citrons, lemons, and hens; whereof we were very glad, as being physick for us.

The wild men brought things aboard to comfort them.

The sea casts upon the shoar great quantity of amber. The ground produceth abundance of rice, barley, citrons, limons, oranges, and such large pumkins, that a man can hardly clasp one with his arms; some are red, some yellow, and others white, which have a more pleasant taste than those that grow in *Holland*; they have also ginger, honey, and sugar-canes, but don't know the use of them; abundance of saffron, ivory, medicinal herbs, coco-nuts, &c.

The island produces some silver, and has many rivers and harbours frequented by the *Moors* and *Saraeens*. There are lions, leopards, stags, hinds, deer, and several other wild and tame beasts in it; but especially a great number of camels, whose flesh the inhabitants feed much upon, and reckon it wholesome food. Thus far *Mark Paul of Venice*.

^p The inhabitants of both sexes in this place are black, strong, and well-shaped. The men have no other cloaths but a piece of callico tied about the middle of their bodies, and the women have a piece of the same cloth upon their breasts, which hangs down to their feet. They have great holes in the lobes of their ears, in which they hang little bits of wood; and they wear brass and pewter bracelets.

They neither sow nor reap; but live only upon fish, excepting a few of the richer sort, who have cattle, and feed upon them. They live in small huts without any store of provisions. Their arms are little spears or assagays, which they dart very dexterously, each of them being provided with a whole handful. They are so scared with *Fusees*, that one man so armed will put a hundred of them to flight.

In that country there is plenty of turtle-doves, grey parrots, partridges, henns, and other fowls, as in *Europe*; together with a multitude of apes of another shape and hair than those of *Brasil* or *Spain*. They have plenty of dates, melons, pumpkins, and two or three sorts of small beans; namely, red, black and white. In the woods they have abundance of honey; and they have likewise an infinite number of singing birds.

The herb of which the Anil is made, grows there in the fields; and when they have occasion to dye callico, they gather it, bruise it, and so employ it for that purpose. The inhabitants call it Engar, and will not sell it to be carried out of that country. Its leaves are like rosemary leaves; but the plant is not much higher than thyme.

They have also several sorts of wood, which dye black, yellow, and dark colours; and plenty of iron and copper mines. They have such a high esteem for pewter, that if you present them with a silver spoon, and a pewter one, they will make choice of the pewter one.

Cotton grows in very great plenty in the fields upon little trees. They trade only in dry and roasted fish, and carry it farther into the country, to the great town call'd *Rango*, whither they also carry dates and salt, and exchange it for long darts and great knives. They call the first *Leffo*, and the other *Vedi*.

The men pass their time in hunting, and the women in spinning and weaving callicoes. Their ordinary food is fish, dates, beans, milk, and sometimes flesh. When any of them has kill'd a good beast, all the neighbours come to ask a piece of it, promising to return them as much again.

Their oxen are very big, full of flesh, and have a great lump of fat upon their backs. The cattle feed in fine and good pastures, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, according to the season of the year, as formerly the *Nomades* in *Africa* used to do. The sheep are of an extraordinary size, and very fat, a loyn of mutton being 23 inches thick, and commonly of 11 pounds weight.

Every man has a wife. The men marry when they are but 11 or 12 years old, and the women at ten. Adultery and robbery are capital crimes.

They believe in one Creator of all things, and offer up their prayers to him; but have no particular day appointed for the performance of their devotions; for all days are alike to them; nay, they have not so much as distinguishing names for them. They never reckon by the year, month or week; and have only ten numbers, which they call, *Issa*, *Rove*, *Tello*, *Effat*, *Enning*, *Fruto*, *Wedo*, *Sidai*, *Scula*; that is to say, One, Two, &c. They stand mightily in fear of the Devil, whom they call *Taiwaddei*, because he takes delight in tormenting them very often, and especially the men.

^q Stands in a gulph, surrounded with hills and rocks; near it are two other little islands, one producing good rice, the other covered with wood.

The 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th days we were on land, where we bought rice, hens, sugar-canes, citrons, and lemons in great abundance, and other kind of fruits to us unknown; also good fish, and green ginger. There we took a fish, which thirteen men could hardly pull into our ship; and because the island was little, and we had many men, we entered into the bay of the firm land with our pinnace, where for a string of beads of small value, we had a ton of rice. The king, whom they call *Cheque*, came aboard our pinnace to see it, and was as black as a devil, with two horns made fast upon his head, and all his body naked like the rest of the country people^r.

The description of one of their kings

This island lies about a small mile from *Madagascar*, about 19 degrees southward from the equinoctial line. (*Madagascar*, or *St. Laurence*, is an island belonging to the country of *Africa*, and lieth southward under 26 degrees, ending northward under 11 degrees; by the inhabitants it is called *Madagascar*, and by the *Portuguese* the

island of *St. Laurence*, because it was discovered on *St. Laurence's* day^s. The riches of this island is great; it aboundeth in rice, honey, wax, cotton, lemons, cloves, &c. The inhabitants are black, and go naked; but the hair upon their heads is not so much curled as those of the *Mosambique*, and they are not full so black.)

The 23d of *January* we anchored before a river, where likewise we had all kind of necessaries; and after that we went to lie under a small island within the same bay.

The 25th of *January*, there came some of the wild people aboard our ships, making signs to have us go on land, which we did; and there we had good rice, and other fruits in great abundance. On the left side of the entry of the river lieth one of their towns, and on the right hand two towns, where we had most of our traffick. The 26th of *January* we had interpreters, whom we made to drink wine; wherewith they were as drunk as beasts.

The wild people came on board their ships, and seemed very friendly

The Manner and Condition of the People inhabiting in the great Bay of Antogil, or Anton-Gil, on this side the Equinoctial Line, under 16 Degrees, on the South side of the Island Madagascar.

IT is a very great bay, in latitude 16 degrees and half, reaching ten leagues from N. N. W. to S. S. W. about ten mile broad; behind it lies a high island, and three small islands. There is good harbour against all winds. The island is inhabited, and therein grows all kinds of fruits; it hath a great fall of water that comes down out of the hills, where we laded all our water; and half a mile from thence northerly, within the land, there runs a great river, wherein likewise there is much water to be had. When you enter into the river about a quarter of a mile inward, on the left hand, there is a small town or village, not closed nor fortified; in it there is about 200 houses, and on the right hand where the river divideth itself, there are two other such towns, and several other villages, which bring you to the sight of another great river on the north side. They were all compassed with pales, and the houses were placed about two foot above the ground, upon four or five pales or stakes of wood, and all the upper parts of reed

and straw. The cause why their houses are made so high from the ground, is to avoid the danger of venomous beasts that are there in great abundance, as serpents, snakes, camelions, and other kind of beasts. The people are very black, but their hair and beards are not so much curled as the right *Moors*, nor their noses nor lips so great nor flat. They are subtle and strong people, much addicted to drinking, for they will be as drunk as swine, with a kind of drink made of honey and rice. They go naked, only that about their middles they wear a cloth made of the bark of a tree, drawn in small threads. They make and use very fine mats to sit upon. They have no great store of weapons, for that half of them are unprovided, and what they use is a spear of nine or ten foot long, with a great wooden target. They are very fearful of our calivers, for five or six men with calivers will cause great numbers of them to fly away. We taught them what our pieces meant, for we perceived that they knew them not, before they had proved them.

Why their houses stand so high above the earth.

The manner of the wild men in that country.

At

^r He made a long speech in his own tongue to the *Dutch*, with his eyes lift up to heaven.

^s See the note in pag. 400.

At the first they thought they could carry no further than their own lengths, for they knew not what they were. Their king's ornaments were ten or twelve copper rings about his arms; if we had had such rings with us, we might have sold them at what prices we would. They likewise use beads of glass, which they wear about their arms and necks, by them esteemed for great ornaments. For a box of beads of small value, we had an ox, or three or four sheep. Round about this bay are towns and villages, where you may have of all things to refresh yourselves; lemons and citrons are there greater and better than in *Portugal*. Likewise, oranges, rice, hens, goats, honey, and many other sorts of fruits; and a sort of corn called by the natives *Manigettle*, and a root, like ginger on the out-side, and yellow within, called *Cunchers* in the *Malusian* tongue; *Habet* in *Arabick*; *Cuffran* des las *Indias* by the *Spanish*. It is full of sharp juice; bears a flower like the white lilly, and is physical. And to conclude, it is the best bay in the world to refresh ships. Being on land we were well entertained, and must of force drink with them of their drink made of honey and rice. There we trafficked with them, and had sufficient of every thing, but every night we went aboard our ships.

The 3d of *February* we had so great a storm, that most of our anchors were lost, and we ran upon the land in great danger to cast our ships away; but God helped us, for the storm ceased, and then we went to weigh up our lost anchors, and so again went to anchor under the island, glad that we had so well escaped that danger. The 5th of *February* we went to seek for our boats, but the wild men had broken them in pieces, and taken out the nails, thinking likewise that our ships would have been cast away upon the shore; which they still expected: and when we came thither, they stood upon the shore with their weapons in hand, and threw stones at us; and we perceiving them in that mind, made towards our ships; for we desired not to revenge ourselves, nor once to fight with them without commission from our general, whom we certified thereof. The 8th of *February* we rowed into the river to buy cattle, and other things; but they were become our enemies, threatening and casting stones at us; whereupon we put out two shallops to run ashore close to the land, and made our calivers and other weapons ready.

Wherewith we shot at them; but they feared not our shot, for they knew not what they meant: they thought likewise that the pieces could carry no farther than they were long; but when they saw eight or nine of their fellows dead, they fled into the woods, and we entering upon the land set fire to their houses, whereof we burnt about twenty or thirty. The 9th of *February* we sailed on the other side to buy cattle, and other necessaries; but they seemed unwilling to deal with us; but we threatening to burn their houses, they brought us cattle and fruits enough, with all things else to our desires.

The 12th of *February* 1596 we weighed anchor, and set sail out of the great bay of *Antongil*, being well provided with all necessaries; we put out with a north wind, the bay stretching north-east and south-west. The 2d of *March* we had a west wind, our course being east and east and by north towards *Java*. In *March* and *April*, about the island of *Brandawe*, we found that our compasses held two strikes too far northward, and we could not perceive the sands that are set down in the *Portuguese* sea cards, but we saw many turnings of streams, and we were much troubled with calms; but with the new moon we had wind enough out of the west and north-west. The 27th of *May* we found the water aboard our ships to be much lessen'd, and therefore every man's portion was but half as much as he was wont to have¹; so that each man was allowed but four draughts every day, which was but a small quantity. Whereby thro' the extreme heat we endured great thirst, so that at that time a draught of water aboard our ship was worth a rial of eight. The 1st of *July* we saw the island of *Emgano*, or *Dengano*, so called by the *Portuguese*, but *Pagniatan* by the natives; whereat we much rejoiced, because of the great thirst we endured in our ship; and when we made nearer to it, we perceived it to be an island lying before the straights of *Sonda*, under 9 degrees, on the south side of the line, and 16 leagues from the island of *Sumatra*. The 6th of *July* we put somewhat nearer to the land, and there we saw six or seven canoes lying under the shore, but far off, and durst not make towards us. In the end we manned out a shallop and rowed to land, but they made from us; and when our men were hard by the shore, there we saw about 40 or 50 of them standing upon the shore with their bows; wherewith our men durst

An observation concerning the variation of the compass, &c.

not

¹ On the second about midnight as another account has it. The *Holland* and *Maurice* ran foul on one another, and lost their boats.

² It was reduced to a pint per day, each man.

not land, for they seemed to be a cruel kind of people, and altogether wild: for they went all naked, not having any thing before their privy members. They were of a reddish colour, yellowish complexion, says another, like the *Brasilians*; and very tall, with long lank hair: but when our men saw no advantage, they turned again unto their ships.

The 7th of *July* we saw the point of the land of *Sumatra*, which is a very high land descending downward with a long end.

The 11th of the same month we were close under the land, where there lay an island, and there we anchored.

The 12th of *July* in the morning we saw certain ships, whereof one came unto us; we rowed unto it with a shallop, and spake with it, but could not understand them; but they shewed us where we should have water, which made us glad, that we might once again have our bellies full of water: it being almost four months that we had not seen any land, nor taken in any fresh victuals. We sent our Pinnace to the firm land of *Sumatra*, there to seek for some relief: for at that where we lay there dwelt not any man. The 13th of *July* the captain or principal ruler of *Sumatra* came aboard our ships to see us; which was done with great solemnity, he being appareled after the *Turkish* manner, with a wreath about his head, and a fearful countenance, small eyes, great eyebrows, and little beard, for a man might tell all the hairs upon his chin: he brought us a present of betele, which are leaves which they continually chew, and eat it with chalk.

The manner of the governor of *Sumatra*'s coming on board.

Sumatra.

This island of *Sumatra* or *Taprobana*^w (as it is said) is the greatest of all the oriental islands; it is divided from the firm land of *Malacca* by a straight and dangerous sea, by reason of many islands and cliffs that are within it. Out of this island,

as some men are of opinion, *Solomon* had his gold wherewith he beautified the temple and his own palace, and then in the bible it should be named *Ophir*; for certainly *Sumatra* is rich of mines of gold, silver, and metal, and the inhabitants thereof are very expert in melting of brass pieces. Therein is a fountain of pure balsam. The *Portuguese* have no fortres therein; yet they traffick in certain havens, especially in *Pedir* and *Campar*. There is also in this island a place called *Manancabo*, where they make poynards and daggers, by them called cryses, which are much esteemed in those countries; and those of *Malacca* and *Java* hold them for their best weapons, and with them are very bold.

The same day our pinnace returned again unto us, bringing us good news, that we were welcome unto the country people; and brought us certain *Indian* nuts or cocoe, melons, cucumbers, onions, garlick, and a sample of pepper and other spices, which we liked well.

The 14th of *June* we laded in some fresh water.

Right over against *Sumatra*, on the south side of the equinoctial lieth the island of *Java major*, or great *Java*; and these two islands are divided by a streight, commonly called the streight of *Sunda*, which lieth between these two islands, bearing the name of the principal haven of *Java*, called *Sunda*. In this channel there runneth a great stream, and course of narrow waters: through this streight Mr. *Candish*, an *Englishman*, passed with his ship, coming out of the *South-sea* from new Spain. *Java* beginneth under seven degrees on the south side, and so stretcheth east and south 150 miles long: it is very fruitful, especially of rice, cattle, hogs, sheep, hens, onions, garlick, *Indian* nuts; and all kind of spices, as cloves, nutmegs, mace, &c. which they carry to *Malacca*. The chief haven

^w Some writers affirm it is 700 leagues in circumference, and 200 in breadth. Others say, it is but 170 *German* leagues long, and 60 broad.

Those that dwell in the middle of this island, are directly under the equinoctial line; so that one half reaching to the south, and the other half to the north, the whole reaches from the 16th degree of south latitude, to the latitude of five degrees north.

The island is very rich in gold, and is stored with silver, pewter, iron, brimstone, and several other mines. Here is abundance of copper, of which they make good guns; several sorts of precious stones; and a mountain of burning brimstone, which continually blows out flames like mount *Gibello* in *Sicily*. It abounds with spices and silks.

But the air is not very wholesome, especially for strangers, because there are so many rivers, standing waters, and thick forests in it. There is no wheat, nor any other sort of corn that groweth in *Europe*. But there is plenty of rice, millet, and fruits, which afford a good and sufficient nourishment for the inhabitants. It affords likewise abundance of honey, bees-wax, ginger, camphire, cassia, pepper, &c. white sanders, especially cotton, of which the inhabitants make their garments.

The island of *Sumatra* is divided into several kingdoms yet unknown, especially those that lie in the middle. The *Portuguese* mention but two inland kingdoms, namely *Andragidan*, and *Aman*, the inhabitants of which are *Pagans* and *Men eaters*; those that inhabit the coasts, are *Mahometans*.

The kingdom of *Pedir* is one of the most noted, next to those of *Pacan*, *Camparan* and *Manancabo*, where they make the best *Cryses*, or daggers in *India*, which those of *Java*, and the *Malaians* esteem the best weapons for use. But *Achem* is now reckoned to be the most considerable kingdom of *Sumatra*, because the king of that country has not only conquered *Pedir* and *Lacan*, but also all the northern parts of that island.

haven in the island is *Sunda Calapa*; there you have much pepper, better than that of *India* or *Malabar*; and there you may yearly lade 4 or 5000 quintals of pepper *Portugal* weight. There likewise you have great store of frankincense, camphor, and some diamonds; but they have no other kind of money * but a certain piece called *caixa*, as big as a *Holland* doit, but not so thick, with a hole in the middle to hang it upon a string, in which manner they commonly hang hundreds or thousands together, and with them they know how to make their accounts; which is, two hundred *caixa*'s make a *sata*, and five *sata*'s make a thousand *caixa*'s, which is as much as one *crusado* of *Portugal*, or three *Carolus Gilderns*, *Flemish* money, or two shillings sixpence *English*. Pepper is sold by the sack, each sack weighing 45 catten weight of *China*, each catte as much as 20 ounces *Portugal* weight, and each sack is worth in that country at the least 5000 *caixa*'s; and when it is highest, at 6 or 7000 *caixa*'s. Mace, cloves, nutmegs, white and black benjamin, camphor, are sold by the bar, each bar weighing 330 catten of *China*. Mace that is fair and good is commonly worth from 100 to 120 thousand *caixa*'s. Good cloves accordingly, and foul cloves, called *bastan*, are worth 70 and 80 thousand *caixa*'s the bar. Nutmegs are always worth 20 and 25 thousand *caixa*'s the bar. White and black Benjamin is worth 150 and 180 thousand *caixa*'s, and sometimes 200000. The wares that are there desired and exchanged for spices, are divers sorts and colours of cotton linen, which come out of several provinces; and if our cambrick or fine holland were carried thither, it would peradventure be more esteemed than the cotton linnen of *India*.

The 15th of *June* there rowed a scute called a prawen, hard under the land by us; we called him, but not against his will, and shewed him silver, and other wares that liked him well. He bad us make towards the strand, and told us of *Bantam*, saying, that there we should have all kinds of merchandize. Then we made signs unto him that if he would bring us to *Bantam*, we would pay him for his labour. He asked us five rials of eight, and a red cap, which we granted him, and so one of the men in the scute came on board the *Mauritius*, and was our pilot to *Bantam*, where we passed by many islands.

The 19th of *July* as we sailed by a town, many *Portugueze* boarded us, and brought us certain cocos and hens to sell, which we bought for other wares.

The 22d of the same month we came before the town of *Bantam*, within three miles of it, and there anchored under an island. The same day about evening a scute of *Portugueze* boarded us, that were sent by the governor to see what ships we were; and when we shewed them that we came thither to traffick with them, they told us, that this was the right pepper country, and that there we might have our lading; that new pepper was ready to be gathered, and would be ripe within two months after; which pleased us well, for we had already been fifteen months, and twelve days upon our voyage, having endured great dangers, miseries and thirst, many of our men by sickness being dead.

The 23d of *June* we hoisted our anchor, and went close to the town of *Bantam*, and anchored hard by four small islands, that lay right north from the town. The same day the *Sabandar* (who is there one of the greatest officers next the king) came aboard our ships, asking us what we would have; we said we were come to buy pepper, and other spices, and that we had ready money, and certain wares, whereof we shewed him some part, which he liked well, saying, that there we might have lading enough, shewing us great countenance.

The same day likewise there came a great number of scutes unto our ships, bringing all kinds of victuals to sell, as hens, eggs, cocos, bonanas, sugar canes, cakes of rice baked, and many other things. The 24th of *June* there came many men aboard our ships, bringing divers wares to sell, shewing us great friendship, and as it seemed were very glad of our arrival there, telling us that there we might have pepper enough, and new pepper within two months after, and that pepper was then as good and cheap as it had been any time within ten years before; that we might buy five or six sacks for one catti, (being about twenty *gilderns*) which was ordinarily sold, but one sack for that price. Every sack weigheth 54 pound *Holland* weight, so that a pound would be worth about a brass penny *Holland* money. The same day about noon the *Sabandar* boarded us once again, desiring *Cornelius Houtman* to go on land to speak with the governor, for as then there was no king; for about a month before our arrival there, the king was gone with a great army before the town of *Palimbam*, which he thought to take, and had almost gotten it, but there he was stricken with a great piece by a renegado of the *Portugueze*, and so was slain.

* Of worse alloy than lead.

His death was much lamented by the strangers that dwelt at *Bantam*; for he was a good king, being about 25 years of age. He left behind him four wives, whereof the eldest was not above 15 years of age, and a young son of three months old, that was to succeed him in his kingdom; and they had chosen a protector or governor to rule in his minority, whom they call *Kipate*; and when the *Kipate* by the *Sabandar* sent to our serjeant major to come unto him into the town, he made him answer that he had no such commission; but he desired the governor first to come aboard his ship, and then he would go on shore: he likewise desired us to go nearer to the town with our ships.

And thereupon we sailed somewhat nearer to the island that lay next unto the town, within half a mile from it, and there we anchored at four fathom clay ground, the town lying about two leagues south from us, where we had a good road. The next morning the governor sent aboard, and the men that came spake not only good *Portuguese*, but other languages: he let our serjeant major understand that he would come aboard, and desired that he would with a shallop meet him half the way; which was done about noon, and the governor came aboard with a great company of men, where we shewed him all our wares, which he liked well, desiring us to come on land, saying that we should be welcome, promising us much favour; wherewith he returned to the land with certain rich presents that we gave him. The 26th *Barent Heijn*, factor of the ship called the *Mauritius*, died very suddenly.

The 27th and 28th great numbers of people boarded our ships, bringing all sorts of necessaries and victuals to sell.

The 29th there came an emperor, named *Raia d'Amna*, aboard our ship, whose father in time past had been emperor of all *Java*, and commanded all the kings of *Java*; but this man because of his bad life was not much accounted of: he spake good *Portuguese*, for his mother was a *Portuguese* woman born in *Malacca*. This emperor^v had conspired against us with the *Portuguese*, but as then we knew it not.

The 30th of *June* *Cornelius Houtman* took a boat and went into the town, and there spake with the Governor about certain affairs, touching a contract to be made with him.

The 1st of *July* *Houtman* went again into the town, and when he returned he brought with him a certain contract made

and signed by the governor himself, who most willingly consented thereunto, and said unto him, *Go now and buy what you will, you have free liberty*; which done, the said *Houtman* with his men went to see the town, apparelled in the best manner they could, in velvet, satin, and silks, with rapiers by their sides. The captain had a thing born over his head to keep him from the sun, with a trumpet before him, which certain times he caused to be sounded. There the emperor invited them to a banquet after the *Indian* manner. From thence they went to the *Portuguese*, who made much account of *Houtman*, and made him a banquet, saying that they had seen him in *Lisbon*. The 2d of *July* many merchants came on board, proffering us pepper very good and cheap; but because we were unskilful in the weight, and other things, we took time to answer them.

The 3d of *July* the *Sabandar* came aboard, and he was our great friend; for that after we found it so, he told us what weight the sacks of pepper were, and what prices they bore, counselling us to buy.

The 7th of *July* the governor sent us a man secretly by night, willing us to look unto ourselves, and not to trust the emperor^z, with whom all the merchants conspired, and went to invade our ships, and that he meant to rob us, as being very licentious and evil minded.

The 8th of *July* the emperor sent unto our ships, and offered to make them a banquet, bidding all the captains, masters, pilots, gentlemen, officers, trumpets, and gunners to come into the town to him, and there he would make merry with them. This was done by the *Portuguese* advice, thereby to have all the chief and principal men out of our ships; but we perceived their intent, and returned for answer, That they had reason to suspect treachery, and were upon their guard, and were resolved to defend themselves. They also desired he would not believe the *Portuguese*, and the day after sent him a present.

The 11th of *July* the emperor perceiving that his device would not take place, he went from *Bantam* to *Icatra*, a town about 10 leagues from *Bantam*. *N. B.* The *Portuguese* had promised him 4000 pieces of eight, could he contrive to destroy these *Dutchmen*, and put their ships into their hands.

The 12th of *July* we had a house offered us within the town.

The 13th of the same month, *Reyner van Hel* with eight gentlemen went into the town,

^v The emperor came aboard, and secretly conspired with the *Portuguese* against them.

^z The emperor meant to fall upon the ships to rob them.

The governor of *Bantam* came aboard their ships.

A contract to buy and sell in the town.

town, taking certain wares with him, of every thing a little, and laid it in the house appointed for the purpose; there to keep a warehouse, and to sell our merchandise: and presently both gentlemen and merchants came thither to buy and to sell us pepper.

The 15th and 16th, many gentlemen, merchants, *Chinefe* and *Arabians*, came to our warehouse and into our ships, offering us pepper, but our factor offered them too little a price.

The 25th of *July* the governor came again aboard our ships, and there looked upon certain of our wares, whereof he bought some, and counsell'd us to buy pepper. About the same time the *Portu-*

The hatred of the *Portuguese* against them.

gueze made great suit unto the governor, promising him many gifts to deny us traffick, and to constrain us to depart from thence, saying we were no merchants, but that we came to spy the country; for they said that they had seen many *Flemings* in *Lisbon*, but none like us. Among the *Portuguese*, there was one that was born in *Malacca*, of the *Portuguese* race; his name was *Pedro Truide*, or *Pedro de Tayda*, who was a famous pilot, and not only frequented, but made charts of all the coasts, and maps of all the islands in the *East-Indies*; a man well seen in travelling, and one that had been in all places of the world. He was our good friend, and every day came to talk with our captains, saying, You do not well that you make no more

haste to take in your lading, you shall have no better cheap wares, and withal shewed us many other things; whereupon the *Portuguese* hated him, and not long after he was murdered by sixteen ruffians about noon as he lay asleep upon his bed.

In *August* we did little, and took no great store of lading, in seeking to have pepper cheaper; which the *Portuguese* liked not well of, and said unto the governor, that we desired not to buy: which the governor began to hearken unto, for they offered him great sums of money that he should not permit us to traffick; so that in the end he commanded that no man should carry any rice aboard our ships, whereby we were abashed; and thereupon we sent unto the governor for our money, which he ow'd for the wares he had bought; which moved him, and he cast them into prison. Then he sent an interpreter with nine slaves, and one of the *Dutchmen* on board, to declare that he did this only to prevent their seizing the two *Jonques* laden with cloves; and that when they were sail'd, he would release their companions. But when the messenger return'd, and told the governor, that his interpreter and the rest were detain'd in chains, he declared, that unless they were immediately released, he would put the *Dutch* to death. The 26th of *July* he sent one of our gentlemen, with some of his men and nine slaves, aboard our ships.

The Situation of the Town of Bantam, the principal Town of Traffick in the Island of Java, their Strength and Manner of Building, with their Traffick; what People come thither, what Wares are there most desired, what Nations bring them thither, or come to fetch them; together with their Religion, Customs, and Manner of House-keeping.

Bantam.

Its Situation.

BANTAM lieth in the island of *Java* major, about twenty five miles to seaward within the isle, between *Sumatra* and *Java*. On both sides of the town there runneth a river, about three foot and a half deep, so that no ships can enter into them. The town is compassed about with a river. The town is almost as great in compass as the old town of *Amsterdam*. The walls are made with flankers. They have great numbers of pieces therein, but they know not how to use them, for they fear them much. All their pieces are of brass, and they have many brazen bafes. Their walls are not above two foot thick

Strength.

made of bricks. Every flanker hath divers masts and pieces of wood, which they use when they are besieged by their enemies. The houses are made of straw and reeds, standing upon four wooden posts. The rich people have their chambers all hanged with silken curtains, or else with cotton linnen. Their houses are most placed under coco trees, whereof the town is full. Without the walls are many houses, wherein strangers for the most part have their dwellings. The town hath three great market places, wherein daily there are markets holden, where you may buy all kinds of wares, and where there cometh

Buildings.

Traffick.

cometh a great number of people, very strange to behold. Within the town there is a great church, or mosque of wood, wherein they observe the law of *Mahomet*. Gentlemen, and men of any quality have their own mosques in their houses. The town is not built with streets, nor the houses placed in order, but very foul, lying full of filthy water, which men must pass through, or leap over, for they have no bridges. In the town there is great resort of divers countries and nations, as of *Malacca*, *Bengala*, *Malabar*, *Guibereters* of *Pegu*, *Sani Malicas*, *Banda*, *China*, and of many kingdoms that have great traffick for pepper, that groweth round about *Bantam*, which in *August* and *September* is ripe; there you have nutmegs out of the island of *Banda*, and cloves from *Molucca*, which the *Portugueze* do most buy up. We bought nutmegs there for a blank a pound. All victuals and necessaries are there in great abundance to be had, as hens, harts, fish and rice, and divers kinds of fruits, as *avanas*, *cocos*, *bonanas*, *manges*, *doroyens*, *jacca*, *pruna*, *grapes*, *oranges*, *lemons*, *pomegranats*, *cucumbers*, *melons*, *onions*, *garlick*; but bread they have none, but instead of it they eat rice. Beef is there the dearest victuals, for an ox in that place is worth seven, eight, or nine rials of eight. The *Chinese* have the greatest and most traffick in that town. They come thither in the month of *January*, with eight or nine great ships, bringing all sorts of porcelane, silks, damasks, gold thread, iron pans, and *Javas* money called *Caixas*, whereof 12000 make a rial of eight. They are hanged upon strings by two hundred together, for the which they both buy and sell all kinds of merchandize, and there they load pepper which they carry into *China*. Without the town they have a great place wherein they commonly use to sell their wares, and there they dwell, and have greater and better houses than any are within the town, all made of reeds, only that in every house

they have a square place made of stone, wherein they put their wares to keep them from burning, as some rich men in the town likewise have. The *Chinese* are very subtle and industrious people, and will refuse no labour nor pains to earn money. There they make much aquavita of rice and cocos, and traffick much therewith, which the *Javars* by night come to buy, and drink it secretly, for by *Mahomet's* law it is forbidden them. The *Chinese* live there with free liberty. When they come to remain there for a year or more as they think good, they buy themselves a wife or two, or more as they think good, and live together like man and wife, and when they mean to depart, they sell their wives again, but if they have children they take them with them, and so return to *China*. They have no special religion, Religion. but pray unto the devil, that he would not hurt them, for they know that the devil is wicked, and that God is good, and hurteth no man, therefore they think it needless to pray to God. They acknowledge not the resurrection of the dead, but when a man dieth they think he never riseth again. In their houses they have great painted devils, before the which they place wax candles, and sing unto them, praying them not to hurt them, and the more monstrous that their shapes be, the more Way of life. they honour them. These people live very hardly and poorly within *Bantam*, for there is not any work or labour how filthy soever it be, but they will do it to get money, and when they have gotten something they return again to *China*. They are very like *Jews* in our country, for they never go without a pair of balances, and all things are good wares with them, and are ready to do any service. When we came first before *Bantam*, they came every day in great companies into our ships, and there set out their wares to sell, as silks, sowing silks, and porcelanes, so that our upper decks were full of pedlars, that we could hardly walk upon the hatches.

The Manner, Condition, Custom, Going, Standing, Apparel, House-keeping, Wares, and Behaviour of the Javars in Bantam.

Javars
behaviour,
&c.

THE *Javars* and inhabitants of *Bantam*, are proud and obstinate, with a very stately pace; they hold the law of *Mahomet*, which they have not had above 35 years; for as yet there are many heathens among them that never were made *Moors*. It is a very lying and thievish kind of people, not in any sort to be trusted. Their apparel both of rich

and poor is a cotton cloth, and some of silk about their middles, which they tie about them with a girdle, the upper part and from the knees downward all naked. Most of them go bareheaded, but the principallest of them have a wreath or *Turkish* roll about their heads, and some little caps. Their priests come out of *Mecca* in *Arabia*, and are of a yellow colour. Their weapon

What weapons they wear.

weapon is a poniard, which they call *cris*: it is made with hilts, and the handle is a devil cut out of wood or bone: the sheaths are of wood. With them they are very bold, and it is accounted for a great shame with them if they have not such a dagger, both young, old, rich and poor, and young children of five or six years old; and when they go to the wars they have targets, and some long spears, but most of them such poniards. They use neither great shot nor calivers when they go against their enemies: for a small matter one king will make war against another. When we came first before *Bantam*, we offered to make a contract with the governor, and the council of the town, that they should deliver us a certain quantity of pepper, and we would go with our ships before *Palimbam*, and help them to revenge the death of their kings upon their enemies; for (as they said) we might go

within a bow shot of the town with our ships; and the town is but of wood without walls, so that we would presently have beaten it down to the ground. They offered us some of their principal governors to be left for pledges in our ships, and their men would sail in their fusts, such as should go on land, and we should do nothing else but shoot out of our ships; but our captains would not do it, considering our small number of men. The *Javars* take as many wives as they will, and are able to maintain; but the common people have but one, some two married wives, and some ten, twenty, and thirty concubines. For a small matter they will send their married wives home again unto their fathers, when they have lain five or six days with them, saying they like them not, and so their marriage is undone, when they desire it.

How many wives they have.

The Manner, Custom, Householding, Child-bearing, Sporting and Cleanliness of the Women in Bantam.

THE women of the town are well kept from such as are circumcised, whereof the rich men have many; and from other men or their friends, for their own sons may not come into the house where the women are. They lie all naked, and chew betel, and have a flavish woman that continually scratcheth their bodies, that is, such as are married women; but such as are concubines are as waiting gentlewomen to the married women, when they go out to give them more majesty, and those that have the greatest number are of most estimation. The concubines have but few children, for the married women poison their children, and these concubines are bought and sold: by their apparel a man can hardly discern the rich from the poor, for they all go with a cotton cloth about their bodies up to their breasts, and bound about their middles with another cloth, bare-footed, and their heads uncovered, their hair bound right upon the top of their heads in a heap; but when they are in their pride, they wear crowns upon their heads, whereof some of them are of pure gold, and rings of gold and some of silver about their arms, every one according to their ability. They are very curious about their bodies, for they wash themselves at the least five or six times every day: they never ease themselves, nor have the company of their husbands, but they presently leap into the water and

wash their bodies, and therefore the water that runneth through *Bantam* is very unwholsome; for every one washeth themselves in it, as well pocky as other people, whereby we lost some of our men that drank of the water. The women are very idle, for they do nothing all the day but lie down, the poor slaves must do all the drudgery; and the men sit all day upon a mat, and chew betel, having ten or twenty women about them; and when they make water, presently one of the women washeth their member, and so they sit playing all the day with their women. Many of them have slaves that play upon instruments much like our shakebois; they have likewise great basons whereon they strike, and therewith know how to make good musick; whereat the women dance, not leaping much, but winding and drawing their bodies, arms and shoulders, which they use all night long; so that in the night-time they make a great noise with basons and other instruments, and the man sits and looks upon them, every one of the women striving to do her best, that she may get her husband's favour and her secret pleasure. The gentlemen, citizens, and merchants have their gardens and fields without the town, and slaves for the purpose to labour in them, and bring their masters all kinds of fruit, rice and hens in the town; as also the pepper that groweth there, which runneth up by another tree,

How pepper groweth in that country.

as hops with us, and groweth in long bunches like grapes, so that there is at the least 200 grains in one bunch: it is first green, and after it becometh black, and is there in great abundance, so that it is the right pepper country: for when we came thither they said unto us, *A qui ai tanta Pimienta, como terra*; that is, here is as much pepper as earth; and so we found it, and yet we departed from thence by our follies without our lading of pepper. We staid for new pepper; mean time the *Portuguese* sent their letters into every place, seeking to hinder our trade. At the first we might have sufficient, for there we found enough both to buy for money or to barter. We likewise had money and wares sufficient: we might easily have had six or eight hundred tons, as we were advertised by some of the country, that we should presently buy, for that the *Portuguese* sought all the means they could to hinder us, as after it appeared; and therefore he that thinketh to come soon enough, cometh oftentimes too late, and we used not our time so well, as it fell out.

A letter sent by our men in the town that were kept prisoners.

The 29th of *August* we had a letter sent us by night from our men that were in the town, that lay in a manner as prisoners, to will us to let our pledge, viz. the interpreter, &c. detained by force, go ashore, otherwise they feared they should hardly escape with their lives, and great danger might fall upon them. This pledge came aboard with the nine slaves.

The 30th of *August* we sent the pledge and the rest of our *Javars* to land, with promise that he would do the best he could to get our men leave to come aboard. About evening of the same day we had news from our men by four of our sailors, that now they were better used, saying, they thought they should come aboard when two ships, or *Jonques*, were gone that meant to sail for *Malacca*, being laden with nutmegs and other things.

The 1st of *September*, and the 2d, 3d, and 4th, we sent many letters to the governor, and he to us; and likewise to our men that were in the town, being nine in number, all our best merchants and captains, having with them about 6 or 700 guilderns in merchandise; and they again to us.

They went nearer to the town.

The 5th of *September*, when we perceived that delays were dangerous, we went close to the town with all our four ships, and so near that we had but two fathom muddy ground; and presently with two of our boats for our security we set upon three *Javan* ships, whereof two were laden with fish and coco, wherein we found a man of *China* of some account.

The third ship was laden with 20 tons of

cloves, 6 tons of pepper, and some benio-ni, and *piementa da rauo*, wherein we found five *Malabars* slaves to the *Portuguese*, whom we likewise took, and they were very willing to go with us, thereby to be eased of the slavery whereunto the *Portuguese* put them; and perceiving that the *Portuguese* went often to and from another ship that lay not far from us, we took our pinnace and made towards it, and being hard by it, the *Portuguese* left it and set it on fire. This ship had the richest wares in it, as the *Portuguese* slaves told us; for it was laden with fifty tons of cloves, which were burnt in it.

The 6th and 7th of *September* we heard no news, so that we went close to the town again, shooting with our great pieces into it, slaying divers of the people, as we were after informed. They likewise shot with their pieces against us, which the *Portuguese* did; for the *Javars* have little or no skill at all therein, and are very fearful of them; and although they had many pieces in the town, yet they did us no other hurt than only to shoot one of *Moleneare's* half masts in pieces.

The 7th of *September* we had a skirmish, which was in this manner; we perceiving a *Javan* ship under sail, sent our pinnace with twenty-six in her to fetch it in, which the *Javan* ship perceiving fled behind an island, where our pinnace followed him so fast that she fell a-ground, which the townsmen perceiving, made them ready with four and twenty boats full of men, all armed after their manner, and set forward in good order, being divided in two companies, seven on star-board, and seventeen on lard-board of the pinnace, in order like a half moon, threatening us with their spears; they thought by reason of their great number of men, that they had already taken it; but it fell out otherwise, for they in the pinnace perceiving them coming, shot among them, and they were so near unto her that we could not shoot at them: and when they were hard by the pinnace, she got afloat, as they thought to take her, having cast out an anchor in good time, and thereby wound themselves off the ground, but for haste they were forced to cut their cable, because they had not time enough to wind it up, and with all they shot one of their boats under water. The pinnace drawing her boat after her, the *Javans* presently leap'd into it, and cut asunder the rope that held it, which they immediately stole from us, thrusting with their spears in at the loopholes. Seven of their boats being round about us were so sharply paid with the iron pieces, stone pieces, and calivers, that the seventeen others durst not come so near

A skirmish between the pinnace and 24 boats.

us.

us. I think there were at the least 100 of them, that never carried news how they speeded in that skirmish; for every boat had at the least 60 men in it, and they were so thick in them, that they could not help themselves, nor did any thing else but shake their spears, and they shot but one base. Their arrows hurt us not, and so the pinnace returned again unto our ships, sailing close before the town, and shooting into it with her ordnance. They shot out of the town, but it hit her not, because they shot with stone pellets, where-with you cannot shoot so certainly as with iron bullets.

The 8th, 9th, and 10th of *September*, we had letters from our men out of *Bantam*, by the which they desired us not to shoot any more, for that the governor threatned to set them upon stakes, or tie them to stakes on the shoar, and shoot them with arrows. *Houtman* wrote they were in good hope that they should be put to ransom of 3000 pieces of eight; which we counsell'd them to do as well as they might.

The contents of the governor's letter.

The 11th of *September* we had a letter from *Houtman*, and one from the governor, wherein he wrote that he would set our men at liberty, so we would be quiet; but if we desired war, he would once again come and visit us in another sort. We answered him, that there he should find us, that words were but wind, and that he should set our men at a reasonable ransom, and thereof send us an answer the next day.

The 12th and 13th of *September* we had no answer out of the town, and we had want of water, and could get none thereabouts but that which came out of the town, for that the governor had taken order that we should get no water about the town, so that we hoisted anchors to go seek some.

The 17th of *September* we came before three or four islands, which *Molenare* and *Schellenger* sailed between, and for that the stream ran so strong there, they were forced to go so nigh the shore, that they might almost leap on land, whereby they escaped great danger; but the other ship and the pinnace sailed about the islands, and so met with the other two, and casting forth their anchors went on shore, where we spake with men that said they would shew us where we should have water, so we would give them two calivers.

The 18th, 19th, 20th, 23d and 24th we stayed to lade water, for it was hard to get, and we were forced to keep good watch; which done, hoisting anchors again, we sailed towards *Bantam*, holding our course eastward.

The 27th we sailed north-east towards the land of *Java major*.

The 28th setting sail again, we kept east-north-east, along by the coast of *Java*, and about noon, because of the great stream that runneth in the straight, we were forced to anchor, and the 30th day we set sail again.

The 1st of *October* in the evening we came to a great island, being three miles from the town, and there we anchored, finding good clay ground.

The 2d of *October* we had a letter from our men, how they were separated one from the other, and kept by the gentlemen of the town, and their wares parted among them.

The 3d, 4th and 5th, when we were again before the town, we had other letters, that by our coming they were better used, and hoped to be set at a reasonable ransom; and that they promised that one of our men should come aboard, so he would return again into town, that should by word of mouth certify us what hope they were in, and the cause thereof, that we might the better believe it.

The 6th of *October* in the night one of our men came aboard, and shewed us what had past, when we shot into the town, how they were separated and kept close prisoners, and cruelly threatned by the *Javars*, whereby they still expected when they should be put to death; and how they fought all the means they could to make them to deny their faith, and become *Moors*: but they remained constant, and said they would rather die, and that they had by force shaved three of our men after the *Moorish* manner; and how the *Portugueze* had sought all the means they could to buy them for slaves, offering money for them that they might send them to *Malacca*; how they were set at liberty again, and might go where they would within the town, and so they hoped all would be well, and that they should be set at liberty for some small ransom, and that the governor asked them 3000 rials of eight, but they hoped to bring him to 2000, whereat we much rejoiced.

How the *Javars* used our men being prisoners.

The 8th, 9th and 10th of *October* we passed over to make some agreement with them, that we might be quiet.

The 11th of *October* they agreed upon a ransom of 2000 rials of eight, and were content, that what goods soever we had taken from them, we should keep as our own, and for our goods that they had stolen, and forcibly taken from our men within the town, they would keep them, and so exchange one for the other; they likewise were content to quit us of all our debts, that we ow'd within the town, either to the governor or to any other man; and

The manner of their ransom.

aud that from thenceforward we should be free, and traffick in the town, both to buy and sell when it pleased us, and with their good wills as we had done; and before we paid our money, the town was to send two men aboard our ships; which done, we were to pay the half of our ransom, and upon the payment thereof, they should set half of our men at liberty, and that half of our men being come aboard, we were to pay the other half of our ransom, which was 1000 rials of eight: which being performed, their two men, and their other half of our men were on both sides to be delivered and set free, and without contradiction it was performed.

The 12th and 13th this agreement being ended, divers victuallers came aboard our ships to sell us hens, eggs, and all other kind of victuals.

The 14th we gave certain presents in sign of good will, to such as had shewed us favour when we were in contention with them.

The 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th some of our factors went into the town, where they bought certain pepper, and brought it aboard our ships.

Why the
governor
forbid us
traffick.

The 19th they went again into the town, and bought a greater quantity, at five sacks for one catt, minding in that sort every day to take in our lading; but it fell not out as we desired, for the *Portuguese* that could not brook our company, made such means to the governor, that he gave command that we should buy no more pepper before we had paid 1400 rials of eight, which he challenged of us, because we had cast anchor within his stream; whereupon our merchants went and agreed with him; which done, we thinking to buy pepper as we did before, the governor again commanded to the contrary; whereby we perceived their deceit, in that he would not hold his word. The countrymen would gladly have sold their pepper, as also the *Chinese*, *Arabians*, *Mahometans*, and secretly some *Portuguese*; but when we saw we could not get it out, but with great danger, we thought it not convenient to buy. And when we spake unto the governor, touching the holding of his word, he made us answer, that he had no bones in his tongue; and that therefore he could speak that which he meant not do. And to say the truth, most part of the *Javans* are a kind of deceitful people, for whatsoever they say and presently perform, that shall you be sure of, and no more.

The 25th of *October* there came an ambassador into *Bantam*, sent from *Malacca* to the governor, with a present of 1000 rials of eight, desiring him to forbid us both his town and stream, that we might

not traffick there. Whereof we were advertised by the *Sabandar*, and other of our friends, counseling our men to get them out of the town, and not to return again, otherwise they would be in danger to be confined again: And we having sent a man into the town to save him from being taken prisoner, our host where we lay being on shore, was forced to bring him out covered with certain mats; so that upon the 26th of the same month all our traffick and friendship with them ceased. But our host being our friend, came secretly aboard our ships, and shewed us that he and his company had two ships lying before the town, laden with nutmegs and mace that came from *Banda*; for the which he agreed with us at a price, upon condition that we should seem to take them by force, that thereby he might colour his dealing with us. Whereupon the first of *November* we sailed close to the town with all our ships, and set upon the two *Javan* ships, wherein we found to the number of thirty slaves, that knew nothing of their master's bargain made with us, so that they began to resist us, wherewith we shot amongst them, and presently slew four or five of them, the rest leap'd over-board, and swam to land; which done we took the two ships, and put their lading into ours. The *Portuguese* ship that brought their ambassador, lay close under the shore, whereunto we sent two of our boats; but the *Portuguese* that were in her shot so thick with their pieces upon our men, that our boats were forced to leave them with loss of one of our men; but our ships shot in such sort with their ordnance upon the *Portuguese* ship, that they spoiled and broke it in pieces, wherein their captain was slain; and the victuallers that still brought us victuals to sell, told us that with our pieces we had slain three or four men within the town, and that the townsmen began to make an army of ships to set upon us.

How they
took two
Javan
ships.

They
fought
with a
Portuguese
ship.

The 2d of *November* we espied a ship that came toward *Bantam*, which we joined unto with our boats; and being near unto it, they spread their fights, which were of thick mats, and began to defend themselves. Our men shot amongst them with stone pieces and calivers, and they defended themselves with great courage, having half pikes wherewith they thrust at us, and that served likewise to blow arrows out of them, for they were like trunks; out of the which trunks they shot so great numbers of arrows, that they fell as thick as hail, and shot so exact, that therewith they hurt at the least eight or nine of our men; but the arrows are thin and light, so that their blast could not make them enter into the flesh above the thickness of two fingers, only

They
fought
with a
Javan
ship.

only the head of the arrow (which is made of reed, and stayeth loose in the flesh.) When we shot with our calivers they ran behind their fights; but when they perceived that their matted fights could not defend them, and that they were killed through them, they entered into their boat, and by strength of oars rowed from us, leaving their ship, wherein we found two dead men, and we slew three more of them as we rowed after their boat; so that in all they lost five men, as we after heard, and that they were to the number of forty; which done, we brought their ship to ours, wherein we found good store of rice and dried fish.

The 6th of November, perceiving not any hope of more traffick for us with those of Bantam, we hoisted anchor and set sail, setting our course towards the streight of Sunda.

The 7th of November we came and anchored before a river of fresh water, about six miles from Bantam, where we took in our provision of water: thither certain merchants followed us with porcelane, telling us that they were sorry for our departure, and longed for our return again.

The 13th of November we set sail, and about evening we came before Icatra, which is only remarkable for its river, and the country about it very fertile in fruits and provisions. In time past it was called Sunda Calapa, which had been a rich town of merchandise, but upon some occasions, and by reason of their hard usage, the merchants had withdrawn themselves from thence; therefore at this present there is little or nothing to do. John Hugben in his book saith this was the principal town of traffick; but that was long ago, for now there is not any trade or merchandise.

The 14th of November we sent two of our men into the town, having some of theirs in pawn, who told us that many of the inhabitants were gone out of the town with all their goods, being in great fear of our pieces; and there we had great store of victuals, and much more than we required brought aboard our ships.

The 18th we set sail from Icatra, and being about two miles from the town, our ship called Amsterdam fell upon a cliff; but it got off again without any hurt, and therewith we presently made towards the streight.

The 2d of December we passed by three towns, which we might easily perceive: we likewise passed by Tubam, or Tubaon, and anchored under Sidaya. The 3d of

December there came men out of the town, and desired us to stay, saying, that there we might have cloves and nutmegs as many as we would, bringing certain banqueting stuff (as a present from their king) unto Schellenger's ship, because it lay nearest to the land, and most of 'em came aboard.

The 4th of December they came again into Schellenger's ship, bringing certain presents with them; and among the rest a certain bird^a that could swallow fire, which is a very strange fowl, and was brought alive to Amsterdam, which after was given to the States of Holland at the Hague; and some good fruits, desiring us to send a man on shore to see their spices, whereof they said they had great store: whereupon we sent a man out of the Amsterdam, and with him an interpreter, one of the Portugueze slaves, they leaving three or four of their men aboard our ships for pawns till his return. When our man came to land he was well used, and there they shewed him forty or fifty bales of cloves; which done they brought him before the king, who promised him great favour, and told him that the next day he would himself come aboard our ships, and deal with our captains; and with that he let our man depart.

The 5th of December we expected the king's coming aboard, putting out all our flags and streamers; and about noon there came eight or nine indifferent great ships full of men from off the shore, wherein we thought the king to be; but when they were almost at us they divided themselves, three of them rowing to Schellenger's ship; and when they boarded him, they thinking the king had been there, Reymer van Hel as factor and the master came forth to receive him; but the Javars entering all at once, Reymer van Hell said, What will all these people do aboard the ship? for there was at the least two hundred men, who all at one time drew out their poniards, and stabbed our men that never suspected them; so that presently they had slain twelve of the ship, and two fore wounded that boldly withstood them: the rest of our men being under hatches presently took their pikes, and thrust so fast out at the grates, that the Javars would have forced the middle part of the ship, wherein was two entries, but our men standing at them with their swords in hand, drove them out, not ceasing still to thrust up with their pikes; mean time they kindled a fire, lighted their matches, and shot off their stone pieces that lay a-

How the
Indians
betrayed
them.

VOL. II.

5 N

bove

^a He was as big again as a swan, and quite black, his feathers being like the feathers of an ostrich. He had no tongue, nor wings, nor tail; but at the top of his head he had a shell as hard as a tortoise shell. His feet were long, big, and so strong, that he made use of them to defend himself, and kick'd like a horse. He swallow'd whole all that he eat, even a whole apple as big as a man's fist; and, which is wonderful, it will swallow fire-brands and great bits of ice without hurt.

The mer-
chants fol-
low them
with
wares.

bove the hatches, wherewith they began presently to fly, most of them leaping over board, and swam to their two boats that lay hard by our ships, whereof one with a great piece was presently stricken in pieces. The rest of our ships hearing us shoot in that manner, entered into their boats, and made towards them, rowing hard to the three *Indian* fusts, wherein were at the least 100 men, and shot amongst them with their pieces, wherewith they leap'd into the water, every man swimming to shore, and we with two boats after them, hewing and killing them as our deadly enemies, who under pretence of friendship sought to murder us; and we handled them in such sort, that of 200 men there got not above thirty of them to land; the rest of their fusts lay far off and beheld the fight. Three of their fusts thought to row to the pinnace to take her, which they might easily have done, as having not above seven or eight men in her, being busy to set up a new mast; but when they perceived their men to be so handled in the *Amsterdam*, and that they leap'd over-board, they turned back again, and in great haste rowed to land, so that at that time they got not much by the bargain. The natives lost 150 men; and no small grief to us, for there we lost twelve men, that were all stabbed with poniards, their names were *John Jacobson Schellenger*, master of the ship; *Reymer van Hel*, factor; *Gielis Gielson*, gentleman; *Barent Bonteboter*, *Arent Cornedrager*, *Cornelius van Alcmuer*, *Simon Janson*, *Wiltsebut*, *Joos* the carpenter; *Adrian de Meislar*, one of the *Portugueze* slaves, and two boys, whereof one was but twelve years old; whereby we perceived them to be a kind of cruel people, for they had given the little boy and all the rest of our men at the least twelve stabs apiece after they were dead, which so exasperated the *Dutch*, that they put all their prisoners to the sword; who confessed that they had followed them from *Bantam*; that the *Jonque* laden with nutmegs at *Jacatra*, was intended to surprize them; that afterwards they went to *Jopara* to wait for them; and that they came to *Sidaya* to try if by the two *Jonques* that appeared off, they could draw them into the main, in order to attack them the more easily.

The same day about evening we hoisted

anchors, and set sail, having manned the *Amsterdam* with men out of our other ships, and so held our course eastward.

The 6th of *December* we came to a great island called *Madura*^b, where we anchored, and in the evening two of their men came aboard our ships, with a message from their governor, saying, that we were welcome, desiring us to stay there, for he would traffick with us, and sell us some pepper, as they said, but we believed them not.

The 7th of *December* there came another boat aboard, bringing certain fruits, saying that the next day their governor would come to see our ships.

The 8th there came a great fust, and three small boats, from off the land, all full of men, saying their governor was among them. We desired them not to go to the *Amsterdam*, but to the *Mauritius*, but they would not, but made to the *Amsterdam*, thinking because there had been so many murdered in her, there was not many men aboard her at that time; and when they were within a pikes length of her, (although they were directed to the other ships) they remembring their late mischance, shot off three or four stone pieces full loaded, wherewith they slew and hurt many of the *Indians*; whereupon they presently leap'd over-board, and we with our boats followed after and slew divers of them, taking ten or twelve, thinking by them to know what their intent was to do, but they could not certify us, therefore we let them go again, only keeping two boys, who long after stole out of the ship, and swam to land. They told us that the governor being a bishop, or chief instructor of the country, was within the boat and slain amongst the rest; he had therein likewise a little boy, one of his sons, who we likewise took and sent to land. The bishop was of *Mecca*, and much esteemed of among them, a great clerk, and governor over all the rest of the country. There was a jewel of gold set with precious stones found about him, which as yet is kept.

About evening we weighed anchors and set sail, and the 11th of *December* we came to two small islands, or the island *Laboc* or *Leboc*, or little *Madare*, surrounded by two other small islands, 13 leagues from *Java*, where we anchored; there we found none

The names
of their
men that
were stab-
bed.

^b *Madura* is a little island which runs out lengthwise, and lies almost opposite to the north-east point of the great *Java*, being separated from it by a narrow channel. It is very fruitful in rice, and furnishes all the neighbouring places with it. The ground is so fat, that it is not fatter in *Holland*, but so often drowned with water, that the labourers and buffs who plough it, are in the water up to the knees, even in harvest time.

The great ships cannot approach the island, because of the flats which are about it. The inhabitants resemble those of *Java* in every thing. They live upon nothing but piracy, which they exercise with small vessels, without any opposition from their neighbours, for they dare not trouble them, because *Madura* is their granary of rice.

none but poor people and fishermen^c, that brought us fish, hens, and fruit to sell.

How far they were from Molucca.

The 13th we set sail, and the 14th we had a west wind, which they call the passage wind, that would have served us well to sail to *Molucca*, from whence we were not distant above two hundred miles; and as then it was a good year for cloves, which happeneth every three years, it was told us that we might there have a cabin laden full of cloves; whereupon we determined to sail thither; but because we had already endured a long and troublesome voyage, and but ill mann'd, we would not, longing to be at home. This contrary wind holding, upon the 24th of *December* we came to *Leboc*, an island where we had been before, being forced back by the currents.

The 25th of *December* *John Molenaer*, master of the *Mauritius*, died suddenly of an oppression of the lungs. This death however was reported by the surgeons to be effected by poison; and *Hootman* was put in chains as a person suspected of the murder, on account of the constant quarrels and threats that passed between him and the deceased. But three days after *Hootman* was released.

The 28th, 29th, 30th, and 31st of *December* we were busy to take all the wares, sails, and other things out of the *Amsterdam*, which leak'd on every side, her victuals and furniture serving for our voyage homeward; and lying under that island, we had victuals brought us every day as much as we needed, both fish, hens, venison and fruit, and at a reasonable price; but there we could get no water.

The Amsterdam set on fire.

The 11th of *January*, when we had unladen the *Amsterdam*, we set her on fire, to the great admiration of the natives, who strove with their canoes to tow her ashore, to save her iron work; but we let her burn, taking her men into our ships.

The 12th of *January* we set sail again, some desiring to sail eastward, others westward; but in fine we set westward to sail once again to *Bantam*, wherewith the *Mauritius* sailed south-eastward, to get about the island of *Java*, and we followed her. The 14th of *January* we once again perceived the east point of the island of *Madura*, and held our course southward. On that side of *Madura* there lieth many small islands, through which we sailed.

The pinnace on ground.

The 16th in the morning our pinnace run aground upon the coast of *Java*, not far from *Pannorocan*, where she shot off three pieces: at the which warning we made thither with our boats, and by the help of God got her off again. There

we saw a high hill that burnt, under and above the fire having a great smoke, most strange to behold.

The 18th of *January* we entered into the streight of *Balambuan*, which is not quite half a league broad in its narrowest part, which runneth between *Java* and *Baly*; and by reason of the hard and contrary stream that runs therein, we were forced to anchor upon the coast of *Java*, where we found good anchor-ground.

The 19th we set sail, and when we came near to the coast of *Baly*, we enter'd into a rough stream, and our ships drave backward as swiftly as an arrow out of a bow; and there we found no anchor ground, nor any anchor could have holden us; but the *Mauritius* got the coast of *Java*, and anchored; which in the end we likewise did, and anchored at the least three miles from him, for so much we had driven back in the space of half an hour.

The 20th of *January* we went and lay by our other ships.

The 21st of *January* there came two barks to the *Mauritius*, wherein there was one that could speak good *Portuguese*, who told us that the town of *Ballaboam*, or *Balambuan*, was besieged by a strange king that had married the king of *Ballaboam's* daughter; and after he had lain with her, he caused her to be slain, and then came to besiege her father. This town of *Ballaboam* lies on the east-end of the island of *Java*, and is the same town where Mr. *Candish* ten years before was when he passed that way; and the old king, whereof he writeth, was then living, being at the least 160 years of age. There we saw great numbers of bats that flew over our ships, and were as big as crows, which in that country they use to eat, as they say. About noon we came before the town of *Ballaboam*, so near unto it that we might easily see it; and there we lay behind a high point of land, thinking to take in water.

The 22d of *January* we took our pinnace, and sailed about the shore, as near the land as possibly we could, to seek for fresh water; but we found none: for the river that ran through the town was paled up (by them that lay before it) so that no man might pass either out or in, but only on the land side, and that with great danger. The same day there came two or three men aboard our ship, that stole out of the town by night, and came from the king, to desire our help with our great shot, which we could not do; because that thereabouts it was very shallow, and we could not go near it with our ships. They told

^c Another account says they saw 22 men walking on the shore with a commander among 'em.

told us they had great want of victuals within the town, whereby many of them were already dead for hunger, and much desired our aid ; but it was not in us to do. Those that besieged the town were *Moors*, but they in the town were heathens, and as yet had not received *Mahomet's* law ; and that, as we heard after, was the cause of their war. There we saw many storks flying and sitting in the field. With us we cannot imagine where the storks remain in winter time, but here we saw them in the winter time.

The 24th of *January* we sailed from thence, perceiving nothing for us to get, and took our course right over to the island of *Bally*.

The 25th we came to *Bally*, where one of their barks boarded us, telling us that there we should find a river of fresh water, and of all things else sufficient to serve our necessities ; whereupon we anchored.

The 26th of *January* our pinnace sent our boat to land to see the river, and there one of our men was sent on shore ; but when he was on land, he found nothing but an army of ten thousand men, that meant to relieve the town of *Ballaboam*, and the river was nothing worth to lade water ; whereupon our men came aboard again. Their general thought to have gotten some great prey out of our ships.

The 27th of *January* we set sail to find a convenient place to refresh us with water and other provision, for we were informed by a man of *Bengala*, that of his own consent sailed with us, and that had been in *Bally*, that there we should find water, and other things to serve our necessities ; so that by night we anchored under a high point of land on the south-west end of *Bally*.

The 28th of *January* one of their boats boarded us with six or seven men, saying, that their king was desirous to deal with us for such wares as he had ; and sent to know from whence we came, and we said we came out of *Holland* ; and that we came to trade fairly and honestly with the inhabitants.

The 29th and 30th there came more men aboard our ships, rowing in great haste afar off, and the king every day sent us some fruit.

The 1st of *February* we had two hogs brought aboard our ships, that we bought for two rials of eight, and we eat them very favourly.

The 2d of *February* we set sail that we might get above the point, where we thought to find a better place for fresh water, but by reason the wind was contrary,

we could not do it, but were forced to anchor again.

The 3d of *February* we set sail again, and then we had a storm, so that our sail blew every way, and because of the contrary wind we could not reach above the point, but were constrained to anchor ; but the *Mauritius* and the pinnace got past it ; although thereby the *Mauritius* was in no little danger ; but because the pilot had laid a wager of 6 rials of eight that he would get above it, he would pass, what danger soever it might be, and sailed close along by the cliffs, whereby we lay at anchor without company.

The 4th and 5th we set sail once again to get above the point, but could not reach it.

The 6th we had a letter from *Rodenburgh*, that certified us how the *Mauritius* lay at anchor, at the least seven or eight miles beyond the point ; and he that brought the letter came with it by land : And at the same time there was a man sent on land with a small present for the king, that we might win his favour.

The 7th our man came on board again, and brought us news how *Rodenburgh* with one of the *Portuguese* slaves, being on land, were against their wills led before the king, but the sailors of the *Mauritius* had gotten men for pledges.

The 8th of *January*, the same man went on land out of our ship, with more presents of velvet, and a caliver, the better to get the king's favour, which liked him well, and desired us to bring the ship nearer to the town ; saying, he would send us water and other things sufficient to supply our wants.

The 9th we sailed into the creek ^d with our ship, and anchored about a small half mile from the land ; and, being anchored, there came at the least 70 boats of the country to see our ship ; and the king sent us word that he was desirous to hear us shoot off five or six of our great pieces ; whereupon we shot five of our greatest pieces, and the king stood upon the shore to see them.

The 10th we had a letter from *Cornelius Houtman*, to desire us to come to them, for that there they had found a good place for water, and of all other necessities ; so that about evening we ^e set sail, leaving two of our men, and a *Portuguese* slave amongst the *Indians*, whom the king promised should come unto us by land, yet that night we could not reach above the point *Cabo des Porcos*, or *Cape of Hogs* ; mean time we perceived our pinnace that came to help us.

The

^d The bay called *Padau*.

^e The lyon of *Holland*.

The 16th we got by the *Mauritius*, that had already laden in her water, and hooped her vessels, whereupon we began presently to do the like, and to visit our vessels that were almost spoiled.

The 17th our men whom we left with the king, came by land unto our ships, and then we bought great store of cattle and fruit.

The 18th, 19th, 20th and 21st we employed our time to lade water, which we had very easily, and refreshed ourselves with cattle, hogs, fruit, and lemons sufficient. There came one of the king's principal officers with our men by land, to pleasure us in all things we desired; he was very desirous to have some present of us.

The 22d of *February* two of our men that failed in the *Mauritius* stayed on land, but we knew not the cause. It should seem some great promises had been made unto them, for as we understood, the king

was very desirous to have all sorts of strange nations about him; but our people were therein much overseen, for there they lived amongst heathens, that neither knew God nor his commandments; it appeared that their youth and wild heads did not remember it; one of their names was *Emanuel Rodenburgh* of *Amsterdam*, the other *Jacob Cuyper* of *Delft*. Within a day or two they sent unto us for their cloaths, but we sent them not.

Two of our men stayed with the Indians.

The 23d, 24th and 25th we made a voyage on land, and fetch'd as many hogs aboard our ships as we could eat.

The 25th of *February* we hoisted anchors, minding to set sail, and so go homeward, leaving our two men aforesaid on land; but because it was calm weather we anchored, and went once again on land; and the 26th of the same month we set sail, and held our course west-south-west, towards the Cape of *Good Hope*, through the south of *Java*, but we had a calm.

The Situation of the Island of Bally.

THE island of *Bally*, lying at the east-end of *Java*, is a very fruitful island of rice, hens, hogs, that are very good, and great store of cattle; but they are very dry and lean beasts. They have many horses. The inhabitants are heathens, and have no religion; for some pray to kine, others to the sun, and every man as he thinketh good. When a man dieth his wife burneth herself with him. There were some of their men aboard our ships, that told us, that when some man dieth in that country, that sometimes there are at the least fifty women that will burn themselves with him, and she that doth not so is accounted for a dishonest woman, so that it is a common thing with them. The apparel both of men and women is for the most part like those of *Bantam*, nothing but a cloth about their middles. Their weapon is, each man a poniard at their backs, and a trunk with an iron point like a spear, about a fathom and a half long, out of the which they blow certain arrows, whereof they have a case full; it is an evil weapon for naked men. They are enemies to the *Moors* and *Portuguezes*. This island yieldeth no spice, nor any other costly ware, only victuals and cloths which they wear about their bodies, and slaves that are there to be sold. The king went with more state then the king of *Bantam*: All his guard had pikes with heads of fine gold, and he sat in a

How fifty women burnt themselves with one dead man.

wagon that was drawn by two white buffeloes.

The 1st of *March* we had a calm.

The 3d we got a good wind that blew south-east, holding our course west-south-west.

The 14th the wind blew still south-east, sometimes more southward, and sometimes eastward, being under 14 degrees, and a good sharp gale, holding our course west-south-west. There we found that *Java* is not so broad, nor stretcheth itself so much southward, as it is set down in the card; for if it were, we should have passed clean through the middle of the land.

The situation of Java.

The 22d of *March* the wind held as it did, being under 19 degrees, holding our course west-south-west.

The 19th of *April* our ship had no more bread left, but for our last partition every man had seven pound, both good and bad bread, and from that time forward our meat was rice sodden'd in water, and every man had a can of water every day, with three romers of wine; and weekly, each man three romers or glasses of oil, and that very strong, and nothing else.

The 20th we had a calm, the 21st a calm with a northern air.

The 23d a good wind that blew south-west.

The 24th we saw the firm land of *Africa*, being under 33 degrees, and as we guessed, we were then about an hundred

miles

miles from the Cape *de bona Sperance*, yet we thought we had been at the least three hundred miles from it, so that we may say, that God wrought wonderfully for us: for that if we had fallen by night upon the land, we had surely run upon it. We had a good wind out of the west, and west-south-west.

The 25th of *April* in the morning we had a calm, with a very hollow water, and at evening we had a good wind, that came north and north-east; and although we had so good a wind, yet our ship bare but little sail, although the other two ships of our company were at the least two miles before us; for most part of the night we sailed with our schooner sail, holding our course south-west and by west.

The 26th of *April* in the morning we could not see our ships, which pleased not our men; besides that our ship was very weak, whereby her ribs shook, and her joints with the force of the water opened and shut, so that as then our ship^t was very leaky, having the wind north-west, holding our course as near as we could west-south-west, and then we put out our main sails; at noon the wind came west, with a great storm, so that most of our sails blew in pieces, and so we drove forward without sails.

The 27th of *April*, still driving without sail with a west wind, we were under thirty six degrees, so that we found that the stream drove us south-south-west.

The 28th of *April*, still driving without sails, we had the height of 36 degrees and 20 minutes; and about evening we hoisted sail again, the wind being west-south-west, and we held our course north-west, with very hollow water.

The 29th of *April* we could not as yet see our ships, the wind being west.

The 30th of *April* we had fair weather, with a west and west-south-west wind, and then we saw many great birds with white bills, which is a sign not to be far from the Cape *de bona Sperance*; we likewise saw certain small birds, speckled on their backs, and white upon their breasts.

The 1st of *May* we had a south wind with fair weather, having 34 degrees and a half, holding our course west-south-west.

The 2d of *May* we were under 35 degrees and half, holding our course west and west and by north.

The 4th of *May* we found ourselves to be under 37 degrees south-south-east wind, our course being west and by north, and west-north-west.

The 5th and 6th of *May* we had all one wind at noon, being under 35 degrees;

we thought we had past the Cape, and held our course north-west, towards St. *Helena*, still without sight of our ships.

The 8th of *May*, with a south wind, we held north-west and by west.

The 9th we had a calm with a grey sky, and were under 31 degrees and 20 minutes; and then our portion of oil was increased a glass more every week; so that every man had four glasses.

The 10th we had still south winds, and were under 29 degrees.

The 14th of *April*, twice or thrice we saw reeds, called *Trombos*, driving on the water, being such as drive about the Cape *de bona Sperance*, which we thought very strange; for that the *Portuguese* write, that they are seen but thirty miles from the Cape, and we thought ourselves to be at the least 200 beyond it.

The 15th we still had a south-east wind, and held our course north-west.

The 16th of *April* in the morning we saw two ships, whereat we much rejoiced, thinking they had been our company; we made to leeward of them, and the smallest of them coming somewhat near us, about the length of the shot of a great piece, she made presently toward her fellow, whereby we perceived them to be *Frenchmen*; yet we kept to leeward, thinking they would have come and spoken with us; but it seemed they feared us, and durst not come, but held their course north-east. At noon we had the height of 22 degrees and 50 minutes, with a south-east wind, holding our course north-west.

The 17th of *May* we were under 21 degrees and a half. The 18th the wind being southerly, we were under 19 degrees and a half.

The 19th and 20th we had a calm with a southern air.

The 21st the air coming south-west, we held our course north-west, and were under 17 degrees and three quarter parts. There we found the compass to decline three quarters of a strike or line north-eastward; after noon we had a south-east wind, and our course west-north-west.

The 22d of *May* we had still a south-east wind, and were under the height of 16 degrees and 40 minutes, holding our course west-north-west.

The 23d of *May*, by reason of the cloudy sky, about noon we could not take the height of the sun, but as we guest we had the height of the island of St. *Helena*, and held our course west and by south to keep under that height, for there the compasses decline a whole strike or line. In the evening we found that we were under 16 degrees.

Signs of the Cape *de bona Speranza*.

Variation of the compass.

^t The *Lion of Holland*.

The 24th of May in the morning, we discovered a *Portuguese* ship, that stayed for us, and put out a flag of truce; and because our flag of truce was not so ready as theirs, and we having the wind of him, therefore he shot two shots at us, and put forth a flag out of his main-top, and we shot five or six times at him, and so held on our course without speaking to him, having a south-east wind, holding our course west and by south, to find the island of *St. Helena*, which the *Portuguese* likewise fought.

The 25th of May we discovered the island of *St. Helena*^e, but we could not see the *Portuguese* ship, still sailing with a stiff south-east wind, and about evening we were under the island, which is very high land, and may be seen at the least fourteen or fifteen miles off, and as we sailed about the north point, there lay three other great *Portuguese* ships, we being not above half a mile from them, whereupon we held in the weather, and to seaward north-east as much as we might. The *Portuguese* perceiving us, the admiral of their fleet shot off a piece to call their men that were on land to come aboard; and

then we saw four of their ships together, that were worth a great sum of money, at the least 300 tons of gold, for they were all laden with spices, precious stones, and other rich wares, and therefore we durst not anchor under the island, but lay all night north-eastward, staying for our company.

The 26th of May in the morning we made towards the island again, with a good south-east wind, and about noon or somewhat past we descried two ships, and about evening as we made towards them, we knew them to be our company, which made us to rejoice, for we had been asunder the space of a whole month, and so we held together and sailed homeward, holding our course north-west: for as yet our men were well and in good health, and we found a good south-east wind, and had water enough for four or five months.

The 27th, 28th, 29th and 30th of May we had a south-east wind, with fair weather, and the 27th we were under 14 degrees. The first of June we were under 6 degrees, with a south-east wind, holding our course north-west, but by means of

the compass that yielded north-eastward, we kept about north-west and by north.

The 6th of June we were under one degree on the south side of the line; there we found that the stream drove us fast into the west, and therefore we held our course more northerly, and sailed north-west and by north, with an east and south-east wind.

The 7th of June we past the equinoctial line, with an east wind, holding our course north-north-west. They past the equinoctial line

The 10th of June in the evening we were under 5 degrees and a half on the north side of the line, and then we began again to see the north star, which for the space of two years we had not seen, holding our course north north-west; there we began to have small blasts, and sometimes calms, but the air all south and south-east.

The 11th of June we had a calm, and yet a dark sky that came south-eastward. The 12th of June we had a close sky with rain, and the same day about evening our foretop-mast fell down.

The 13th we struck all our sails, and mended our ship.

The 14th we had the wind northward, holding our course west north-west as near as we could, but by reason of the thick sky we could not take the height of the sun.

The 15th of June we had the wind north, and north north-west. The 16th of June we had the height of 9 degrees and 10 minutes, the wind being north-east and north north-east.

The 17th the wind was north-east with fair weather, and we held north-west, and north-west and by north till the afternoon. The 18th we took a great fish called an *Alvercoor*, which served us all for two meals, which we had not tasted of for a long time before. They took a great fish.

The 26th we had still a north-east wind, and sometimes larger, holding our course north north-west with large sail, and were under 17 degrees and a half.

The same day there came much dust flying into our ship, as if we had pass'd hard by some sandy down, and we guess the nearest land to us might be the island of *St. Anthony*, one of the most southerly of all the *Cape Verd* islands, and we were then at the least 40 or 50 miles from it. The same day likewise there came a flying fish into our ship, which we eat.

The

* The island is about seven leagues in circumference, the soil is dry and sandy, which makes the trees that are very plentiful, good for nothing but to burn; you find in some places brimstone. When the *Portuguese* discovered that island, there was no fruit nor animals in it, but a great quantity of fresh water running down the mountains to a valley, from whence it runs into the sea.

It lies in 16 degrees and a quarter of south latitude, 550 leagues off the Cape of *Good Hope*, 350 leagues off the coast of *Angolo*, and 500 leagues off *Brazil*, which are the nearest continents. The country is so high, and so full of mountains, that when you discover it, you believe it is covered with clouds.

The fruit-trees which the *Portuguese* planted in that island, multiplied without planting or grafting any more; so that now the valleys are full of them, and of fruits all the year long. The showers of rain falling five or six times in a day, and the sun, which shining out immediately after, causes this great fruitfulness.

Four *Portuguese* ships richly laden.

North
AThe 28th of June
The 29th of June
The 30th of June

The 28th of June we had the height of 20 degrees, with an east north-east wind, and east and by west, with full sail; there we saw much sargosse driving on the water. The last of June we had the sun right over our heads, and yet we felt no heat, for that by reason of the cold air we had fine cool weather. The same day we passed *Tropicus Cancræ*, still having the wind east north-east, and in the evening we were under 24 degrees.

The 2d of July we still saw sargosse driving upon the water, and had the wind somewhat lower north north-east with a calm. The 3d of July the wind came again east north-east, and we held our course north and by west. The 8th of July we were under 33 degrees and an half, with an east wind, holding our course north and by east; and yet we saw much sargosse driving, but not so thick as it did before.

The 10th of July we had a good wind that blew south and south and by east, and hoisted up our main tops, that for the space of 26 days were never touched, and held our course north north-east: there we were in no little fear to fall among the *Spanish* fleet, which at that time of the year keepeth about the *Flemish* islands.

The same day one of our boys fell overboard, and was carried away with a swift stream before the wind; but, to his great good fortune, the pinnace saved him, that was at the least a quarter of a mile from us. This evening we found the height of 36 degrees.

The 12th of July
The 13th of July

The 12th of July we had a south-west wind, holding our course north-east and by north. Our pilot and the pilot of the pinnace differed a degree in the height of the sun; for ours had 38 degrees, and theirs but 37. We guess to be about the islands of *Corbo* and *Flores*; but the one held more easterly, and the other more westerly. The 13th of July we had still a south-west wind, and after noon we thought we had seen land, but we were not assured thereof, for it was somewhat close. The 14th of July we had a calm, and saw no land, and then our men began to be sick.

The 17th of July we had a south south-east wind, with fair weather, and were under 41 degrees, holding our course east north-east.

The 18th, 19th, 20th, and 21st, it was calm. The 22d of July the wind came north, and we held our course east south-east. The 23d of July the wind was north north-east and north-east, and we held as near as we could east and east south-east. The same day our steward found a barrel of stockfish in the roming, which if we had been at home we would have cast

it on the dunghil, it stunk so filthily, and yet we eat it as savourily as the best meat in the world.

The 24th we had a west wind, and that with so strong a gale, that we were forced to set two men at helm, which pleased us well.

The 25th of July we had a storm that blew west and west north-west; so that we bare but two sails, holding our course north-east and by east.

The 1st of August we were under 45 degrees, with a north-west wind, holding our course north-east and by east.

The 2d of August one of our men, called *Gerrit Cornelison* of *Spijkenes*, died, being the first man that died in our voyage homeward.

The 4th of August we had a north-west wind.

The 5th of August in the morning the wind came south west, and we were under 47 degrees, holding our course north-east and the north north-east, and we guess that we were not far from the channel. Those days aforesaid we had so great cold in our ships, as if it had been in the middle of winter: we could not be warm with all the cloaths we had. The same day we saw sargosse drive upon the water.

The 6th of August we had a west wind; in the morning we cast out our lead, and found ground at 80 fathom; and about noon we saw a ship that bore the prince's flag, yet durst not come near us, although we made signs unto him; and after noon we saw the land of *Heiffant*, or *Ushant*, I suppose, whereat we all rejoiced.

They saw a ship with the prince of Orange's flag.

The 7th of August in the morning we saw the land of *France*, and held our course north north-east; and likewise we saw a small ship, but spake not with it.

The 8th of August in the morning we saw the *Kiskas*, and had a south wind and somewhat west, holding our course east north-east.

The 9th of August we enter'd the Heads, and pass'd them with a south-west wind, sailing north-east. In the afternoon we pass'd by a man of war, being a *Hollander*, that lay at anchor, and he weighed anchor to follow us; about evening we spake with him, but because of the wind we could hardly hear what he said, yet he sailed on with us.

They saw a man of war.

The 10th of August the man of war boarded us with his boat, and brought us a barrel of beer, some bread and cheese, shewing us what news he could, touching the state of *Holland*, and presently we saw the land of *Holland*; and because it blew very stiff and a great storm, after noon we anchored about *Petten* to stay for better weather, and some new pilots; and that

The man of war gave them victuals.

was the first time we had cast anchor for the space of five months together: about evening it began to blow so stiff, that we lost both an anchor and a cable.

The 11th of *August* we had still a southerly wind, and therefore about noon the *Mauritius* set sail; and we thought likewise to sail, but our men were so weak that we could not weigh up our anchor, so that we were constrained to lie still till men came out to help us. About evening the wind came south-west, and with so great a storm, that we thought to have run upon the strand, and were forced to cut down our main mast.

They cut down their main mast.

The 12th and 13th we had a hard south-west wind, and sometimes west, so that no pilots came aboard our ship; but the 13th day about evening it began to be fair weather.

The 14th of *August* about break of day in the morning, there came two boats with pilots and men aboard our ship, that were sent out by our owners, and brought us some fresh victuals; which done they weighed up our anchors, and about noon we sailed into the *Texel*, and anchored in the channel, where we had fresh victuals enough, for we were all very weak.

This was a great novelty to all the merchants and inhabitants of *Holland*; for that we went out from thence the 2d of *April* 1595, and returned home again upon the 14th of *August* 1597: there you might

have bought of the pepper, nutmegs, cloves and mace which we brought with us. Our sailors were most part sick, being but 80 men in all, two third parts of their company being dead, and lost by divers accidents; and among those fourscore, such as were sick, as soon as they were on land and at their ease, presently recovered their healths.

An Account of the Copper Money of Java.

Their copper money cometh out of *China*, and is almost as thick, great and heavy as a quarter of a dollar, and somewhat thicker, in the middle having a square hole; 2000 of them are worth a rial of eight; but of these there are not over many: they use to hang them upon strings, and pay them without telling; they stand not so narrowly upon the number, for if they want but 25 or 50 it is nothing.

An Account of the Leaden Money of Java.

This piece of money (being of bad lead is very rough) hath in the middle a four-square hole; they are hanged by two hundred upon a string; they are commonly 10, 11, and 12 thousand to a rial of eight: as there cometh great quantity out of *China*, where they are made, so as there is plenty or scarcity they rise and fall.

The first of these is the fact that the American Medical Association has been successful in its efforts to secure the passage of the Federal Food and Drug Act, which will place under Federal supervision the manufacture and sale of all food and drugs. This is a most important step in the direction of securing the purity and safety of the food and drugs which we consume.

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A N
ADDITION to the SEA-JOURNAL,
O R
Navigation of the *Hollanders* into JAVA.

C O N T A I N I N G

Some Description of the *Coast* and *Harbours* from Cape *Bona Speranza* to JAVA.

W I T H

A Description of the Kingdom and Island of BALLY; as
also of the Natives of the *Cape of Good Hope*, &c.

To which is added,

An Exposition of certain Words of the People of *Madagascar*, the Bay of
Tongill, and of certain *Malacca* Words used throughout all *East-India*.

By JOHN WOLFE.

A 37

ADDITION to the SEA-JOURNAL

OF

Navigation of the Hollands into Java.

CONTAINING

Some Descriptions of the Coast and Harbours from Cape Horn
to Java.

WITH

A Description of the Kingdom and Island of Batavia,
also of the Nations of the Coast of Java.

By JOHN WOLFE.

An Appendix of certain Words of the People of New-England, the Bay of
Yorck, and of certain African Words also throughout all Kingdoms.

By JOHN WOLFE.

The C A P E de Bona Speranza.

THE Cape de Bona Speranza, or *Good Hope*, sheweth very high, being north and by east, whereof the lowest point is about five miles from you, which you may easily discern, when you are 60, 40, or 30 miles from the Cape; and you shall find very good signs of being thereabouts, as *Trombas* driving upon the water, and are like sugar-canes, with the roots hanging at them, and as crooked as trumpets. *John Hugben* writeth them to be a very good and sure token of the land. Thereabouts likewise we saw certain birds, which are also good signs of being near it. We saw this Cape on the second of *August*, which rejoiced us much, and we found it to lie southward from the equinoctial line, under 34 degrees, about two hours before the sun went down.

The Cape de Venfes, or Cape de Falco.

The Cape de *Venfes*, or Cape de *Falco*, when you are north-east, and somewhat by east from it, about five miles distant, is easily discerned; and casting out our lead we found blue clay ground mixed with sand.

The Cape de Augulins.

The Cape de *Augulins*, lying north-

north-west, and north-west and by west, is discovered about four miles from it.

The road of *Aqua Sanbras*, under 34 degrees southward from the equinoctial line, has ten fathom water, all flat ground of nine, ten and eleven fathom deep, it trendeth like a bow from south to north: the south point ending with a riff or sand. And not far from that point we took in our fresh water, where the wild people came and sold us oxen and sheep; at the first when we thought to have gone on land, with a boat laden with thirteen men, whereof six were gentlemen, the rest sailors, the weather changed and we had a storm, with a very dark cloudy sky, whereby we were in great danger; and for a second danger a great whale-fish came close to our scute, but God sent us better weather, and so with that thick sky we got on board our ships. Our men thought we had been cast away, but seeing us come towards the ships they rejoiced. The north point runs further into the sea; and within the middle of the bay lieth a small island, where we had many birds called *Pinguins*, and sea wolves, which we eat; but the *Pinguins* are better meat than the sea wolves; we arrived in *Aqua Sanbras* upon the fourth of *August*, 1595.

A V O C A B U L A R Y

Of certain WORDS used by the Inhabitants of the Island of St. Lawrence, in the Place where we made a Sconce, lying under the Tropic of Capricorn, in their own Language, and in Latin, English, and Dutch.

V ACCA	<i>Agomba</i>	A Cow	<i>Een koe beest</i>
Lac	<i>Rononna</i>	Milk	<i>Melck</i>
Aqua dulcis	<i>Sarrana</i>	Fresh water	<i>Vers water</i>
Capella	<i>Offa</i>	A goat	<i>Een Cabryte</i>
Ovis	<i>Agonre</i>	A sheep	<i>Een schaep</i>
Dies	<i>Hanrou</i>	A day	<i>Den dach</i>
Stannum	<i>Wollou</i>	Tin	<i>Tin</i>
Cochlear stanneum	<i>Catsyare</i>	Tin spoons	<i>Tin lepels</i>
Plumbum	<i>Wollouka</i>	Lead	<i>Loot</i>
Hastæ ipforum	<i>Leffo</i>	Their spears	<i>Haer spietfen</i>
Pili	<i>Wollo</i>	Hair	<i>Haer</i>
Culter	<i>Wy</i>	Knives	<i>Messen</i>
Canoas	<i>Lackan</i>	Their canoas	<i>Haer Canotijes</i>
Puella	<i>Cabo</i>	A boy	<i>Een Jonghen</i>
Puellus	<i>Rocoba</i>	A girl	<i>Een Meijfken</i>
VOL. II.			<i>Lignum</i>

Lignum	Anboa	Wood	Een hout
Pisces	Fyan	Fish	Visschen
Vestes ipsorum	Lamba	Their cloaths	Haer cleederen
Nasus	Ooro	A nose	De neus
Edere	Hamman	Meat	Eeten
Aqua falsa	Ranou	Salt water	Sout water

Cape *de Monte Romaen*, standeth about two miles from the land, being a sandy strand. The low land is full of trees. There we had about 32 fathom deep, great sandy ground. The coast reacheth east and by north, and west and by south, by an *Italian* compass, and is a fair sandy strand.

From Cape *de Maria*, to Cape *St. Sebastian* were five miles, 30 fathom deep, great red sand and fair coast; and there we had about 13 degrees striking north-westward.

Between the Cape *de Augustus*, and the Cape *de Maria*, stretching south-east and north-west by an *Italian* compass, the utter part is a sandy strand.

Cape *de Augustus*, and Cape *de Juliaen* are distant from each other about 15 miles, all fair strand, and a mile from the land it is 20 fathom deep sandy ground, situate from each other south-east and north-west. There it ebbs and flows, where likewise you find a great creek. The Cape *de Augustus*, hard by the utter point is low downy land.

Certain WORDS used and spoken in the great Bay of Tangil.

O Ryza	Ten Tumbara	Rice	De Riis
Bonnanos	Fouse	Bonnanas	Die Bonnanes
Mel	Tentello	Honey	Den Honich
Gallinæ	Cocho	Hens	De Hoenders
Nihil amplius	Cymisse	There is no more	Daer en is niet meer
Zinziber viride	Sackauiere	Green ginger	Grove Gengber
Ipsorum hastæ	Leffo	Their spears	Haere spietsen
Ipsorum Scaphæ	Lackan	Their scutes	Haere schuyten
Mulier	Lello	A woman	Een browe
Plus Plus	Errec, Errec	More, more	Meer, meer
Bestia	Agombo	A beast	Een beest
Hædus	Ofso	A goat	Een bock
Aqua	Sarrano	Water	Water
Edere	Haman	Meat	Eeten
Ipsorum vestes	Lamba	Their cloaths	Haere cleederen
Plumbum	Loa	Lead	Loot
Stannum	Wollau	Tin	Tinne
Aqua falsa	Ranou	Salt water	Sout water

The island of *Engano* lies east, and somewhat southerly from us, under five degrees, and 25 minutes, distant from *Sumatra* about 14 miles.

The island of *Sumatra* is very easy to be seen, at 12 miles distance; a high sharp hill shewing itself there most plainly, and by it we directed ourselves into the mouth of the straight, having the height of 5 degr. 30 min.

A little island near *Sumatra*, appears full of wood by the shore, and mountainous within land; and by that island the land began to stretch north-west and south-east; by the south-west point thereof lay *Zapara*, when the fishermen called unto

us. All these *Indian* lands stand full of trees, as well the islands, as the firm land.

About six miles south-eastward from the land aforesaid, lieth another land, where there runneth in a great creek, and lieth south-east, and north-west from each other.

Near *Sytan* we lay at road cross over-against *Sadao*, it is ten fathom deep clay ground. At that place the *Javars* boarded us, offering us cloves and mace, whereby we suspected them not, but they came traiterously into *Schellenger's* ship, and there murdered twelve of his men; the land reacheth east, and somewhat southerly, and west and somewhat northerly, lying under 6 degrees and 40 minutes.

Certain

Certain Malacca Words, which Speech is used throughout all East-India, as we use French in these Countries, especially in great Mens Houses, and with it you may pass through the Country. The Portugueze Speech is there likewise very necessary, for that in all Places of the Country you find such as can speak Portugueze.

B Rachium	<i>Backien</i>	An arm	<i>Arm</i>
Totum	<i>Samoaga</i>	Altogether	<i>Altemael</i>
Amputare	<i>Pang</i>	To cut off	<i>Af snyden</i>
Laborare	<i>Kareya</i>	To labour	<i>Arbeyden</i>
	<i>Pinanga</i>		<i>Arrecka</i>
Mane cum deo	<i>Tingal</i>	God keep you	<i>Blift met Godt</i>
Frater	<i>Adollaley</i>	Brother	<i>Broeder</i>
Barba	<i>Tganga</i>	A beard	<i>Baert</i>
Venter	<i>Penot</i>	A belly	<i>Buitck</i>
Crus	<i>Backy</i>	A leg	<i>Been</i>
Foris	<i>Blouwaer</i>	Without	<i>Buyten</i>
Misericors	<i>Carugvanler</i>	Pitiful	<i>Barmbertich</i>
Melior	<i>Parma</i>	Better	<i>Beter</i>
Solvere	<i>Chyny</i>	To pay	<i>Betalen</i>
Sanguis	<i>Darna</i>	Blood	<i>Bloet</i>
Veham fecare	<i>Bewangdanner</i>	To let blood	<i>Bloet laten</i>
Libri	<i>Kitab</i>	Books	<i>Boecken</i>
Emere	<i>Kely</i>	To buy	<i>Coopen</i>
Herbæ	<i>Dengyn</i>	Herbs	<i>Cruut</i>
Æs	<i>Coper</i>	Copper	<i>Coper</i>
Calx	<i>Capyer</i>	Chalk	<i>Calck</i>
Dies	<i>Aris</i>	The day	<i>Den dagh</i>
Occidere	<i>Benve</i>	Dead	<i>Dooden</i>
Ibi	<i>Sana</i>	There	<i>Daer</i>
Ille	<i>Itowen</i>	The	<i>Die</i>
Age	<i>Maty</i>	Doe it	<i>Doet</i>
Viscera	<i>Perot</i>	Guts	<i>Darmen</i>
Tristis	<i>Chinta</i>	Sorrowful	<i>Droevich</i>
Gratias ago	<i>Terimacache</i>	I thank you	<i>Dancku</i>
Acetum	<i>Tsuyka</i>	Vinegar	<i>Effick</i>
Pete	<i>Minta</i>	Ask	<i>Eyschet</i>
Nudius tertius	<i>Balmariis daula</i>	Before yesterday	<i>Eergisteren</i>
Ova	<i>Telcor</i>	Eggs	<i>Eyeren</i>
Anates	<i>Bebe</i>	Ducks	<i>Eenden</i>
Memor esto	<i>Engat</i>	Remember	<i>Ghedenckt</i>
Inventum	<i>Botonuum</i>	Found	<i>Chevonden</i>
Abi	<i>Pegy</i>	Go	<i>Gaet</i>
Eamus nos	<i>Mary</i>	Let us go	<i>Gaen wy</i>
Heri	<i>Balmory</i>	Yesterday	<i>Gbisteren</i>
Consuetudo	<i>Esteedat</i>	A custom	<i>Gbewoont</i>
Dare	<i>Berny</i>	To give	<i>Gheven</i>
Viride	<i>Ife</i>	Green	<i>Groen</i>
Tu	<i>Pakanera</i>	You	<i>Ghy</i>
Lapis coctus	<i>Batta</i>	A brick	<i>Ghebacken steen</i>
Saluta	<i>Basaer</i>	Greet	<i>Groet</i>
Quantum	<i>Barapa</i>	How much	<i>Hoe veel</i>
Hic	<i>Chyny</i>	Here	<i>Hiet</i>
Ut vales	<i>Bygimana</i>	How do you	<i>Hoe vaerdy</i>
Cor	<i>Aly</i>	The heart	<i>T' harte</i>
Juvaré	<i>Toulong</i>	To help	<i>Helpen</i>
Scindere	<i>Bawtin</i>	To cut	<i>Howen</i>
Pilus	<i>Ramboiet</i>	Hair	<i>Haer</i>
Collum	<i>Goulon</i>	The neck	<i>Hals</i>
Caput	<i>Capelle</i>	The head	<i>Hoest</i>
Manus	<i>Tangan</i>	A hand	<i>Handt</i>
Pileus	<i>Kokodang</i>	A hat	<i>Een boet</i>
Dominus	<i>Queay</i>	Sir or master	<i>Heere</i>
Ego	<i>Manyre</i>	I	<i>Ik</i>

Annus	<i>Tauwn</i>	A year	<i>Iaer</i>
Nunc	<i>Bacabaren</i>	Somewhat	<i>Iets</i>
Glacies	<i>Dalan</i>	Ice	<i>Ys</i>
Atramentum	<i>Mangsy</i>	Ink	<i>Inckt</i>
Juvenis	<i>Monda</i>	A youth	<i>Fonck</i>
Ferrum	<i>Beff</i>	Iron	<i>Iffer</i>
Cognoscere	<i>Kiunal</i>	To know	<i>Kennen</i>
Paruus	<i>Kirchtil</i>	Small	<i>Kleijn</i>
Eligere	<i>Damare</i>	To choose	<i>Kiefen</i>
Caputia	<i>Nasse</i>	Keuvels	<i>Keuvels</i>
Infans	<i>Buda</i>	A child	<i>Kindt</i>
	<i>Pafone</i>	Kite fol	<i>Kyte fol</i>
Herbæ	<i>Ober bediil</i>	Herbs	<i>Krutidt</i>
Terra agri	<i>Negry</i>	Earth of the land	<i>Landt aerde</i>
Labia	<i>Lambbyber</i>	Lips	<i>Lippen</i>
Sinere	<i>Sone</i>	To leave	<i>Laeten</i>
Plumbum	<i>Tyma</i>	Lead	<i>Loot</i>
Lampas	<i>Palyta</i>	A lamp	<i>Lampe</i>
Farcire sclopum	<i>Sombo bidiil</i>	To charge a piece	<i>Roer laden</i>
Levis	<i>Aringa</i>	Light	<i>Licht</i>
Vivere	<i>Jagava</i>	To live	<i>Leven</i>
Ponere	<i>Bariing</i>	To lie	<i>Legghen</i>
Elongare	<i>Dusta</i>	To reach	<i>Langhen</i>
Define	<i>Ganga</i>	To leave off	<i>Laet af</i>
Facere	<i>Bretoun</i>	To make	<i>Maecken</i>
Cras	<i>Yfouck</i>	To-morrow	<i>Morghen</i>
Nox	<i>Mælam</i>	Night	<i>Nacht</i>
Nasus	<i>Yrot don</i>	A nose	<i>Neus</i>
Prope	<i>Gyla</i>	Near	<i>Naer</i>
Clavi	<i>Koko</i>	Nails	<i>Naghels</i>
Pontifex	<i>Cadda</i>	The high priest	<i>Opper priester</i>
Elevare	<i>Passai</i>	To thrust up	<i>Op steecken</i>
Oculi	<i>Mattite</i>	Eyes	<i>Oeghen</i>
Aures	<i>Talinga</i>	Ears	<i>Ooren</i>
Oleum	<i>Nuagia</i>	Oil	<i>Oly</i>
Pulvinar	<i>Bantal</i>	A pillow	<i>Oorcussen</i>
Nofter	<i>Quitabota</i>	Ours	<i>Ons</i>
Avunculus	<i>Mana</i>	An uncle	<i>Oom</i>
Vetus	<i>Tua</i>	Old	<i>Oudt</i>
Surgere	<i>Bangs</i>	To stand up	<i>Op staen</i>
Calami	<i>Calamp</i>	Pens	<i>Pennen</i>
Oryza	<i>Bras</i>	Rice	<i>Ryts</i>
Dorsum	<i>Balacca</i>	A back	<i>Rugghe</i>
Annulus	<i>Cbinfin</i>	A ring	<i>Rinck</i>
Jurare	<i>Sempa</i>	To swear	<i>Sueren</i>
Pudere	<i>Mælon</i>	To be ashamed	<i>Schamen</i>
Dulce	<i>Manits</i>	Sweet	<i>Soet</i>
Dies solis	<i>Jonmaet</i>	Sunday	<i>Sondach</i>
Soror	<i>Adde parapas</i>	A sister	<i>Suster</i>
Vide	<i>Dodver</i>	See	<i>Siet</i>
Arini	<i>Baon</i>	Shoulders	<i>Schouderen</i>
Tacere	<i>Dyem</i>	To be still	<i>Swyghen</i>
Ipsi	<i>Dya</i>	They	<i>Sy</i>
Niger	<i>Ita</i>	Black	<i>Swart</i>
Pulcher	<i>Ayon</i>	Fair	<i>Schoe</i>
Sal	<i>Matary</i>	Salt	<i>Sout</i>
Argentum	<i>Peca</i>	Silver	<i>Silver</i>
Æger	<i>Sabiit</i>	Sick	<i>Sieck</i>
Peccatum	<i>Tehylacca</i>	Sin	<i>Sunde</i>
Gravis	<i>Brat</i>	Heavy	<i>Swaer</i>
Sacci	<i>Corni</i>	Sacks	<i>Sacken</i>
Chalybs	<i>Negle</i>	Steel	<i>Stael</i>
Mori	<i>Bantaren</i>	To die	<i>Sterven</i>
Paropsides	<i>Pyennig</i>	Dishes	<i>Schottelen</i>
Dentes	<i>Anton</i>	Teeth	<i>Tanden</i>

Lingua	<i>Ilat</i>	Tongue	<i>Tonghe</i>
Liberare	<i>Lepas</i>	To let go	<i>Vry laten</i>
Extra est	<i>Pacasuyra</i>	It is out	<i>Ut ist</i>
Metus	<i>Tacat</i>	Fear	<i>Vrees</i>
Piscis	<i>Ican</i>	A fish	<i>Vis</i>
Vendere	<i>Iou wal</i>	To sell	<i>Vercoopen</i>
Perdere	<i>Ilan</i>	To lose	<i>Verliefen</i>
Uterius	<i>Bapa</i>	Further	<i>Verder</i>
Amicitia	<i>Pondarra</i>	Friendship	<i>Vriendfchap</i>
Frons	<i>Batock</i>	The forehead	<i>Voorhoof</i>
Digiti	<i>Iarytary</i>	Fingers	<i>Vinghers</i>
Intelligere	<i>Taven</i>	To understand	<i>Verstaen</i>
Oblivisci	<i>Lampa</i>	To forget	<i>Vergbeten</i>
Tempeftive	<i>Pagy</i>	Early	<i>Vroech</i>
Pugnare	<i>Baccalayo</i>	To fight	<i>Vechten</i>
Caro	<i>Lalyer</i>	Flesh	<i>Vleits</i>
Condonare	<i>Ampo</i>	To forgive	<i>Vergheven</i>
Comburare	<i>Baccar</i>	To burn	<i>Verbrandem</i>
Interrogare	<i>Betangia</i>	To ask	<i>Vraghen</i>
Vespertilio	<i>Lavo</i>	A bat	<i>Vleermuiis</i>
Pes	<i>Gonmo</i>	A foot	<i>Voet</i>
Parum	<i>Selykit</i>	A little	<i>Weynich</i>
Ubi	<i>Dymana</i>	Where	<i>Waer</i>
Lucrari	<i>Menang</i>	To win	<i>Winnen</i>
Calidus	<i>Penas</i>	Warm	<i>Warm</i>
Dolor	<i>Saya</i>	Grief	<i>Wee</i>
Ex eo	<i>Padini</i>	Out of this	<i>Ut dien</i>
Supercilia	<i>Altis</i>	The eyebrows	<i>Wiin brawen</i>
Nos	<i>Dep</i>	We	<i>Wy</i>
Gutturnium	<i>Lande</i>	A water pot	<i>Water pot</i>
Ubi est	<i>Mana aden</i>	Where is it	<i>Waer ist</i>
Aqua	<i>Eyer</i>	Water	<i>Water</i>
Bene	<i>Soufa</i>	Well	<i>Well</i>

Some JAVAN WORDS.

P I P E R	<i>Sybang</i>	Pepper	<i>Peper</i>
Macis	<i>Massa</i>	Mace	<i>Foelie</i>
Nux odorata	<i>Palla</i>	Nutmegs	<i>Noto-Mufcaten</i>
Caryophylli	<i>Sybancke</i>	Cloves	<i>Nagbelen</i>
Aqua	<i>Eyer</i>	Water	<i>Water</i>
Aquæ	<i>Bayia</i>	Waters	<i>Water</i>
Argentum	<i>Salorcka</i>	Silver	<i>Silver</i>
Aurum	<i>Mas</i>	Gold	<i>Gout</i>
Regalis ex octo	<i>Serpy</i>	A rial of eight	<i>Stubken van achten</i>
Ciftæ	<i>Petiis</i>	Boxes	<i>Caffes</i>
Piscis	<i>Iuanck</i>	A fish	<i>Vis</i>
Pugiones	<i>Criiffen</i>	Daggers	<i>Poken</i>
Navis	<i>Capella</i>	A fhip	<i>Een fchip</i>
Ibi parum est	<i>Courang</i>	There is too little	<i>Daer is te weynich</i>
Tormentum	<i>Bediil befär</i>	A great piece	<i>Een grof ftuck</i>
Sclopus	<i>Petiitfiil</i>	A caliver	<i>Een roer</i>
Edere	<i>Mackan</i>	To eat	<i>Eeten</i>
Charta	<i>Cartaes</i>	Paper	<i>Papier</i>
Vinum	<i>Arac</i>	Wine	<i>Wien</i>
Porcus	<i>Steling</i>	A hog	<i>Een vercken</i>
Bos	<i>Alomva</i>	An ox	<i>Een offe</i>
Christiani	<i>Vrangy</i>	Christians	<i>Chriftenen</i>
Advenæ	<i>Oranleyo</i>	Strangers	<i>Vremdelinghen.</i>

The Description of the Island and Kingdom of BALLY, which by Reason of the Fruitfulness thereof we gave it the Name of Young Holland, shewing this King's Customs and Power, with other Things that chanced unto us, while we continued before it.

Bally, or
Young Hol-
land

THE island and kingdom of Bally lieth under 8 degrees, on the south side of the equinoctial line, and southward from the island of Java; we arrived before it upon the 17th of January 1597; the inhabitants used us very friendly, bringing aboard our ships fresh water and hogs that are very good; the first two we bought for a piece of a rial of eight each hog; they are all black hogs, and grunt like ours, but somewhat differing in form. They likewise brought us ducks, hens, eggs, and all kinds of fruits, as lemons, oranges, and other fruits, for the which we gave beads, money, lead, and other things. We sent *Paulus van Caerden* on land to procure the king's favour, which was necessary for us, with certain presents, viz. twenty ells of figured velvet of a light colour, some fine corals, certain drinking glasses, four pair of new shoes, two fair looking glasses, and a good caliver, all the stock being inlayed with bone, which he received very thankfully. Whereupon the next day *Paulus* was conducted by the king himself unto the strand, which we might easily behold; he shewed us that the king sat upon a wagon, drawn by two white buffeloes, and sat alone therein with a whip in his hand, jerking as hard with it as any wagoner with us used to do; many of his lords riding on horseback by him, and some on foot to the number of 300 at the least; his guard were armed with spears, with handles of pure gold, the points being steel, and the staves hollow within; about their necks hung a case of arrows which they blew out of their spears, and therewith hurt their enemies; and some great brass pieces, but not so easily to be shot off as our calivers. At their sides they hung crisses or *Turkish* falcons.

Our gentlemen going on land, he used them with great honour, giving them horses to ride on, and then brought them into one of his palaces, whereof he hath many,

serving them like princes, and gave them drink in vessels of pure gold.

As we sailed from *Cape de Porcos*, to the bay of young *Holland*, we perceived it to be a very good land, as some of our men certified us, that had travelled certain miles into the country, full of all kinds of fruits and trees, and divers running streams, which are used by the inhabitants to water and refresh the land, so that you can scarce travel half an hour, but you find either a village or a town; and to conclude, it is a very even and fruitful country, as any that we saw during our voyage, being so populous that ye can raise at least 300 thousand men on foot, and 100 thousand on horseback. Whereby it sheweth that he is much mightier than any of the kings of *Java*.

Passing from *Cape de Porcos*, along by a low strand, we found it to be compassed about with a wall of three miles long, made much like lancardes, full of holes to shoot at, thereby to resist such as should assault them on the water side.

Thereabouts lying at anchor, there boarded and compassed us at the least 60 fisher-boats to look upon the ship, wherein they took great pleasure, and having beheld her, as long as pleased them, they left us.

The inhabitants shewed us that about 18 or 19 years before, there had been a ship with men in it like unto us, amongst the which there were some that could cut a rope in five or six pieces, and make it whole again, asking us if we had any such men aboard our ship that could do the like; and we said yes, as in truth we had one whom we brought back again, that had some skill of such juggling toys; and although it was not twenty years since *Sir Francis Drake* had been there, yet we perceived, that by the description of his person and his ship, that it was he whom they meant.

The Shape and Description of a strange Bird, which the Hollanders Ships, for the Rareness thereof, brought with them out of Java into Holland.

FOR the strangeness thereof I have here set down the description of a bird, almost twice as great as a swan, of a black colour, the body full of black fea-

thers, which have two or three feathers at each quill, the feathers soft and thick like an Ostrich feather, without wings or tongue. Upon the crown of the head it hath a shell
as

as hard as a tortifeshell ; it defendeth itself with the claws, wherewith it striketh backward like a horse. The strangest thing in it is that of nature it hath no tongue, and yet whatsoever it eateth it swalloweth it up, though it be an apple as big as a man's fist ; yet a more strange nature is found to be in this beast, it swalloweth up hot coals of fire, and never shrinketh at them, and willingly swalloweth down whole pieces of iron, therewith to cool her body. In that country they call it an *Eme*. They breed in the island of *Banda*, from whence this came, and was given unto *John Schellenger* master of the *Amsterdam*, lying under *Cydao*, by the king of *Cydao*, with other presents upon the 4th of *December* 1596, and by the *Hollanders* ships brought to *Amsterdam* for a great wonder, where amongst other things it fell to one of the owners for his share, where it is much resorted unto, and seen by all the country people for a strange and wonderful work of God.

The wild man dwelling in the bay of *Of Tangil*, *Tangill*, in what sort he goeth to the wars, with a spear of two fathom long, with a broad iron point, and in his left hand a wooden target, which will not defend them against the shot of a caliver. We taught them how to know our pieces, whereupon they forbad us their country, knowing they had offended us.

Their oxen have a lump of fat upon *Theiroxen* their backs ; and sheep, that are very good, their tails being an ell long, and twenty inches broad, whereby they are above a quarter of a sheep in quantity of flesh.

The king of the great bay of *Tangil*, *Their* has two horns upon his head, and came into *king* our pinnace. We had a ton of rice, and other things of him, which we exchanged for things of small value ; being black, and with his horns he shewed like a devil, with many copper rings about his arms. We dealt with them by interpreters, and they gave us drink made of honey and rice.

The first of the principal governors of *Sumatra*, whom we thought to be a king, *In the straight of Sunda.* on the 13th of *July* came into our ships to see them, appavelled after the *Turkish* manner, with a rowl about his head, having small eyes, great eye-brows, and little beard, for we might tell the hairs upon his chin. He presented us with betle and chalk, which they always chaw in their mouths, he looked very fiercely, but to us he shewed himself very friendly, and used great reverence unto us.

Several of the *Portugueze* dwelling in *A man of Bantam.* *Bantam*, upon the 22d of *July* 1596, to the number of a whole pran or boat full, came to our ship, saying they were sent by the governor of *Bantam* to see what countrymen we were, and we made them answer that we came thither to traffick with them, whereupon they told us that we were in the right pepper country.

The wild men in an island lying right before the straight of *Sunda Calaga*, go all naked without any thing before their members, red of colour. We could not win them to deal with us, that we might go ashore in their island.

The man in the town of *Bantam*, wears a piece of cotton cloth or of silk, wrapped about his middle. They are very bold with their poniards, called *crises*, whereof they are very proud. It is a very stately kind of people, and hold the law of *Mahomet*.

Description of the natives of the Cape of Good Hope.

The wild men about the Cape *de Bona Speranza*, seem to be *Cannibals*, for they eat raw flesh, with the guts and entrails of beasts, without making them clean. Their apparel is the skin of a beast, hanging like a mantle, cut chequer wise in many places for the more beauty. They have a very filthy favour, clocking in their speech like turkey cocks, wearing a fox tail before their privy members, and of small stature. There appeared unto us about thirty of them in a troop. Their weapons are a pike or javelin about two fathom long with a broad point of iron. We could not perceive any place of their abode. They were very desirous of iron, and their oxen have great lumps or hills of flesh upon their backs.

Of Madagascar.

The wild men in the island of *Madagascar*, otherwise called the island of *St. Laurence*, dwelling on the south-west end thereof, under thirty three degrees and a half, on the south side of the equinoctial line, are very strong and audacious. Their apparel is a cotton cloth about their privy members. Their weapons are arrows or darts, whereof they have their left hand full, and throw with their hand so stedily, that they will hit a mark of the bigness of a stiver. They neither sow nor mow, the richer sort living upon beasts, and the poorer by fishing. Their ornaments are copper rings about their arms. We did not find any fruit there, but great store of Parrots and Meercats.

THE
WORLD
ENCOMPASSED

BY

Sir *FRANCIS DRAKE*.

Offered now at last to publick View, both for the Honour of the Actor, but especially for the stirring up of heroick Spirits, to benefit their Country, and eternize their Names by like noble Attempts.

Collected out of the Notes of Mr. *Francis Fletcher*, Preacher in this Employment, and compared with divers others Notes that went in the same Voyage.

Sir *FRANCIS DRAKE*'s Voyage about the *WORLD*.

EVER since Almighty God commanded *Adam* to subdue the earth, there hath not wanted in all ages, some heroick spirits, which in obedience to that high mandate, either from manifest reason alluring them, or by secret instinct inforcing them thereunto, have expended their wealth, employed their times, and adventured their persons to find out the true circuit of the world.

Of these, some have endeavoured to effect this their purpose, by conclusion and consequence, drawn from the proportion of the higher circles, to this nethermost globe, being the center of the rest. Others not contented with school points, and such demonstration, (for that a small error in the beginning, groweth in the progress to a great inconvenience) have added thereunto their own history and experience. All of them in reason have deserved great commendation of their own ages, and purchased a just renown with all posterity. For if a surveyor of some few lordships, whereof the bounds and limits were before known, worthily deserve his reward, not only for his travel, but for his skill also, in measuring the whole and every part thereof: How much more above comparison are their famous travels, by all means possible to be eternized, who have bestowed their studies and endeavour, to survey and measure this globe, almost unmeasurable? Neither is here that difference to be objected, which in private possessions is of value. *Whose land survey you?* Forasmuch as the main ocean by right is the Lord's alone, and by nature left free, for all men to deal withal, as very sufficient for all mens use, and large enough for all mens industry.

And therefore that valiant enterprize, accompanied with happy success, which that right, rare, and thrice worthy captain *Francis Drake* atchieved, in first turning up a furrow about the whole world, doth not only overmatch the ancient Argonauts, but also outreacheth in many respects, that noble mariner *Magellanus*, and by far surpasseth his crowned victory. But hereof let posterity judge.

It shall for the present be deemed a sufficient discharge of duty, to register the true and whole history of that his voyage, with as great indifferency of affection as a history doth require, and with the plain evidence of truth, as it was left recorded by some of the chief, and divers other actors in that action.

The said captain *Francis Drake*, having in a former voyage, in the years 72 and 73 (the description whereof is already imparted to the view of the world) had a sight, and only a sight of the south Atlantick, and thereupon either conceiving a new, or renewing a former desire, of sailing on the same, in an *English* bottom; he so cherished thenceforward, that his noble desire and resolution in himself, that notwithstanding he was hindered for some years, partly by secret envy at home, and partly by publick service for his Prince and Country abroad (whereof *Ireland* under *Walter* earl of *Essex* gives honourable testimony) yet against the year 1577, by gracious commission from his sovereign, and with the help of divers friends adventurers, he had fitted himself with five ships.

1. The *Pellican*, admiral, burthen 100 tons, captain general *Francis Drake*.
2. The *Elizabeth*, vice-admiral, burthen 80 tons, captain *John Winter*.
3. The *Marigold*, a bark of 30 tons, captain *John Thomas*.
4. The *Swan*, a flyboat of 50 tons, captain *John Chester*.
5. The *Christopher*, a pinnace of 15 tons, captain *Thomas Moon*.

These ships he mann'd with ^a 164 able and sufficient men, and furnished them also with such plentiful provision of all things necessary, as so long and dangerous a Voyage did seem to require; and amongst the rest, with certain pinnaces ready framed, but carried aboard in pieces, to be new set up in smoother water, when occasion served. Neither had he omitted to make provision also for ornament and delight, carrying to this purpose with him expert musicians, rich furniture (all the vessels for his table, yea many belonging even to the cook-room being of pure silver) and di-

vers

^a Other accounts say but 163. See *Lediard's Naval History*, pag. 172.

vers shews of all sorts of curious workmanship, whereby the civility and magnificence of his native country might, amongst all nations whithersoever he should come, be the more admired.

Being thus appointed, we set sail out of the sound of *Plimouth* about five of the clock in the afternoon, *November 15.* of the same year; and running all that night south-west, by morning were come as far as the *Lizard*, where meeting the wind at south-west (quite contrary to our intended course) we were forced with our whole fleet to put into *Falmouth*.

The next day towards evening there arose a storm, continuing all that night, and the day following (especially between ten of the clock in the forenoon, and five in the afternoon) with such violence, that though it were in a very good harbour, yet two of our ships, viz. the Admiral (wherein our general himself went) and the *Marigold* were fain to cut their main masts by board; and for the repairing of them, and many other damages in the tempest sustained (as soon as the weather would give leave) to bear back to *Plimouth* again, where we all arrived the thirteenth day after our first departure thence.

Whence having in a few days supplied all defects, with happier sails we once more put to sea *December 13. 1577.*

As soon as we were out of sight of land, our general gave us occasion to conjecture^b in part whither he intended, both by the directing of his course, and appointing the rendezvous (if any should be severed from the fleet) to the island *Mogadore*. And so sailing with favourable winds, the first land that we had sight of was *Cape Cantine* in *Barbary*, *Decemb. 25.* *Christmas-day* in the morning. The shore is fair white sand, and the inland country very high and mountainous, it lieth in 32 degr. 30 min. north latitude; and so coasting from hence southward about 18 leagues, we arrived the same day at *Mogadore*, the island before-named.

This *Mogadore* lies under the dominion of the king of *Fesse*, in 31 degr. 40 min. about a mile off from the shore, by this means making a good harbour between the land and it. It is uninhabited, of about a league in circuit, not very high land, all overgrown with a kind of shrub breast high, not much unlike our privet; very full of doves, and therefore much frequented by goshawks, and such like birds of prey, besides divers sorts of sea fowl very plenty. At the south side of this island are three hollow rocks, under which are great store of very wholesome, but ve-

ry ugly fish to look to. Lying here about a mile from the main, a boat was sent to sound the harbour, and finding it safe, and in the very entrance on the north side, about five or six fathom water (but on the south side it is very dangerous) we brought in our whole fleet *December 27.* and continued there till the last day of the same month, employing our leisure the meanwhile in setting up a pinnace, one of the four brought from home in pieces with us. Our abode here was soon perceived by the inhabitants of the country, who coming to the shore, by signs and cries made shew, that they desired to be fetched aboard; to whom our general sent a boat, in which two of the chieft of the *Moors* were presently received, and one man of ours in exchange left on land, as a pledge for their return.

They that came aboard were right courteously entertained with a dainty banquet, and such gifts as they seemed to be most glad of, that they might thereby understand, that this fleet came in peace and friendship, offering to traffick with them for such commodities as their country yielded, to their own content. This offer they seemed most gladly to accept, and promised the next day to resort again, with such things as they had to exchange for ours. It is a law amongst them to drink no wine, notwithstanding by stealth it pleaseth them well to have it abundantly, as we experienced it. At their return ashore, they quietly restored the pledge which they had stayed; and the next day, at the hour appointed, returning again, brought with them camels, in shew laden with wares to be exchanged for our commodities; and calling for a boat in haste, had one sent them, according to order, which our general (being at this present absent) had given before his departure to the island.

Our boat coming to the place of landing (which was among the rocks) one of our men, called *John Fry*, mistrusting no danger, nor fearing any harm pretended by them; and therefore intending to become a pledge, according to the order used the day before, readily stept out of the boat, and ran to land; which opportunity (being that which the *Moors* did look for) they took the advantage of; and not only they which were in sight laid hands on him to carry him away with them, but a number more, which lay secretly hid, did forthwith break forth from behind the rock, whither they had conveyed themselves (as it seemeth the night before) forcing our men to leave the rescuing of him that was taken as captive, and with speed to shift for themselves. The

^b His pretence being a voyage to *Alexandria*. Ibid.

The cause of this violence was a desire which the king of *Fesse* had to understand what this fleet was, whether any fore-runner of the kings of *Portugal* or no, and what news of certainty the fleet might give him. And therefore, after that he was brought to the king's presence, and had reported that they were *Englishmen*, bound for the *Streights*, under the conduct of general *Drake*, he was sent back again with a present to his captain, and offer of great courtesy and friendship, if he would use his country. But in the mean time the general being grieved with this shew of injury, and intending, if he might, to recover or redeem his man, his pinnace being ready, landed his company, and marched somewhat into the country, without any resistance made against him; neither would the *Moors* by any means come nigh our men to deal with them any way; wherefore having made provision of wood, as also visited an old fort, built some time ago by the king of *Portugal*, but now ruined by the king of *Fesse*, we departed December 31 towards *Cape Blank*, in such sort, that when *Fry* returned, he found to his great grief that the fleet was gone; but yet, by the king's favour, he was sent home into *England* not long after, in an *English* merchant ship.

Shortly after our putting forth of this harbour, we were met with contrary winds and foul weather, which continued till the fourth of *January*: Yet we still held on our course, and the third day after, fell in with cape *de Guerre* in 30 degr. 0 min. where we lighted on three *Spanish* fishermen called *Caunters*, whom we took with our new pinnace, and carried along with us, till we came to *Rio Del Ora*, just under the tropick of *Cancer*; where with our pinnace also we took a carvel. From hence, till the 15th day, we sailed on towards cape *Barbas*, where the *Marigold* took a carvel more, and so onward to cape *Blanck* till the next day at night.

This cape lieth in 20 degr. 30 min. sheweth itself upright like the corner of a wall, to them that come towards it from the north, having between it and cape *Barbas*, low, sandy, and very white land all the way. Here we observed the south *Guards*, called the *Crosters*, 9 degr. 30 min. above the horizon. Where in the cape, we took one *Spanish* ship more riding at anchor, (all her men being fled ashore in the boat save two) which with all the rest we have formerly taken, we carried into the harbour, three leagues within the cape.

Here our general determined, for cer-

tain days to make his abode, both for that the place afforded plenty of fresh victuals, for the present refreshing of our men, and for their future supply at sea, (by reason of the infinite store of divers sorts of good fish, which are there easy to be taken, even within the harbour, the like whereof, is hardly to be found again, in any part of the world) as also, because it served very fitly, for the dispatching of some other businesses that we had. During the time of our abode in this place, our general being ashore, was visited by certain people of the country, who brought down with them a woman, a *Moor*, (with her little babe hanging upon her dry dug, having scarce life in herself, much less milk to nourish her child) to be sold as a horse, or a cow and calf by her side; in which sort of merchandize our general would not deal. But they had also amber-grease, with certain gums of some estimation, which they brought to exchange with our men for water, (whereof they have great want) so that coming with their alforges (they are leathern bags holding liquor) to buy water; they cared not at what price they bought it, so they might have some to quench their thirst. A very heavy judgment of God upon that coast! The circumstances whereof considered, our general would receive nothing of them for water, but freely gave it them that came to him; yea, and fed them also ordinarily with our victuals; in eating whereof, their manner was not only uncivil, and unsightly to us, but even inhuman and loathsome in itself.

And having washed and trimmed our ships, and discharged all our *Spanish* prizes, excepting one *Caunter*, (for which we gave to the owner one of our ships, viz. the *Christopher*) and one carvel formerly bound to *St. Jago*, which we caused to accompany us thither, where she was discharged; after six days abode here, we departed, directing our course for the islands of cape *Verde*, where (if any were) we were of necessity to store our fleet with fresh water for a long time, for that our general intended from thence to run a long course (even to the coast of *Brasil*) without touch of land. And now, having the wind constant at north-east, and east-north-east, which is usual about those parts, because, it bloweth almost continually from the shore; *January* 27th we coasted *Bonavista*, and the next day after we came to anchor under the western part (towards *St. Jago*) of the island *Majo*; it lieth in 15 degrees high land, saving that the north-west part stretcheth out into the sea, the space of a league

* He also kept *Nuro de Silva*, the master of her to pilot him on the coast of *Brasil*, *id.* p. 173.

league very low, and is inhabited by subjects to the king of *Portugal*.

Here landing, in hope of traffick with the inhabitants for water, we found a town not far from the water-side, of a great number of desolate and ruinous houses, with a poor naked chapel or oratory, such as small cost and charge might serve and suffice, being to small purpose, and as it seemeth only to make a shew, and that a false shew, contrary to the nature of a scarecrow, which feareth birds from coming nigh; this enticeth such as pass by to hale in, and look for a commodity, which is not at all to be found there; though in the inner parts of the island it be in great abundance.

For when we found the springs and wells which had been there (as appeareth) stopped up again, and no other water to be had to serve our need, we marched up to seek some more convenient place to supply our wants, or at least to see whether the people would be dealt withal to help us therein. In this travelling we found the soil to be very fruitful, having everywhere plenty of fig-trees, with fruit upon most of them. But in the valleys and low ground, where little low cottages were built, were pleasant vineyards planted, bearing then ripe and most pleasant grapes. There were also trees without any branches to the top, which bare the coco-nuts. There were also great store of certain lower trees, with long and broad leaves, bearing the fruit which they call plantanes, in clusters together like puddings, a most dainty and wholesome fruit. All of these trees were even laden with fruit, some ready to be eaten, others coming forward, others over ripe. Neither can this seem strange, though about the middle of winter with us; for the sun doth never withdraw himself so far from them, but that with his lively heat he quickneth and strengthneth the power of the soil and plant; neither ever have they any such frost and cold, as thereby to lose their green hue and appearance.

We found very good water in divers places, but so far off from the road, that we could not with any reasonable pains enjoy it. The people would by no means be induced to have any conference with us, but keeping in the most sweet and fruitful valley among the hills, where their towns and places of pleasure in surveying the island, as they had some reason not to endanger themselves, where they saw they could reap nothing sooner than damage and shame, if they should have offered violence to them, which came in peace to do them no wrong at all. This island yieldeth other great commodities, as

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wonderful herds of goats, infinite store of wild hens, and salt without labour, (only the gathering it together excepted) which continually in a marvellous quantity is increased upon the sands by the flowing of the sea, and the heat of the sun kerning the same. So that of the increase thereof they keep a continual traffick with their neighbours in the other adjacent islands. We set sail thence the 30th day.

Being departed from *Majo*, the next day we passed by the island of *St. Jago*, ten leagues west of *Majo* in the same latitude, inhabited by the *Portuguese* and *Moors* together. The cause whereof is said to have been in the *Portuguese* themselves, who (continuing long time lords within themselves, in the island) used that extreme and unreasonable cruelty over their slaves, that (their bondage being intolerable) they were forced to seek some means to help themselves, and to lighten that so heavy a burden; and thereupon chose to fly into the most mountainous parts of the island: and at last, by continual escapes, increasing to a great number, and growing to a set strength, do now live with that terror of their oppressors, that they now endure no less bondage in mind than the *Forcados* did before in body; besides, the damage that they daily suffer at their hands in their goods and cattle, together with the abridging of their liberties in the use of divers parts of the fruitful soil of the island; which is very large, marvelous fruitful, (a refuge for all such ships as are bound towards *Brasil*, *Guinea*, the *East-Indies*, *Binny*, *Calecut*, &c.) and a place of rare force, if it were not for the cause afore-recited, which hath much abated the pride, and cooled the courage of that people, who (under pretence of traffick and friendship) at first making an entrance ceased not practising upon the poor islanders (the ancient remainders of the first planters thereof, as it may seem from the coast of *Guinea*) until they had excluded them from all government and liberty, yea almost life.

On the south-west of this island, we took a *Portuguese* laden the best part with wine, and much good cloath, both linnen and woollen, besides other necessities, bound for *Brasil*, with many gentlemen and merchants in her.

As we passed by with our fleet, in sight of three of their towns, they seemed very joyful that we touched not with their coast; and seeing us depart peaceably, in honour of our fleet and general, or rather to signify that they were provided for an assault, shot off two great pieces into the sea, which were answered by one given them again from us.

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South-west from St. *Jago* in 14 degr. 30 min. about twelve leagues distant, yet, by reason of the height seeming not above three leagues, lieth another island, called of the *Portugueze* *Fogo*, viz. the burning island, or fiery furnace; in which riseth a steep upright hill, by conjecture at least six leagues, or eighteen *English* miles from the upper part of the water, within the bowels whereof is a consuming fire, maintained by sulphurous matter, seeming to be a marvellous depth, and also very wide. The fire sheweth itself but four times in an hour, at which times it breaketh out with such violence and force, and in such main abundance, that besides that it giveth light like the moon a great way off, it seemeth that it would not stay till it touch the heavens themselves. Herein are ingendered great store of pumice stones, which being in the vehement heat of the fire carried up without the mouth of that fiery body, fall down, with other gross and slimy matter upon the hill, to the continual increasing of the same. And many times these stones falling down into the sea are taken up and used, as we ourselves had experience by sight of them swimming on the water. The rest of the island is fruitful notwithstanding, and is inhabited by the *Portugueze*, who live very commodiously therein, as in the other islands thereabout.

Upon the south side, about two leagues off this island of burning, lieth a most sweet and pleasant island, the trees thereof are always green and fair to look on, the soil almost full set with trees, in respect whereof it's named *Brava*, the *Brave* island, being a storehouse of many fruits and commodities, as figs always ripe, coco's, plantains, oranges, lemons, cotton, &c. From the banks into the sea do run in many places the silver streams of sweet and wholesome water, which with boats or pinnaces may easily be taken in. But there is no convenient place or road for ships, neither any anchoring at all. For after long trial, and often casting of leads, there could no ground be had at any rate, neither was it ever known (as is reported) that any line would fetch ground in any place about that island. So that the top of *Fogo* burneth not so high in the air, but the root of *Brava* (so is the island called) is buried and quenched as low in the sea. The only inhabitant of this island is an hermit, as we suppose; for we found no other houses but one, built as it seemed for such a purpose; and he was so delighted in his solitary living, that he would by no means abide our coming, but fled, leaving

behind him the relics of his false worship; to wit, a cross, with a crucifix, an altar with his super-altar^a, and certain other idols of wood of rude workmanship.

Here we dismissed the *Portugueze* taken near St. *Jago*, and gave to them in exchange of their old ship, our new pinnace built at *Mogadore*; with wine, bread, and fish for their provision, and so sent them away, *Febr.* 1.

Having thus visited, as is declared, the island of cape *Verde*, and provided fresh water as we could, the 2d of *Febr.* we departed thence, directing our course towards the *Streights*, so to pass into the *South-Sea*; in which course we sailed 63 days without sight of land (passing the equinoctial line the 17th day of the same month) till we fell in with the coast of *Brazil* the 5th of *April* following.

During which long passage on the vast gulph, where nothing but sea beneath us and air above us was to be seen, as our eyes did behold the wonderful works of God in his creatures, which he had made innumerable, both small and great beasts, in the great and wide seas; so did our mouths taste, and our natures feed on, the goodness thereof in such fulness at all times, and in every place, as if he had commanded and enjoined the most profitable and most glorious works of his hands to wait upon us, not alone for the relief of our necessities, but also to give us delight in the contemplation of his excellence, in beholding the variety and order of his providence, with a particular taste of his fatherly care over us all the while.

The truth is, we often met with adverse winds, unwelcome storms, and to us (at that time) less welcome calms, and being as it were in the bosom of the burning zone, we felt the effects of sultry heat, not without the affrights of flashing lightning, and often terrifyings of claps of thunder; yet still with the admixture of many comforts. For this we could not but take notice of, that whereas we were but badly furnished (our case considered) of fresh water, having never at all watered (to any purpose, or that we could say we were much the better for it) from our first setting forth out of *England* till this time, nor meeting with any place where we might conveniently water, till our coming to the river of *Plate* long after; yet after once we were come within 4 degrees of the line on this side, viz. after *Feb.* 10. and till we were past the line as many degrees towards the south, viz. till *Febr.* 27. there was no one day went over us but we received some rain, whereby our want of water was much supplied. This

^a A square stone, which is consecrated by the bishop, and lies under the corporal in the middle of the altar.

This also was observable, that of our whole fleet, being now six in number, notwithstanding the uncouthness of the way, and whatever other difficulties, by weather, or otherwise we met withal, not any one, in all this space, lost company of the rest; except only our *Portuguese* prize^e for one day, who *March* 28th was severed from us; but the day following, *March* 29th she found us again, to both her own, and our no little comfort. She had in her 28 of our men, and the best part of all our provision for drink; her short absence caused much doubting and sorrow in the whole company, neither could she then have been finally lost, without the overthrow of the whole voyage.

Among the many strange creatures which we saw, we took heedful notice of one, as strange as any; to wit, the flying fish, a fish of the bigness and proportion, of a reasonable or middle sort of Pilchards. He hath fins of the length of his whole body, from the bulk to the top of the tail, bearing the form, and supplying the like use to him, that wings do to other creatures. By the help of those fins, when he is chased of the *Bonito*, or great mackerel, (whom the *Aurata*, or dolphin likewise pursueth) and hath not strength to escape by swimming any longer, he listeth up himself above the water, and flieth a pretty height, sometimes lighting into boats or barks as they sail along. The quills of their wings are so proportionable, and finely set together, with a most thin and dainty film, that they might seem to serve for a much longer or higher flight, but the dryness of them is such, after some ten or twelve strokes, that he must needs into the water again to moisten them, which else would grow stiff and unfit for motion. The increase of this little and wonderful creature is in a manner infinite, the fry whereof lieth upon the upper part of the waters, in the heat of the sun, as dust upon the face of the earth, which being in bigness of a wheat-straw, and in length an inch more or less, do continually exercise themselves in both their faculties of nature: Wherein, if the Lord had not made them expert indeed, their generation could not have continued, being so desired a prey to so many which greedily hunt after them, forcing them to escape in the air by flight, when they cannot in the waters live in safety. Neither are they always free, or without danger in their flying; but as they escape one evil, by refusing the waters, so they sometimes fall into as great a mischief, by mounting up into the air, and that, by means of a

great and ravening fowl, named of some a Don or Spurkite, who feeding chiefly on such fish as he can come by at advantage, in their swimming in the brim of the waters, or leaping above the same, presently seizeth upon them with great violence, making havock, especially amongst these flying fishes, though with small profit to himself.

There is another sort of fish, which likewise flieth in the air, named a *Cuttill*: It's the same, whose bones the Goldsmiths commonly use, or at least not unlike the sort, a multitude of which, have at one time, in their flight, fallen into our ships amongst our men.

Passing thus, in beholding the most excellent works of the eternal God in the seas, as if we had been in a garden of pleasure, *April* the 5th we fell in with the coast of *Brazil*, in 31 degr. 30 min. towards the pole Antartick, where the land is low near the sea, but much higher within the country; having in depth not above 12 fathom, 3 leagues off from the shore: And being descried by the inhabitants, we saw great huge fires, made by them in sundry places. Which order of making fires, though it be universal, as well amongst *Christians* as *Heathens*, yet is it not likely that many do use it to that end which the *Brazilians* do: to wit, for a sacrifice to devils, whereat they intermix many and divers ceremonies of conjurations, casting up great heaps of sand, to this end, that if any ships shall go about to stay upon their coasts, their ministring spirits may make wreck of them; whereof the *Portuguese* by the loss of divers of their ships have had often experience.

In the reports of *Magellan's* voyage, it is said, that this people pray to no manner of thing, but live only according to the instinct of nature; which if it were true, there should seem to be a wonderful alteration in them since that time, being fallen from a simple and natural creature, to make Gods of Devils; but I am of the mind, that it was with them then as now it is, only they lacked then the like occasion, to put it in practise, which now they have: For then, they lived as a free people amongst themselves, but now are in most miserable bondage and slavery, both in body, goods, wife and children, and life itself, to the *Portuguese*, whose hard and most cruel dealings against them, forceth them to fly into the unfruitful parts of their own land, rather there to starve, or at least live miserably with liberty, than to abide such intolerable bondage, as they lay upon them, using the aforesaid practi-
ces

^e Then called the *Christopher*.

ces with Devils, both for a revenge against their oppressors, and also for a defence, that they have no further entrance into the country. And supposing indeed, that no other had used to travel by sea in ships, but their enemies only, they therefore used the same at our coming: Notwithstanding, our God made their devilish intent of none effect; for albeit there lacked not (within the space of our falling in with this coast) forcible storms and tempests, yet did we sustain no damage, but only the separating of our ships off of shore, but we could find no harbour in many leagues. And therefore coasting along the land, towards the south, April 7th we had a violent storm for the space of three hours, with thunder, lightning, and rain in great abundance, accompanied with a vehement south wind, directly against us, which caused a separation of the *Christopher* (viz. the *Caunter* which we took at cape *Blank*, in exchange for the *Christopher*, whose name she henceforward bore) from the rest of the fleet.

After this, we kept on our course, sometimes to the seaward, sometimes toward the shore, but always southward, as near as we could, till April 14th in the morning, at which time we passed by cape *St. Mary*, which lies in 35 degr. near the mouth of the river of *Plate*: And running within it about six or seven leagues along by the main, we came to anchor in a bay, under another cape which our general afterwards called cape *Joy*, by reason of the second day after our anchoring here, the *Christopher* (whom we had lost in the former storm) came to us again.

Among other cares which our general took in this action, next the main care of effecting the voyage itself, these were the principal, and chiefly subordinate: to keep our whole fleet (as near as possible we could) together; to get fresh water which is of continual use; and to refresh our men wearied with long toils at sea, as oft as we should find any opportunity of effecting the same. And for these causes it was determined, and publick notice thereof given at our departure from the islands of cape *Verde*, that the next rendezvouz both for the recollecting of our navy (if it should be dispersed) as also watering, and the like, should be the river of *Plate*: Whither we were all to repair with all the convenient speed that could be made, and to stay one for another, if it should happen that we could not arrive there all together; and the effect we found answerable to our expectations; for here our severed ship (as hath been declared) found us again, and here we found those other helps also so much desired. The country hereabout is of a temperate and most sweet

air, and pleasant to behold; and besides the exceeding fruitfulness of the soil, 'tis stored with plenty of large and mighty deer.

Notwithstanding that in this first bay we found sweet and wholesome water even at pleasure, yet the same after the arrival of *Caunter*, we removed some 12 leagues farther up in another; where we found a long rock, or rather island of rocks, not far from the main; making a commodious harbour, especially against a southerly wind: Under them we anchored, and rode till the 20th day at night; in which mean space we killed divers seals, or sea-wolves (as the *Spaniard* calls them) which resorted to these rocks in great abundance. They are good meat, and were an acceptable food to us for the present, and a good supply of our provision for the future.

Hence, April 20th we weighed again, and sailed yet further up into the river, even till we found but three fathom deep, and that we rode with our ships in fresh water; but we staid not there, nor in any other place of the river, because that the winds being strong, the shoals many, and no safe harbour found, we could not without great danger so have done. Haling therefore to seaward again, the 27th of the same month (after that we had spent a fortnight in that river, to the great comfort of the whole fleet) we passed by the south side thereof into the main. The land here lieth south-south-west, and north-north-east, with shoal water, some three or four leagues off into the sea. It is about 36 degr. 20 min. and somewhat better, south latitude.

At our very first coming forth to sea again, to wit, the same night, our fly-boat the *Swan*, lost company of us: Whereupon, though our general doubted nothing of her happy coming forward again to the rest of the fleet; yet, because it was grievous to have such often losses, and that it was his duty as much as in him lay, to prevent all inconveniencies besides, that might grow; he determined to diminish the number of his ships, thereby to draw his men into less room; that both the fewer ships might the better keep company, and that they might also be the better appointed with new and fresh supplies of provision and men, one to ease the burden of another: especially, for that he saw the coast (it draweth now toward winter here) to be subject to many and grievous storms: And therefore he continued on his course, to find out a convenient harbour for that use; searching all that coast from 36 to 47 degr. (as diligently as contrary winds and sundry storms would permit) and yet found none for the purpose. And in the mean

mean time, viz. May 8th by another storm the *Gaunter* also was once more severed from us. May 12th we had sight of land; in 47 degr. where we were forced to come to anchor in such road as we could find for the time. Nevertheless our general named the place *Cape Hope*, by reason of a bay discovered within the headland, which seemed to promise a good and commodious harbour. But by reason of many rocks lying off from the place, we durst not adventure with our ships into it without good and perfect discovery beforehand made.

Our general, especially in matters of moment, was never wont to rely only on other mens care, how trusty or skilful soever they might seem to be; but always contemning danger, and refusing no toil, he was wont himself to be one, whosoever was a second; at every turn, where courage, skill, or industry was to be employed; neither would he at this time intrust the discovery of these dangers to another's pains, but rather to his own experience, in searching out and sounding of them. A boat being therefore hoisted forth; himself with some others the next morning, May 13th, rowed into the bay; and being now very nigh the shore, one of the men of the country shewed himself unto him, seeming very pleasant, singing and dancing, after the noise of a rattle which he shook in his hand, expecting earnestly his landing.

But there was suddenly so great an alteration in the weather, into a thick and misty fog, together with an extream storm and tempest, that our general being now three leagues from his ship, thought it better to return, then either to land, or make any other stay; and yet the fog thickned so mightily, that the sight of the ships was bereft them, and if captain *Thomas* (upon the abundance of his love and service to his general) had not adventured with his ship to enter that bay, in this perplexity, where good advice would not suffer our ships to bear in, while the winds were more tolerable, and the air clearer; we had sustained some great loss, or our general had been further endangered, who was now quickly received aboard his ship; out of which, being within the bay, they let fall an anchor, and rode there (God be praised) in safety. But our other ships, riding without, were so oppressed with the extremity of the storm, that they were forced to run off to the sea for their own safeguard, being in good hope only of the good success of that ship, which was gone in to relieve our general. Before this storm arose, our *Gaunter* formerly lost, was come in the same day unto us in the same road,

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but was put to sea again the same evening with the rest of the fleet.

The next day, May 14th, the weather being fair, and the winds moderate; but the fleet out of sight, our general determined to go ashore, to this end, that he might, by making of fires, give signs to the dispersed ships, to come together again into the road. Whereby at last, they were all assembled, excepting the *Swan*, lost long time before, and excepting our Portuguese prize, called the *Mary*; which weighing in this last storm the night before, now lost company; and was not found again in a long time after.

In this place (the people being removed up into the country, belike for fear of our coming) we found near unto the rocks, in houses made for that purpose, as also in divers other places, great store of Ostriches, at least to the number of 50, with much other fowl; some dried, and some in drying for their provision, as it seemed, to carry with them to the place of their dwellings. The Ostriches thighs were in bigness equal to reasonable legs of mutton; they cannot fly at all; but they run so swiftly, and take so long strides, that it is not possible for a man in running by any means to take them, neither yet to come so nigh them, as to have any shot at them either with bow or piece: Whereof our men had often proof on other parts of that coast, for all the country is full of them. We found there the tools or instruments which the people use in taking them. Amongst other means they use in betraying of these Ostriches, they have a great and large plume of feathers, orderly compact together upon the end of a staff; in the forepart, bearing the likeness of the head, neck, and bulk of an Ostrich; and in the hinder part, spreading itself out very large, sufficient (being holden before him) to hide the most part of the body of a man. With this it seemeth they stalk, driving them into some strait, or neck of land close to the sea side; where spreading long and strong nets, with their dogs which they have in readiness at all times, they overthrow them, and make a common quarry. The country is very pleasant, and seemeth to be a fruitful soil.

Being afterwards driven to fall in with this place again, we had great acquaintance, and familiarity with the people, who rejoiced greatly in our coming, and in our friendship, in that we had done them no harm. But because this place was not fit or convenient harbour for us, to do our necessary business, neither yet to make provision of such things as we wanted, as water, wood, and such like, we departed thence the 15th of May.

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At our departure thence, we held our course south and by west, and made about nine leagues in twenty-four hours; bearing very little sail, that our fleet might the easier get up with us, which by reason of the contrary winds, were cast a-stern of us.

In 47 degr. 30 min. we found a bay, which was fair, safe, and beneficial to us, very necessary for our use; into which we haled, and anchored *May* 17th; and the next day *May* 18th we came further into the same bay, where we cast anchor, and made our abode full fifteen days.

The very first day of our arrival here, our general having set things in some order, for the dispatch of our necessary business, being most careful for his two ships which were wanting, sent forth to the southward, captain *Winter* in the *Elizabeth*, vice-admiral; himself in the admiral, going forth northward into the sea, to see if happily they might meet with either of them: At which time, by the good providence of God, he himself met with the *Swan*, formerly lost at our departure from the river of *Plate*, and brought her into the same harbour, the same day: Where being after unloaden, and discharged of her freight, she was cast off, and her iron work, and other necessities being saved, for the better provision of the rest, of the remainder was made firewood, and other implements which we wanted. But all this while, of the other ship which we lost so lately, in our extremity, we could have no news.

While we were thus employed, after certain days of our stay in this place, being on shore in an island nigh unto the main, where at low water was free passage on foot, from the one to the other, the people of the country did shew themselves unto us, with leaping, dancing, and holding up of their hands, and making outcries after their manner: but being then high water, we could not go over to them on foot. Wherefore the general caused immediately a boat to be in readiness, and sent unto them such things as he thought would delight them; as knives, bells, bugles; and whereupon they being assembled together upon a hill, half an *English* mile from the water-side, sent down two of their company, running one after the other with a great grace, traversing their ground as it seemed after the manner of their wars, by degrees descending towards the water-side very swiftly. Notwithstanding, drawing nigh unto it, they made a stay, refusing to come near our men. Which our men perceiving, sent such things as they had tied with a string upon a rod, and stuck the same up at a reasonable distance from them, where they might see it. And as soon as our

men were departed from the place, they came and took those things, leaving instead of them, as in recompence, such feathers as they use to wear about their heads, with a bone made in manner of a tooth-pick, carved round about the top, and in length about 6 inches, being very smoothly burnished. Whereupon our general, with divers of his gentlemen and company, at low water went over to them to the main.

Against his coming they remained still upon the hill, and set themselves in a rank, one by one; appointing one of their company to run before them from the one end of the rank to the other, and so back again, continually east and west, with holding up his hands over his head, and yielding forward his body in his running toward the rising and setting of the sun: And at every second or third turn at the most, erected his body against the midst of the rank of the people, lifting himself vaulting-wise from the ground towards the moon, being then over our heads: signifying thereby, as we conceived, that they called the sun and moon (whom they serve for Gods) to witness, that they meant nothing towards us but peace. But when they perceived that we ascended the hill apace, and drew nigh unto them, they seemed very fearful of our coming.

Wherefore our general not willing to give them any way an occasion to dislike, or be discomfited, retired his company; whereby they were so allured, and did so therein confirm themselves of us, that we were no enemies, neither meant them harm, that without all fear, divers came down with great speed after us, presently entering into traffick with our men; notwithstanding they would receive nothing at our hands, but the same must be first cast upon the ground, using this word *zussus* for exchange, *toytt* to cast upon the ground. And if they disliked any thing, they cried *corob, corob*, speaking the same with rattling in the throat. The wares we received from them were arrows of reeds, feathers, and such bones as are afore described.

This people go naked, except a skin of fur which they cast about their shoulders, when they sit or lie in the cold: but having any thing to do, as going or any other labour, they use it as a girdle about their loins. They wear their hair very long, but lest it might trouble them in their travel, they knit it up with a roll of *Ostrich* feathers, using the same rolls and hair together for a quiver for their arrows, and for a store-house, in which they carry the most things that they carry about them. Some of them within these rolls stick on either side of their heads (for a sign of honour

nour in their persons) a large and plain feather, which sheweth like horns afar off: so that such a head upon a naked body (if Devils do appear with horns) might very nigh resemble Devils.

The whole bravery of setting out themselves, standeth in painting their bodies with divers colours, and such works as they can devise. Some wash their faces with sulphur, or some such like substance; some paint their whole bodies black, leaving only their necks behind and before white, much like our Damsels that wear their squares, their necks and breasts naked. Some paint one shoulder black, another white, and their sides and legs interchangeably with the same colours, one still contrary to the other. The black part hath set upon it white moons, and the white part black suns, being the marks and characters of their Gods, as is before noted.

They have some commodity by painting of their bodies, for the which cause they use it so generally; and that I gather to be the defence it yieldeth against the piercing and nipping cold. For the colours being close laid on upon their skin, or rather in the flesh, as by continual renewing of these jucies which are laid on, soak'd into the inner part thereof, doth fill up the pores so close that no air or cold can enter, or make them once to shrink.

They have clean, comely, and strong bodies: They are swift of foot, and seem very active. Neither is any thing more lamentable (in my judgment) than that so goodly a people, and so lively creatures of God, should be ignorant of the true and living God. And so much the more is this to be lamented, by how much they are more tractable, and easy to be brought to the sheepfold of Christ: having in truth a land sufficient to recompence any Christian prince in the world, for the whole travel and labour, cost and charges bestowed in that behalf; with a wonderful enlarging of a kingdom, besides the glory of God by increasing of the church of Christ.

It is wonderful to hear, being never known to Christians before this time, how familiar they became in short space with us, thinking themselves to be joined with such a people, as they ought rather to serve, than offer any wrong or injury unto: presuming that they might be bold with our general as with a father, and with us as with brethren, and their near friends; neither seemed their love less towards us. One of the chiefeft among them having on a time received a cap off our general's head, which he did daily wear, removing himself but a little from us, with an arrow pierced his leg deeply, causing

the blood to stream out upon the ground: signifying thereby, how unfeignedly he loved him, and giving therein a covenant of peace: The number of men which here did frequent our company, were about 50 persons. Within, in the southermost part of this bay, there is a river of fresh water, with a great many profitable islands; of which, some have always such store of seals or sea-wolves, as were able to maintain a huge army of men. Other islands being many and great, are so replenished with birds and fowl, as, if there were no other victuals, a wonderful multitude of people might be nourished by the increase of them for many posterities. Of these we killed some with shot, and some with staves, and took some with our hands, from mens heads and shoulders, upon which they lighted. We could not perceive that the people of the country had had any sort of boat or canoe, to come to these islands. Their own provision which they eat, for ought we could perceive, was commonly raw. For we should sometimes find the remnants of seals all bloody which they had gnawn with their teeth like dogs. They go all of them armed with a short bow, of about an ell in length, in their hands, with arrows of reeds, and headed with a flint stone, very cunningly cut and fastned.

This bay by reason of the plenty of seals therein found, (inso much that we killed two hundred in the space of one hour) we called it *Seal Bay*. And having now made sufficient provision of victuals and other necessities, as also happily finished all our business, *June 3d*, we set sail from thence, and coasting along towards the pole Antartick *June 12th*, we fell in with a little bay, in which we anchored for the space of two days, spent in the discharging of our *Caunter*, the *Christopher*, which we here laid up.

The 14th day we weighed again, and kept our course southward till the 17th, and then cast anchor in another bay in 50 degr. 20 min. lacking but little more than one degree of the mouth of the *Straights* of *Magellan*, through which lay, our so much desired passage into the south sea.

Here our general on good advice determined to alter his course, and turn his stern to the northward again, if happily God would grant we might find our ship and friends whom we lost in the great storm, as is before said. Forasmuch as if we should enter into the straight without them in our company, it must needs go hard with them; and we also in the mean time as well by their absence, as by the uncertainty of their state, must needs receive no small discomfort.

And

And therefore *June* 18th in the morning, putting to sea again with hearty and often prayers, we joined watchful industry to serve God's good providence; and held on our purpose to run back toward the line into the same height, in which they were first dissevered from us.

The 19th day of *June* toward night, having sailed within a few leagues of port *St. Julian*, we had our ship in sight; for which we gave God thanks with most joyful minds. And forasmuch as the ship was far out of order, and very leaky, by reason of extremity of weather which she had endured, as well before her losing company as in her absence, our general thought good to bear into *St. Julian* with his fleet, because it was so nigh at hand, and so convenient a place: intending there to refresh his wearied men, and cherish them which had in their absence tasted such bitterness of discomfort, besides the want of many things which they sustained.

Thus the next day, the 20th of *June*, we entered port *St. Julian*, which standeth in 49 degr. 30 min. and hath on the south side of the harbour, piked rocks like towers; and within the harbour many islands, which you may ride hard aboard of, but in going in you must borrow of the north shore.

Being now come to anchor, and all things fitted and made safe aboard, our general, with certain of his company, viz. *Thomas Drake's* brother, *John Thomas*, *Robert Winter*, *Oliver* the master gunner, *John Brewer*, and *Thomas Hood*, *June* 22d, rowed further in with a boat to find out some convenient place which might yield us fresh water, during the time of our abode there, and furnish us with supply for provision, to take to sea with us at our departure. Which work as it was of great necessity, and therefore carefully to be performed, so did not he think himself discharged of his duty, if he himself bestowed not the first travel therein, as his use was at all times in all other things belonging to the relieving of our wants, and the maintenance of our good estate, by the supplying of what was needful. Presently upon his landing, he was visited by two of the inhabitants of the place, whom *Magellan* named *Patagous*, or rather *Pentagours*, from their huge stature, and strength proportionable. These, as they seemed greatly to rejoice at his arrival, so did they shew themselves very familiar, receiving at our general's hands whatsoever he gave them, and taking great pleasure in seeing master *Oliver*, the master gunner of the *Admiral*, to shoot an *English* arrow; trying with him to shoot at a length, but came nothing near him.

Not long after, came one more of the same cast, but of a sower sort, for he, misliking of the familiarity which his fellows had used, seemed very angry with them, and strove earnestly to withdraw them, and turn them to become our enemies; which our general with his men not suspecting in them, used them as before; and one Mr. *Robert Winter*, thinking of pleasure to shoot an arrow at length, as Mr. *Oliver* had done before, that he which came last might have a sight thereof, the string of his bow broke; which, as before it was a terror unto them, so now broken, it gave them great encouragement and boldness, and as they thought, great advantage in their treacherous intent and purpose; not imagining that our calivers, swords, and targets, were any munition or weapon of war.

In which persuasion (as the general with his company were quietly, without any suspicion of evil, going down towards his boat) they suddenly being prepared, and gotten by stealth behind him, shot their arrows; chiefly at him which had the bow, not suffering him to string the same again, which he was about to have done, as well as he could: But being wounded in the shoulder at the first shot, and turning about, was sped with an arrow, which pierced his lungs, yet he fell not. But the master gunner being ready to shoot off his caliver, which took not fire in levelling thereof, was presently slain outright. In this extremity, if our general had not been both expert in such affairs, able to judge, and give present direction in the danger thereof, and had not valiantly thrust himself into the dance against these monsters, there had not one of our men, that there were landed, escaped with life. He therefore giving order that no man should keep any certain ground, but shift from place to place, encroaching still upon the enemy, using their targets, and other weapons for the defence of their bodies, and that they should break so many arrows, as by any means they could come by, being shot at them; wherein he himself was very diligent, and careful also in calling on them, knowing that their arrows being once spent, they should have these enemies at their devotion and pleasure, to kill or save. And this order being accordingly taken, himself, I say, with a good courage and trust in the true and living God, taking and shooting off the same piece, which the same gunner could not make to take fire, dispatched the first beginner of the quarrel, the same man which slew our master gunner. For the piece being charged with a bullet, and hail shot, and well aimed, tore out his belly and guts, with great

great torment, as it seemed by his cry, which was so hideous and horrible a roar, as if ten bulls had joined together in roaring, wherewith the courage of his partners was so abated, and their hearts appalled, that notwithstanding divers of their fellows and countrymen appeared out of the woods, on each side, yet they were glad by flying away to save themselves, quietly suffering our men either to depart or stay. Our general chose rather to depart, than to take further revenge of them, which now he might, by reason of his wounded man, whom for many good parts he loved dearly; and therefore would rather have saved him, than slain an hundred enemies, but being past recovery, he died the second day after his being brought aboard again.

That night our master gunner's body being left ashore, for the speedier bringing of the other aboard, our general himself the next day, with his boat well appointed, returned to the shore, to fetch it likewise; which they found lying where it was left, but stripp'd of his uppermost garment, and having an *English* arrow struck in his right eye.

Both of these dead bodies were laid together in one grave, with such reverence as was fit for the earthen tabernacles of immortal souls; with such commendable ceremonies as belong unto soldiers of worth, in time of war, which they most truly and rightfully deserved.

Magellan was not altogether deceived, in naming of them Giants; for they generally differ from the common sort of men, both in stature, bigness, and strength of body, as also in the hideousness of their voice. But yet they are nothing so monstrous, or giantlike as they were reported; there being some *English*-men, as tall as the highest of any that we could see; but peradventure, the *Spaniards* did not think that ever any *Englishman* would come thither to reprove them; and thereupon might presume the more boldly to lie: The name *Pentagones*, five cubits, viz. seven foot and half, describing the full height (if not somewhat more) of the highest of them.

But this is certain, that the *Spanish* cruelties there used, have made them more monstrous, in mind and manners, than they are in body; and more inhospitable, to deal with any strangers that shall come hereafter. For the loss of their friends (the remembrance whereof is assigned and conveyed over from one generation to another, amongst their posterity) breedeth an old grudge, which will not easily be forgotten, with so quarrelsome and revengeful a people. Notwithstanding the terror

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which they had conceived of us, did henceforward so quench their heat, and take down their edge, that they both forgot revenge, and seeming by their countenance, to repent them of the wrong they had offered us, that meant them no harm, suffered us to do what we would, the whole space of two months after this, without any interruption or molestation by them; and it may perhaps be a means to breed a peace in that people, towards all that may hereafter this come that way.

To this evil, thus received at the hands of Infidels, there was adjoined and grew another mischief, wrought and continued closely amongst ourselves, as great, yea, far greater, and of far more grievous consequence than the former: But that it was, by God's providence, detected and prevented in time, which else had extended itself, not only to the violent shedding of innocent blood, by murdering our general, and such others as were most firm and faithful to him; but also to the final overthrow of the whole action intended, and to divers other most dangerous effects.

These plots have been laid before the voyage began in *England*: The very model of them was shewed and declared to our general in his garden at *Plymouth*, before his setting sail; which yet he either would not credit, as true or likely, of a person whom he loved so dearly, and was persuaded of to love him likewise unfeignedly, or thought by love and benefits, to remove and remedy it, if there were any evil purposes conceived against him.

And therefore, he did not only continue (to this suspected and accused person) all countenance, credit, and courtesies, which he was wont to shew and give him; but increased them, using him in a manner as another himself, and as his most inmost friend; lodging him with himself; giving him the second place, in all companies, in his presence; leaving in his hand, the state as it were of his own person, in his absence; imparting unto him all his counsels; allowing him free liberty in all things that were reasonable; and bearing often at his hands great infirmities; yea, despising that any private injury should break so firm a friendship, as he meant towards him. And therefore, was he oftentimes not a little offended, even with those, who upon conscience of their duty and knowledge, (that otherwise they should offend) disclosed from time to time unto him, how the fire increased, that threatned his own, together with the destruction of the whole action.

But at length, perceiving that his lenity and favours did little good; in that the

5 X

heat

heat of ambition was not yet allayed, nor could be quenched, as it seemed, but by blood; and that the manifold practices grew daily more and more, even to extremities; he thought it high time to call these practices into question, before it were too late to call any question of them into hearing. And therefore setting good watch over him, and assembling all his captains and gentlemen of his company together, he propounded to them, the good parts which were in the gentleman, the great good will, and inward affection, more than brotherly, which he had ever since his first acquaintance born him, not omitting the respect which was had of him, amongst no mean personages in *England*; and afterwards delivered the letters, which were written to him, with the particulars from time to time, which had been observed, not so much by himself as by his good friends; not only at sea, but even at *Plymouth*; not bare words but writings; not writings alone, but actions, tending to the overthrow of the service in hand, and making away of his person.

Proofs were required and alledged, so many, and so evident, that the gentleman himself, stricken with remorse of his inconsiderate and unkind dealing, acknowledged himself to have deserved death, yea, many deaths; for that he conspired, not only the overthrow of the action, but of the principal actor also, who was not a stranger or ill-wisher, but a dear and true friend unto him; and therefore in a great assembly, openly besought them, in whose hands justice rested, to take some order for him, that he might not be compelled to enforce his own hands against his own bowels, or otherwise to become his own executioner.

The admiration and astonishment hereat, in all the hearers, even those which were his nearest friends, and most affected him, was great; yea, in those, which for many benefits received from him, had good cause to love him: But yet the general was most of all distracted, and therefore withdrew himself, as not able to conceal his tender affection, requiring them that had heard the whole matter, to give their judgments, as they would another day answer it unto their prince, and unto Almighty God, judge of all the earth. Therefore they all, above forty in number, the chiefest in place and judgment in the whole fleet, after they had discussed diversely of the case, and alledged whatsoever came in their minds, or could be there produced by any of his other friends, with their own hands under seal, adjudged that, *He had deserved death, and that it stood, by no means*

with their safety, to let him live: And therefore, they remitted the manner thereof, with the rest of the circumstances to the general.

This judgment, and as it were assize, was held at land^s, in one of the islands of that port; which afterwards, in memory hereof was called, the island of *true justice and judgment*.

Now after this verdict was thus returned unto our general (unto whom, for his company, her Majesty before his departure, had committed her sword, to use for his safety, with these words; *We do account that he which striketh at thee Drake, striketh at us*) he called for the guilty party, and caused to be read unto him the several verdicts, which were written, and propounded of him; which being acknowledged for the most part (for none had given heavier sentence against him, than he had given against himself) our general proposed unto him this choice: *Whether he would chuse to be executed in this island, or to be set on land on the main, or return into England, there to answer his deed before the lords of her Majesty's counsel?*

He most humbly thanked the general for his clemency, extended towards him in such ample sort; and craving some respite to consult thereon, and so make his choice advisedly: The next day he returned this answer, that, *Albeit he had yielded in his heart, to entertain so great a sin, as whereof now he was justly condemned; yet, he had a care, and that excelling all other cares, to die a Christian man, that whatsoever did become of his clay body, he might remain assured of an eternal inheritance, in a far better life. This he feared, if he should be set on land amongst Infidels, how he should be able to maintain this assurance, feeling in his own frailty, how mighty the contagion is of lewd custom. And therefore he besought the general most earnestly, that He would yet have a care, and regard of his soul; and never jeopard it amongst heathen and savage Infidels. If he should return into England, he must first have a ship, and men to conduct it, with sufficient victuals; two of which though they were had, yet for the third, he thought no man would accompany him, in so sad a message, to so vile an issue, from so honourable a service. But if that there were, which could induce their minds, to return with him, yet the very shame of the return, would be as death, or more grievous if it were possible; because he should be so long a dying, and die so often. Therefore he professed, That with all his heart, he did embrace the first branch of the General's proffer; desiring only his favour, that they might receive the holy communion once again together*

• At port Julian, *ibid*.



together before his death; and that he might not die any otherwise than a gentleman's death.

Though fundry reasons were used by many to persuade him to take either of the other ways, yet when he remained resolute in his former determination, both parts of his last request were granted: And the next convenient day a communion was celebrated by Mr. *Francis Fletcher*, preacher and pastor of the fleet at that time. The general himself communicated in this sacred ordinance, with this condemned penitent gentleman; who shewed great tokens of a contrite and repentant heart, as who was more deeply displeased with his own act, than any man else^b. And after this holy repast, they dined also at the same table together, as chearfully in sobriety, as ever in their lives they had done aforetime; each cheering up the other, and taking their leave, by drinking each to other, as if some journey only had been in hand.

After dinner, all things being brought in a readiness, by him that supplied the room of the Provost Marshal; without any dallying, or delaying the time, he came forth, and kneeled down, preparing at once, his neck for the axe, and his spirit for heaven: Which having done, without long ceremony, as who had before digested this whole tragedy, he desired all the rest to pray for him, and desired the executioner to do his office, not to fear nor spare.

Thus having by the worthy manner of his death (being much more honourable by it, than blameable for any other of his actions) fully blotted out whatever stain his fault might seem to bring upon him, he left unto our fleet a lamentable example of a goodly gentleman, who in seeking advancement unfit for him, cast away himself; and unto posterity a monument of I know not what fatal calamity, incident to that port, and such like actions, which might happily afford a new pair of parallels to be added to *Plutarch's*. In that the same place, near about the same time of the year, witnessed the execution of two gentlemen, suffering both for the like cause, employed both in like service, entertained both in great place, endued both with excellent qualities, the one 58 years after the other.

For on the main, our men found a gibbet fallen down, made of a spruce mast, with mens bones underneath it, which they conjectured to be the same gibbet, which *Magellan* commanded to be erected in the

year 1520, for the execution of *John Carthagene*, the bishop of *Burgos's* cousin, who by the king's order, was joined with *Magellan* in commission, and made his vice-admiral.

In the island, as we digged to bury this gentleman, we found a great grinding-stone, broken in two parts, which we took and set fast in the ground, the one part at the head, the other at the feet, building up the middle space, with other stones and turfs of earth, and engraved in the stones the names of the parties buried there, with the time of their departure, and a memorial of our general's name in *Latin*, that it might the better be understood of all that should come after us.

These things thus ended, and set in order, our general discharging the *Mary*, viz. our *Portuguese* prize, because she was leaky and troublesome, defaced her, and then left her ribs and keel upon the island, where for two months together we had pitched our tents. And so having wooded, watered, trimmed our ships, dispatched all our other businesses, and brought our fleet into the smallest number, even three only, besides our pinnaces, that we might the easier keep ourselves together, be the better furnished with necessaries, and be the stronger mann'd, against whatsoever need should be; *August 17th* we departed out of this port, and being now in great hope of a happy issue to our enterprize, which Almighty God hitherto had so blest and prospered, we set our course for the *Streights*, south-west.

August 20th we fell with the cape; near which lies the entrance into the *Streight*, called by the *Spaniards*, *Capo virgin Maria*, appearing four leagues before you come to it with high and steep grey cliffs, full of black stars, against which the sea beating, sheweth as it were the spoutings of whales, having the highest of the cape, like cape *Vincent* in *Portugal*. At this cape our general caused his fleet, in homage to our sovereign lady the Queen's Majesty, to strike their top-sails upon the bunt, as a token of his willing and glad mind, to shew his dutiful obedience to her highness, whom he acknowledged to have full interest, and right in that new discovery; and withal, in remembrance of his most honourable friend Sir *Christopher Hatton*, he changed the name of the ship, which himself went in, from the *Pellican* to be called the *Golden Hind*; which ceremonies being ended, together with a sermon, teaching

^b Here I can't help taking notice of those historians, who take this occasion to blacken the memory of Sir *Francis Drake*, by saying, that this accusation was a mere contrivance of his to remove the emulator of his glory; or, that the admiral had it in commission, and offered this man a sacrifice to the earl of *Leicester's* revenge, on account of some personal reflections: When every circumstance of this relation is a plain proof to the contrary.

ing true obedience, with prayers and giving of thanks for her majesty and most honourable council, with the whole body of the commonweal and church of God; we continued our course on into the said frete, where passing with land in sight on both sides, we shortly fell with so narrow a strait, as carrying with it much wind, often turnings, and many dangers, requirereth an expert judgment in him that shall pass the same; it lieth W. N. W. and E. S. East; but having left this strait a-stern, we seemed to be come out of a river of two leagues broad, into a large and main sea; having, the night following, an island in sight, which (being in height nothing inferior to the island *Fogo* before spoken of) burning (like it also) aloft in the air, in a wonderful sort, without intermission.

It hath formerly been received, as an undoubted truth, that the seas, following the course of the first mover, from the east to west, have a continual current through this strait; but our experience found the contrary; the ebbings and flowings here being as orderly (in which the water rises and falls more than five fathoms upright) as on other coasts.

The 24th of *August*, being *Bartholomew* Day, we fell within three islands, bearing trianglewise one from another; one of them was very fair and large, and of a fruitful soil, upon which being next unto us, and the weather very calm, our general with his gentlemen, and certain of his mariners, then landed; taking possession thereof in her Majesty's name, and to her use, and called the same *Elizabeth* island.

The other two, though they were not so large, nor so fair to the eye, yet were they to us exceeding useful, for in them we found great store of strange birds, which could not fly at all, nor yet run so fast as that they could escape us with their lives; in body they are less than a goose, and bigger than a mallard, short and thick set together, having no feathers, but, instead thereof, a certain hard and matted down; their beaks are not much unlike the bills of crows; they lodge and breed upon the land, where making earths, as the conies do, in the ground, they lay their eggs, and bring up their young; their feeding and provision to live on is in the sea, where they swim in such sort as nature may seem to have granted them no small prerogative in swiftness, both to prey upon others, and themselves to escape from any others that seek to seize upon them; and such was the infinite resort of these birds to these islands, that in the space of one day we killed no less than 3000; and, if the increase be according to the number, it is not to be

thought that the world hath brought forth a greater blessing in one kind of creature in so small a circuit, so necessarily and plentifully serving the use of man; they are a very good and wholesome victual: our general named these islands, the one *Bartholomew*, according to the day; the other *St. George*, in honour of *England*, according to the ancient custom there observed.

In the island of *St. George*, we found the body of a man, so long dead before, that his bones would not hold together, being moved out of the place whereon they lay.

From these islands, to the entrance into the *South-sea*, the frete is very crooked, having many turnings, and as it were shuttings up, as if there were no passage at all; by means whereof we were often troubled with contrary winds, so that some of our ships recovering a cape of land, entering another reach, the rest were forced to alter their course, and come to anchor where they might. It is true, which *Magellan* reporteth of this passage, namely, that there be many fair harbours, and store of fresh water; but some ships had need to be freighted with nothing else besides anchors and cables, to find ground in most of them to come to anchor; which, when any extreme gusts, or contrary winds do come (whereunto the place is altogether subject) is a great hindrance to the passage, and carrieth with it no small danger.

The land, on both sides, is very high and mountainous, having on the north and west side the continent of *America*, and on the south and east part, nothing but islands; among which lie innumerable fretes or passages into the *South-sea*. The mountains arise with such tops and spires into the air, and of so rare a height, as they may well be accounted amongst the wonders of the world; environed, as it were, with many regions of congealed clouds and frozen meteors, whereby they are continually fed and increased, both in the height and bigness, from time to time; retaining that which they have once received, being little again diminished by the heat of the sun, as being so far from reflexion, and so nigh the cold and frozen region.

But notwithstanding all this, yet are the low and plain grounds very fruitful, the grass green and natural, the herds, that are of very strange sorts, good and many; the trees, for the most part of them, always green; the air of the temperature of our country; the water most pleasant; and the soil agreeing to any grain which we have growing in our country; a place, no doubt, that lacketh nothing, but a people



people to use the same to the creator's glory, and the increasing of the church. The people inhabiting these parts, made fires as we passed by in divers places.

Drawing nigh the entrance of the *South-sea*, we had such a shutting up to the northward, and such large and open frets toward the south, that it was wonderful which way we should pass without further discovery: For which cause, our general having brought his fleet to anchor under an island, himself, with certain of his gentlemen, rowed in a boat to descry the passage; who having discovered a sufficient way towards the north, in their return to their ships, met a canoe under the same island where we rode then at anchor, having in her divers persons.

This canoe or boat was made of the bark of divers trees, having a prow and a stern standing up, and semicirclewise, yielding inward, of one form and fashion; the body whereof was a most dainty mould, bearing in it most comely proportion and excellent workmanship, inasmuch as to our general and us, it seemed never to have been done without the cunning and expert judgment of art; and that not for the use of so rude and barbarous a people, but for the pleasure of some great and noble personage, yea of some prince: it had no other closing up or caulking in the seams but the stitching with thongs made of seal-skins, or other such beast, and yet so close that it received very little or no water at all.

The people are of a mean stature, but well set and compact in all their parts and limbs; they have great pleasure in painting their faces, as the others have of whom we have spoken before. Within the said island they had a house of mean building, of certain poles, and covered with skins of beasts; having therein fire, water, and such meat as commonly they can come by, as seals, muscles, and such like.

The vessels wherein they kept their water, and their cups in which they drink, are made of barks of trees, as was their canoe, and that with no less skill (for the bigness of the thing) being of a very formal shape and good fashion. Their working tools, which they use in cutting these things and such other, are knives made of most huge and monstrous muscle-shells (the like whereof have not been seen or heard of lightly by any travellers, the meat thereof being very savoury and good in eating) which after they have broken off the thin and brittle substance of the edge, they rub and grind them upon stones had for the purpose, till they have tempered and set such an edge upon them, that no wood is so hard but they will cut it at pleasure with the same, whereof we ourselves had expe-

rience. Yea they cut therewith bones of a marvellous hardness; making of them fish-gigs to kill fish, wherein they have a most pleasant exercise with great dexterity.

The sixth of *September* we had left astern us all these troublesome islands, and were entered into the *South-sea*, or *Mare del zur*; at the cape whereof, our general had determined, with his whole company, to have gone ashore, and there, after a sermon, to have left a monument of her majesty ingraven in metal, for a perpetual remembrance, which he had in a readiness for that end prepared; but neither was there any anchoring, neither did the wind suffer us to make a stay.

Only this by all our mens observations was concluded, that the entrance, by which we came into this strait, was in 52 deg. the midst in 53 deg. 15 m. and the going out in 52 deg. 30 m. being 150 leagues in length; at the very entry, supposed also to be about 10 leagues in breadth. After we were enter'd ten leagues within it, it was found not past a league in breadth; farther within, in some places very large, in some very narrow; and, in the end, found to be no strait at all, but all islands.

Now when our general perceived that the nipping cold, under so cruel a frowning winter, had impaired the health of some of his men, he meant to have made the more haste again toward the line, and not to sail any farther towards the pole antartick, lest being farther from the sun, and nearer the cold, we might haply be overtaken with some greater danger of sickness. But God giving men leave to purpose, reserveth to himself the disposition of all things; making their intents of none effect, or changing their meanings oft times clean into the contrary, as may best serve for his own glory and their profit.

For *September* 7. the second day after our entrance into the *South-sea* (called by some *mare pacificum*, but proving to us rather to be *mare furiosum*) God, by a contrary wind and intolerable tempest, seemed to set himself against us; forcing us not only to alter our course and determination, but with great trouble, long time, many dangers, hard escapes, and final separating of our fleet, to yield ourselves unto his will. Yea, such was the extremity of the tempest, that it appeared to us as if he had pronounced a sentence, not to stay his hand, nor to withdraw his judgment till he had buried our bodies and ships also, in the bottomless depth of the raging sea.

In the time of this incredible storm, the 15th of *September*, the moon was eclipsed in *Aries*, and darkned about three points,

for the space of two glasses; which, being ended, might seem to give us some hope of alteration and change of weather to the better. Notwithstanding, as the ecliptical conflict could add nothing to our miserable estate, no more did the ending thereof ease us any thing at all; nor take away any part of our troubles from us; but our eclipse continued still in its full force so prevailing against us, that for the space of full 52 days together, we were darkened more than the moon by 20 parts, or more than we by any means could ever have preserved, or recovered light of ourselves again, if the Son of God, which laid this burden upon our backs, had not mercifully born it up with his own shoulders, and upheld us by his own power, beyond any possible strength or skill of man. Neither indeed did we at all escape, but with the feeling of great discomforts through the same.

For these violent and extraordinary flaws (such as seldom have been seen) still continuing, or rather increasing, *September* 30th, in the night, caused the sorrowful separation of the *Marigold* from us, in which was captain *John Thomas*, with many others of our dear friends; who by no means, that we could conceive, could help themselves, but by spooming along before the sea: with whom albeit we could never meet again, yet (our general having aforehand given order, that if any of our fleet did lose company, the place of resort to meet again should be in 30 degr. or thereabouts, upon the coasts of *Peru*, toward the equinoctial) we long time hoped (till experience showed our hope was vain) that there we should joyfully meet with them, especially for that they were well provided of victuals, and lack'd no skilful and sufficient men (besides their captain) to bring forwards the ship to the place appointed.

From the seventh of *September* (in which the storm began) till the seventh of *October* we could not by any means recover any land (having in the mean time been driven so far south as to the 37 degr. and somewhat better;) on this day towards night, somewhat to the northward of that cape of *America*, (whereof mention is made before in the description of our departure from the strait into the sea) with a sorry sail we entered a harbour, where hoping to enjoy some freedom and ease till the storm was ended, we received, within few hours after our coming to anchor, so deadly a stroke and hard entertainment, that our admiral left not only an anchor behind her, through the violence and fury of the flaw, but in departing thence, also lost the company and sight of our vice-admiral, the *Elizabeth*; partly through the negligence of

those that had the charge of her, partly through a kind of desire that some in her had to be out of these troubles, and to be at home again; which (as since is known) they thenceforward, by all means, assayed and performed; for the very next day, *October* 8. recovering the mouth of the straits again (which we were now so near unto) they returned back the same way by which they came forward, and coasting *Brasil*, they arrived in *England*, *June* 2, the year following.

So that now our admiral, if she had retained her old name of *Pellican*, which she bore at our departure from our country, she might have been now indeed said to be as a *Pellican* alone in the wilderness: for albeit our general fought the rest of his fleet with great care, yet could we not have any sight or certain news of them by any means.

From this bay of parting of friends, we were forcibly driven back again into 55 degr. towards the pole antarctic; in which height we ran in among the islands before-mentioned, lying to the southward of *America*, through which we passed from one sea to the other, as hath been declared; where, coming to anchor, we found the waters there to have their indraught and free passage, and that through no small guts, or narrow channels, but indeed thro' as large fretes or streights as it hath at the supposed streights of *Magellan* through which we came.

Among these islands, making our abode with some quietness for a very little while, (*viz.* two days) and finding divers good and wholesome herbs, together with fresh water, our men, which before were weak, and much impaired in their health, began to receive good comfort, especially by the drinking of one herb (not much unlike that herb which we commonly call penny-leaf) which purging with great facility, afforded great help and refreshing to our wearied and sickly bodies: but the winds returning to their old wont, and the seas raging after their former manner, yea every thing as it were setting itself against our peace and desired rest, here was no stay permitted, neither any safety to be looked for.

For such was the present danger, by forcing and continual flaws, that we were rather to look for present death than hope for any delivery, if God almighty should not make the way for us: the winds were such as if the bowels of the earth had set all at liberty; or, as if the clouds under heaven had been called together, to lay their force on that one place: the seas, which by nature, and of themselves are heavy, and of a weighty substance, were rolled

rolled up from the depths, even from the roots of the rocks, as if it had been a scroll of parchment, which by the extremity of heat runneth together; and being aloft, were carried in most strange manner and abundance, as feathers or drifts of snow, by the violence of the winds, to water the exceeding tops of high and lofty mountains. Our anchors, as false friends in such a danger, gave over their holdfast, and, as if it had been with horror of the thing, did shrink down to hide themselves in this miserable storm; committing the distressed ship and helpless men to the uncertain rolling seas, which tossed them like a ball in a racquet. In this case, to let fall more anchors would avail us nothing; for being driven from our first place of anchoring, so unmeasurable was the depth, that 500 fathom would fetch no ground; so that the violent storm without intermission, the impossibility to come to anchor, the want of opportunity to spread any sails, the most mad seas, the lee shores, the dangerous rocks, the contrary and most intolerable winds, the impossible passage out, the desperate tarrying there, and inevitable perils on every side, did lay before us so small likelihood to escape present destruction, that if the special providence of God himself had not supported us, we could never have endured that woful state, as being environ'd with most terrible and most fearful judgments round about. For truly it was more likely that the mountains should have been rent in sunder from the top to the bottom, and cast headlong into the sea, by these unnatural winds, than that we, by any help or cunning of man, should free the life of any one amongst us.

Notwithstanding, the same God of mercy, which delivered *Jonas* out of the whale's belly, and heareth all those that call upon him faithfully in their distress; looked down from heaven, beheld our tears, and heard our humble petitions, joined with holy vows. Even God (whom not the winds and seas alone, but even the devils themselves and powers of hell obey) did so wonderfully free us, and make our way open before us, as it were by his holy angels still guiding and conducting us, that more than the affright and amaze of this estate, we received no part of damage in all the things that belonged unto us.

But escaping from these straits and miseries, as it were through the needle's eye (that God might have the greater glory in our delivery) by the great and effectual care and travel of our general, the Lord's instrument therein, we could now no longer forbear, but must needs find some place of refuge, as well to provide water, wood, and other necessities, as to com-

fort our men, thus worn and tir'd out by so many and so long intolerable toils: the like whereof, it is to be supposed, no traveller hath felt, neither hath there ever been such a tempest (that any records make mention of) so violent, and of such continuance, since *Noah's* flood; for, as hath been said, it lasted from *September 7.* to *October 28.* full 52 days.

Not many leagues therefore to the southward of our former anchoring, we ran in again among these islands, where we had once more better likelihood to rest in peace; and so much the rather, for that we found the people of the country travelling for their living, from one island to another in their canoes, both men, women, and young infants wrapt in skins, and hanging at their mothers backs; with whom he had traffick for such things as they had, as chains of certain shells, and such other trifles. Here the Lord gave us three days to breathe ourselves, and to provide such things as we wanted, albeit the same was with continual care and troubles to avoid imminent dangers, which the troubled seas and blustering winds did every hour threaten unto us.

But when we seemed to have stayed there too long, we were more rigorously assaulted by the not formerly ended, but now more violently renewed storm, and driven then also with no small danger, leaving behind us the greater part of our cable with the anchor; being chased along by the winds, and buffeted incessantly in each quarter by the seas (which our general interpreted, as though God had sent them on purpose to the end which ensued) till at length we fell with the uttermost part of land towards the south pole, and had certainly discovered how far the same doth reach southward from the coast of *America* aforementioned.

The uttermost cape or headland of all these islands stands near in the 56th degr. without which there is no main nor island to be seen to the southward; but that the *Atlantick* ocean and the *South-Sea* meet in a most large and free scope.

It hath been a dream through many ages, that these islands have been a main, and that it hath been *terra incognita*, wherein many strange monsters lived. Indeed it might truly, before this time, be called *incognita*; for howsoever the maps and general descriptions of cosmographers, either upon the deceivable reports of other men, or the deceitful imaginations of themselves (supposing never herein to be corrected) have set it down; yet it is true, that before this time it was never discovered, or certainly known by any traveller, that we have heard of.

And

And here, as in a fit place, it shall not be amiss to remove that error in opinion, which hath been held by many, of the impossible return out of *Mar del zur* into the west ocean, by reason of the supposed eastern current and Levant winds, which (say they) speedily carry any thither, but suffer no return. They are herein likewise altogether deceived; for neither did we meet with any such current, neither had we any such certain winds, with any such speed, to carry us through; but at all times in our passage there, we found more opportunity to return back again into the west ocean, than to go forward into *Mar del zur*, by means either of current or winds to hinder us, whereof we had experience more than we wished; being glad oftentimes to alter our course, and to fall astern again, with frank wind (without any impediment of any such surmised current) farther in one afternoon than we could fetch up or recover again in a whole day with a reasonable gale. And in that they alledge the narrowness of the frete, and want of sea-room, to be the cause of this violent current; they are herein no less deceived, than they were in the other without reason: for besides that, it cannot be said that there is one only passage, but rather innumerable; it is most certain, that a sea-board all these islands, there is one large and main sea, wherein if any will not be satisfied, nor believe the report of our experience and eye-sight, he should be advised to suspend his judgment, till he hath either tried it himself by his own travel, or shall understand by other travellers, more particulars to confirm his mind therein.

Now as we were fallen to the uttermost part of these islands *October* 28. our troubles did make an end, the storm ceased, and all our calamities (only the absence of our friends excepted) were removed, as if God, all this while, by his secret providence, had led us to make this discovery; which being made according to his will, he stayed his hand, as pleased his Majesty therein, and refreshed us as his servants.

At these southerly parts we found the night, in the latter end of *October*, to be but two hours long, the sun being yet above 7 degrees distant from the tropick; so that it seemeth, being in the tropick, to leave very little, or no night at all in that place.

There be few of all these islands but have some inhabitants, whose manners, apparel, houses, canoes, and way of living, is like unto those formerly spoken of, a little before our departure out of the *Streights*. To all these islands did our general give one name, to wit, *Elizabethides*.

After two days stay, which we made in and about these islands, the 30th of *October* we set sail; shaping our course right north-west, to coast along the parts of *Peru*, for so the general maps set out the land to lie, both for that we might with convenient speed, fall with the height of 30 deg. being the place appointed for the rest of our fleet to re-assemble; as also that no opportunity might be lost, in the mean time to find them out, if it seemed good to God to direct them to us.

In this course we chanced (the next day) with two islands, being as it were storehouses, of most liberal provision of victuals for us, of birds; yielding not only sufficient and plentiful store for us who were present, but enough to have served all the rest also which were absent.

Thence (having furnished ourselves to our content) we continued our course *November* 1st, still north-west, as we had formerly done; but in going on, we soon espied, that we might easily have been deceived; and therefore casting about, and steering upon another point, we found that the general maps did err from the truth, in setting down the coast of *Peru*, for 12 degr. at least to the northward, of the supposed strait; no less then is the north-west point of the compass different from the north-east, perceiving hereby, that no man had ever by travel discovered any part of these 12 degrees; and therefore the setters forth of such descriptions, are not to be trusted; much less honoured in their false and fraudulent conjectures, which they use, not in this alone, but in divers other points of no small importance.

We found this part of *Peru*, all along to the height of *Lima*, which is 12 degr. south of the line, to be mountainous and very barren, without water or wood, for the most part, except in certain places inhabited by the *Spaniards* and few others, which are very fruitful and commodious.

After we were once again thus fallen in with the land, we continually coasted along, till we came to the height of 37 degr. or thereabouts; and finding no convenient place of abode, nor likelihood to hear any news of our ships, we ran off again with an island, which lay in sight, named of the *Spaniards*, *Mucho*, by reason of the greatness and large circuit thereof.

At this island coming to anchor, *November* 25. we found it to be a fruitful place, and well stored with sundry sorts of good things, as sheep and other cattle, maize, which is a kind of grain whereof they make bread, potatoes, with such other roots: besides that, it is thought to be wonderful rich in gold, and to want no good thing for the use of man's life. The inhabitants

inhabitants are such *Indians*, as by the cruel and most extreme dealing of the *Spaniards* have been driven to fly from the main, here to relieve and fortify themselves. With this people our general thought it meet to have traffick for fresh victuals and water; and for that cause, the very same night of our arrival there, himself with divers of his company went ashore, to whom the people with great courtesy came down, bringing with them such fruits and other victuals as they had, and two very fat sheep, which they gave our general for a present. In recompence whereof, we bestowed upon them again many good and necessary things; signifying unto them, that the end of his coming was for no other cause, but by way of exchange to traffick with them for such things as we needed, and they could spare; and in particular for such as they had already brought down upon us, besides fresh water, which we desired of them. Herein they held themselves well contented, and seemed to be not a little joyful of our coming; appointing where we should the next morning have fresh water at pleasure; and withal signifying, that then also they would bring us down such other things as we desired to serve our turns.

The next day therefore very early in the morning (all things being made ready for traffick, as also vessels prepar'd to bring the water) our general taking great care for so necessary provision, repaired to the shore again; and setting aland two of his men, sent with them their barricoes to the watering place assign'd the night before; who having peaceably pass'd on one half of the way, were then with no small violence set upon by those traitorous people, and suddenly slain: and to the end that our general, with the rest of his company, should not only be stayed from rescuing them, but also might fall (if it were possible) into their hands in like manner, they had laid closely behind the rocks an ambushment of (as we guessed) about 500 men, armed and well appointed for such a mischief; who suddenly attempting their purpose (the rocks being very dangerous for the boat, and the sea-gate exceeding great) by shooting their arrows, hurt and wounded every one of our men, before they could free themselves, or come to the use of their weapons to do any good. The general himself was shot in the face under his right eye, and close by his nose, the arrow piercing a marvellous way in, under *basis cerebri*, with no small danger of his life: besides that, he was grievously wounded in the head. The rest, being nine per-

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sons in the boat, were deadly wounded in divers parts of their bodies, if God almost miraculously had not given cure to the same. For our chief surgeon being dead, and the other absent by the loss of our vice-admiral, and having none left us but a boy, whose good will was more than any skill he had, we were little better than altogether destitute of such cunning and helps, as so grievous a state of so many wounded bodies did require. Notwithstanding, God, by the good advice of our general, and the diligent putting to of every man's help, did give such speedy and wonderful cure, that we had all great comfort thereby, and yielded God the glory thereof.

The cause of this force and injury by these *Islanders*, was no other but the deadly hatred which they bear against their civil enemies the *Spaniards*, for the bloody and most tyrannous oppression which they had used towards them. And therefore with purpose against them, suspecting us to be *Spaniards* indeed; and that the rather, by occasion that though command was given to the contrary, some of our men in demanding water used the *Spanish* word *aqua*, sought some part of revenge against us. Our general, notwithstanding he might have revenged this wrong with little hazard or danger; yet more desirous to preserve one of his own men alive, than to destroy 100 of his enemies, committed the same to God; wishing this only punishment to them, that they did but know whom they had wronged; and that they had done this injury not to an enemy, but to a friend; not to a *Spaniard*, but to an *Englishman*, who would rather have been a patron to defend them, than any way an instrument of the least wrong that should have been done unto them. The weapons which this people use in their wars, are arrows of reeds, with heads of stone, very brittle and indented, but darts of a great length, headed with iron or bone.

The same day that we received this dangerous affront, in the afternoon we set sail from thence; and because we were now nigh the appointed height, wherein our ships were to be looked for, as also the extremity and crazy state of our hurt men advising us to use expedition, to find some convenient place of repose, which might afford them some rest, and yield us necessary supply of fresh victuals for their diet; we bent our course, as the wind would suffer us, directly to run in with the main*; where falling with a bay, called *Philip's Bay*, in 32 degr. or thereabouts, Nov. 30. we came to anchor, and

5 Z

forthwith

* Viz. The coast of *Chili*.

forthwith manned and sent out our boat to discover what likelihood the place would offer to afford us such things as we stood in need of.

Our boat doing her utmost endeavour in a diligent search, yet after long travel could find no appearance of hope for relief, either of fresh victuals, or of fresh water: huge herds of wild buffs they might discern, but not so much as any sign of any inhabitant thereabout. Yet in their return to us they descried within the bay, an *Indian* with his canoe as he was a fishing; him they brought aboard our general, canoe and all, as he was in it. A comely personage, and of a goodly stature: his apparel was a white garment, reaching scarcely to his knees; his arms and legs were naked; his hair upon his head very long, without a beard, as all the *Indians* for the most part are. He seemed very gentle, of a mild and humble nature, being very tractable to learn the use of every thing, and most grateful for such things as our general bestowed upon him. In him we might see a most lively pattern of the harmless disposition of that people; and how grievous a thing it is that they should by any means be so abused, as all those are whom the *Spaniards* have any command or power over.

This man being courteously entertained, and his pains of coming double requited; after we had shewed him, partly by signs, and partly by such things as we had, what things we needed, and would gladly receive by his means, upon exchange of such things as he would desire, we sent him away with our boat and his own canoe (which was made of reed-straw) to land him where he would. Who being landed, and willing our men to stay his return, was immediately met by two or three of his friends; to whom imparting his news, and shewing what gifts he had received, he gave so great content, that they willingly furthered his purpose; so that after certain hours of our mens abode there, he with divers others (among whom was their head or captain) made their return, bringing with them their loadings of such things as they thought would do us good; as some hens, eggs, a fat hog, and such like. All which (that our men might be without all suspicion of all evil to be meant and intended by them) they sent in one of their canoes, a reasonable distance from off the shore, to our boat, the sea-gate being at the present very great, and their captain * having sent back his horse,

would needs commit himself to the credit of our men, though strangers, and come with them to our general, without any of his own acquaintance or countrymen with him.

By his coming, as we understood, there was no mean or way to have our necessities relieved in this place; so he offered himself to be our pilot to a place †, and that a good harbour, not far back to the southward again, where, by way of traffick, we might have at pleasure both water, and those other things which we stood in need of. This offer our general very gladly received; and so much the rather, for that the place intended was near about the place appointed for the rendezvous of our fleet. Omitting therefore our purpose of pursuing the buffs formerly spoken of, of which we had otherwise determined, if possible, to have killed some; this good news of better provision, and more easy to come by, drew us away: and so the 5th day after our arrival, viz. Decemb. 4. we departed hence; and the next day, Decemb. 5. by the willing conduct of our new *Indian* pilot, we came to an anchor in the desired harbour.

This harbour the *Spaniards* call *Valperizo*, and the town adjoining, *St. James of Chili*: it stands in 35 degr. 40 min. where albeit we neither met with our ships, nor heard of them, yet there was no good thing which the place afforded, or which our necessities indeed for the present required, but we had the same in great abundance. Amongst other things, we found in the town divers storehouses of the wines of *Chili*; and in the harbour, a ship || called the *Captain of Moriall*, or the *Grand Captain of the South*, *Admiral to the islands of Salamon*, laden for the most part with the same kind of liquors; only there was besides, a certain quantity of fine gold of *Baldivia*, and a great cross of gold beset with emeralds, on which was nailed a god of the same metal ‡. We spent some time in refreshing ourselves, and easing this ship of so heavy a burthen: and on the 8th day of the same month (having in the mean time sufficiently stored ourselves with necessities, as wine, bread, bacon, &c. for a long season) we set sail, returning back towards the line; carrying again our *Indian* pilot with us, whom our general bountifully rewarded, and enriched with many good things; which pleased him exceedingly, and caused him, by the way, to be landed in the place where he desired.

Our

* Viz. The Fisherman who had brought 'em to the shoar.

† Villa Paraiso, or Valparaiso.

|| Observe this was an accidental thing, and not expected by information of the pilot, as *Lidiard* represents this transaction. *Ib.* p. 175.

‡ The admiral gave the spoil of the chapel of this place to his chaplain Mr. Fletcher, the author of this relation. *Id.* *ib.*

Our necessities being thus to our content relieved, our next care was the regaining (if possible) of the company of our ships, so long severed from us; neither would any thing have satisfied our general, or us so well, as the happy meeting, or good news of them: this way therefore (all other thoughts for the present set apart) were all our studies and endeavours bent, how to fit it so, as that no opportunity of meeting them might be passed over.

To this end, considering that we could not conveniently run in with our ship (in search of them) to every place where was likelihood of being in harbour, and that our boat was too little, and unable to carry men enough to encounter the malice or treachery of the *Spaniards* (if we should by any chance meet with any of them) who are used to shew no mercy where they may overmaster; and therefore meaning not to hazard ourselves to their cruel courtesy, we determined, as we coasted now towards the line, to search diligently for some convenient place, where we might in peace and safety stay the trimming of our ship, and the erecting of a pinnace, in which we might have better security than in our boat, and without endangering of our ship, by running into each creek, leave no place untried, if happily we might so find again our friends and countrymen.

For this cause, *December 19*, we entred a bay, not far to the southward of the town of *Cyppo*, now inhabited by the *Spaniards*, in 29 degr. 30 min. where having landed certain of our men, to the number of 14, to search what conveniency the place was likely to afford for our abiding there; we were immediately descried by the *Spaniards* of the town of *Cyppo* aforesaid, who speedily made out 300 men, at least whereof 100 were *Spaniards*, every one well mounted upon his horse; the rest were *Indians*, running, as dogs, at their heels, all naked, and in most miserable bondage.

They could not come any way so closely, but God did open our eyes to see them before there was any extremity of danger, whereby our men being warned, had reasonable time to shift themselves as they could; first from the main to a rock within the sea, and from thence into their boat; which, being ready to receive them, conveyed them, with expedition, out of the reach of the *Spaniards* fury, without the hurt of any man; only one *Richard Minivy*, being over-bold and careless of his own safety, would not be intreated by his friends, nor feared by the multitude of his enemies to take the present benefit of his own delivery; but chose either to make 300 men, by outbraving them, to become

afraid, or else himself to die in the place; the latter of which indeed he did, whose dead body being drawn by the *Indians*, from the rock to the shore, was there, manfully, by the *Spaniards* beheaded, the right hand cut off, the heart pluck'd out; all which they carried away in our sight; and for the rest of his carcase, they caused the *Indians* to shoot it full of arrows, made but the same day, of green wood, and so left it to be devoured of the beasts and fowls, but that we went ashore again and buried it: wherein as there appeareth a most extreme and barbarous cruelty, so doth it declare to the world, in what miserable fear the *Spaniard* holdeth the government of those parts, living in continual dread of the foreign invasion by strangers, or secret cutting of throats by those whom they kept under them in so shameful slavery, I mean the innocent and harmless *Indians*: and therefore they make sure to murder what strangers soever they can come by, and suffer the *Indians* by no means to have any weapon longer than they be in present service, as appeared by their arrows cut from the tree the same day, as also by the credible report of others who knew the matter to be true. Yea they suppose they shew the wretches great favour, when they do not, for their pleasures, whip them with cords, and day by day drop their naked bodies with burning bacon, which is one of the least cruelties, amongst many, which they usually use against that nation and people.

This being not the place we looked for, nor the entertainment such as we desired, we speedily got hence again; and *December 20*, the next day, fell with a more convenient harbour, in a bay somewhat to the northward of the forenamed *Cyppo*, lying in 27 degr. 55 min. south the line.

In this place we spent some time in trimming of our ships, and building of our pinnace, as we desired; but still the grief for the absence of our friends remained with us, for the finding of whom our general having now fitted all things to his mind, intended (leaving his ship the mean while at anchor in the bay) with his pinnace, and some chosen men, himself to return back to the southwards again, to see if happily he might either himself meet with them, or find them in some harbour or creek, or hear of them by any others whom he might meet with; with this resolution he set on, but after one days failing, the wind being contrary to his purpose, he was forced, whether he would or no, to return again.

Within this bay, during our abode there, we had such abundance of fish, not much unlike our gurnard in *England*, as no place had ever afforded us the like (cape
Blank

Blank only upon the coast of *Barbary* excepted) since our first setting forth from *Plimouth* until this time; the plenty whereof in this place was such, that our gentlemen sporting themselves day by day, with four or five hooks and lines, in two or three hours would take sometimes 400, and sometimes more at one time.

All our businesses being thus dispatched, *Jan.* 19. we set sail from hence; and the next place that we fell in withal, *Jan.* 22. was an island standing in the same height with the north cape of the province of *Mormorena*. At this island we found four *Indians* with their canoes, which took upon them to bring our men to a place of fresh water on the aforesaid cape; in hope whereof our general made them great cheer (as his manner was to all strangers) and set his course by their direction; but when we came unto the place, and had travelled up a long way into the land, we found fresh water indeed, but scarce so much as they had drank wine in their passage thither.

As we sailed along, continually searching for fresh water, we came to a place called *Tarapaxa*, and landing there we lighted on a *Spaniard* who lay asleep, and had lying by him 13 bars of silver, weighing in all about 4000 * *Spanish* ducats. We would not (could we have chosen) have awaked him of his nap; but seeing we, against our will, did him that injury, we freed him of his charge, which otherwise perhaps would have kept him waking, and so left him to take out (if it pleased him) the other part of his sleep in more security.

Our search for water still continuing, as we landed again not far from thence, we met a *Spaniard*, with an *Indian* boy, driving eight lambs, or *Peruvian* sheep. Each sheep bare two leathern bags, and in each bag was fifty pound weight of refined silver, in the whole 800 weight. We could not endure to see a gentleman *Spaniard* turned carrier; and therefore without intreaty, we offered our service, and became drovers: only his directions was not so perfect, that we could keep the way which he intended; for almost as soon as he was parted from us, we with our new kind of carriages, were come unto our boats.

Farther beyond this cape before-mentioned, lies certain *Indian* towns, from whence as we passed by, came many of the people in certain bawfes made of seals skins; of which two being joined together of a just length, and side by side, resemble in fashion or form a boat. They have in either of them a small gut, or some such thing blown full of wind; by reason

whereof it floateth, and is rowed very swiftly, carrying in it no small burthen. In these upon sight of our ship, they brought store of fish of divers sorts to traffick with us, for any trifles we would give them, as knives, margarites, glasses, and such like; whereof, men of 60 and 70 years old, were as glad as if they had received some exceeding rich commodity, being a most simple and plain-dealing people. Their resort unto us was such, as considering the shortness of the time, was wonderful to us to behold.

Not far from this, *viz.* in 22 degr. 30 min. lay *Mormorena*, another great town of the same people, over whom two *Spaniards* held the government; with these our general thought to meet to deal, or at least to try their courtesy, whether they would, in way of traffick, give us such things as we needed or no. And therefore, *January* 26th, we cast anchor here; we found them (more for fear than for love) somewhat tractable, and received of them by exchange many good things, very necessary for our uses.

Amongst other things which we had of them, the sheep of the country (*viz.* such as we mentioned before, bearing the leathern bags) were most memorable. Their height and length was equal to a pretty cow, and their strength fully answerable, if not by much exceeding their size or stature. Upon one of their backs did sit at one time three well grown and tall men, and one boy, no man's foot touching the ground by a large foot in length, the beast nothing at all complaining of his burthen in the mean time. These sheep have necks like camels; their heads bearing a reasonable resemblance of another sheep. The *Spaniards* use them to great profit. Their wool is exceeding fine, their flesh good meat, their increase ordinary, and besides, they supply the room of horses for burthen or travel; yea, they serve to carry over the mountains, marvellous loads for 300 leagues together, where no carriage can be made but by them only. Hereabout, as also all along, and up into the country throughout the province of *Cusko*, the common ground wheresoever it be taken up, in every hundred pound weight of earth, yieldeth 25 shillings of pure silver, after the rate of a crown an ounce.

The next place likely to afford us any news of our ships, (for in all this way from the height where we builded our pinnace, there was no bay or harbour at all for shipping) was the port of the town of *Arica*, standing in 20 degr. whither we arrived the 7th of *February*. This town seemed

* Mr. Lediard says 400,000, *ibid.*

seemed to us to stand in the most fruitful soil that we saw all along these coasts; both for that it is situate in the mouth of a most pleasant and fertile valley, abounding with all good things; as also in that it hath continual trade of shipping, as well from *Lima*, as from all other parts of *Peru*. It is inhabited by the *Spaniards*. In two barks here we found some forty and odd bars of silver (of the bigness and fashion of a brickbat, and in weight each of them about 20 pounds) of which we took the burthen on ourselves to ease them, and so departed towards *Chowley*; with which we fell the second day, viz. Feb. 9. and in our way to *Lima* we met with another bark, *Ariquipa*, which had begun to load some silver and gold; but having had (as it seemed from *Arica* by land) some notice of our coming, had unloaden the same again before our arrival. Yet in this our passage we met another bark loaden with linnen, some of which we thought might stand us in some stead, and therefore took it with us.

At *Lima* we arrived, Feb. 15th, and notwithstanding the *Spaniards* forces, tho' they had 30 * at that present in harbour there, whereof 17 (most of them the chief ships in all the *South-sea*) were fully ready, went, entered and anchored all night in the midst of them, in the *Calao*, and might have made more spoil amongst them in few hours, if we had been affected to revenge, than the *Spaniards* could have recovered again in many years. But we had more care to get up to that company which we had so long miss'd, than to recompence their cruel and hard dealing by an evil requital, which now we might have took. This *Lima* stands in 12 degr. 30 min. south latitude.

Here, albeit no good news of our ships could be had, yet got we the news of some things that seemed to comfort us, if not to countervail our travels thither; as namely, that in the ship of one *Migbell Angel* there, there were 1500 bars of plate, besides some other things (as silks, linnen, and in one a chest full of ryals of plate) which might stand us in some stead in the other ships; aboard whom we made somewhat bold to bid ourselves welcome. Here also we heard the report of some things that had befallen in and near *Europe*, since our departure thence; in particular of the death of some great personages; as the king of *Portugal*, and both the kings of *Morocco* and *Fesse*, dead all three in one day at one battle. The death of the king of *France*, and the Pope of *Rome*, whose abominations, as they are in part cut off

from some Christian kingdoms, where his shame is manifest, so do his vassals and accursed instruments labour by all means possible to repair that loss, by spreading the same the further in these parts, where his devilish illusions, and damnable deceivings are not known. And as his doctrine takes place any where, so doth the manners that necessarily accompany the same, insinuate themselves together with the doctrine. For as it's true that in all the parts of *America*, where the *Spaniards* have any government, the poisonous infection of Popery hath spread itself; so on the other side it is as true, that there is no city, as *Lima*, *Panama*, *Mexico*, &c. no town or village, yea, no house almost in all these provinces, wherein (amongst other the like *Spanish* virtues) not only whoredom, but the filthiness of *Sodom*, not to be named amongst Christians, is not common without reproof: The Pope's pardons being more rife in these parts than they be in any part of *Europe*, for these filthinesses, whereout he sucketh no small advantage. Notwithstanding, the *Indians*, who are nothing nearer the true knowledge of God than they were before, abhor this most filthy and loathsome manner of living; shewing themselves in respect of the *Spaniards*, as the *Scythians* did in respect of the *Grecians*, who in their barbarous ignorance, yet in life and behaviour did so far excel the wise and learned *Greeks*, as they were short of them in the gifts of learning and knowledge.

But as the Pope and Antichristian Bishops labour by their wicked factors with tooth and nail to deface the glory of God, and to shut up in darkness the light of the gospel; so God doth not suffer his name and religion to be altogether without witness, to the reproving both of his false and damnable doctrines; as also crying out against his unmeasurable and abominable licentiousness of the flesh, even in these parts. For in this city of *Lima*, not two months before our coming thither, there were certain persons to the number of twelve apprehended, examined and condemned for the profession of the gospel, and reproving the doctrines of men, with the filthy manners used in that city; of which twelve, six were bound to one stake and burnt; the rest remained yet in prison, to drink of the same cup within a few days. Lastly, here we had intelligence of a certain rich ship, which was loaden with gold and silver for *Panama*, that had set forth of this haven the 2d of February.

The very next day, therefore, in the morning (viz. the 16th of the said month)

we set sail, as long as the wind would serve our turn, and towed our ship as soon as the wind failed, continuing our course toward *Panama*, making stay no where, but hastening all we might to get sight if it were possible, of that gallant ship the *Cacafuego*, the great glory of the *South-sea*; which was gone from *Lima* fourteen days before us.

We fell with the port of *Paita* in 4 deg. 40 min. *Feb.* 20th, with port *St. Hellen*, and the river and part of *Guiaquil*, *February* 24th, we past the line the 28th, and first of *March* we fell with cape *Francisco*, where, about mid-day we descried a sail a-head of us, with whom after once we had spoken* with her, we lay still in the same place about six days, to recover our breath again, which we had almost spent with hasty following†, and to recall to mind what advantages had past us since our late coming from *Lima*; but especially to do *John de Anton* a kindness, in freeing him of the care of those things with which his ship was laden.

This ship we found to be the same of which we had heard, not only in the *Calao* of *Lima*, but also by divers occasions afterward (which now we are at leisure to relate, viz.) by a ship which we took between *Lima* and *Paita*. By another which we took laden with wine in the port of *Paita*. By a third laden with tackling, and implements for ships (besides 80 pound weight of gold) from *Guiaquil*. And lastly, by *Gabriel Alvarez*, with whom we talked somewhat nearer the line; we found her to be indeed the *Cacafuego* ∴, though before we left her, she were new named by a boy of her own, the *Cacaplata* ∥. We found in her some fruit, conserves, sugars, meal, and other victuals, and (that which was the especiallest cause of her heavy and slow sailing) a certain quantity of jewels, and precious stones, 13 chests of ryals of plate; 80 pound weight in gold; 26 tons of uncoined silver; two very fair gilt silver drinking bowls, and the like trifles, valued at about 360000 pezoës. We gave the master a little linnen and the like for these commodities; and at the end of six days we bad farewell and parted. He hasting somewhat lighter than before to *Panama*; we plying off to sea, that we might with more leisure consider what course henceforward were fittest to be taken.

And considering that now we were come to the northward of the line, (Cape *Francisco* standing in the entrance of the bay of

Panama, in 1 degr. of north latitude) and that there was no likelihood or hope that our ships should be before us that way by any means; seeing that in running so many degr. from the southermost islands hitherto, we could not have any sign or notice of their passage that way, notwithstanding that we had made so diligent search, and careful enquiry after them, in every harbour or creek almost as we had done; and considering also that the time of the year now drew on, wherein we must attempt, or of necessity wholly give off that action which chiefly our general had determined: Namely, the discovery of what passage there was to be found about the northern parts of *America*, from the *South-sea*, into our own ocean (which being once discovered and made known to be navigable, we should not only do our country good and notable service, but we also ourselves should have a nearer cut and passage home, where otherwise we were to make a very long and tedious voyage of it, which would hardly agree with our good liking, we having been so long from home already, and so much of our strength separated from us) which could not at all be done, if the opportunity of time were now neglected. We therefore all of us willingly hearkned, and consented to our general's advice; which was, first to seek out some convenient place, wherein to trim our ship, and store ourselves with wood and water, and other provisions as we could get; and thenceforward to hasten on our intended journey, for the discovery of the said passage, through which we might with joy return to our longed homes.

From this cape, before we set onward, *March* 7th, shaping our course towards the island of *Caines*, with which we fell, *March* 16th, settling ourselves for certain days, in a fresh river, between the main and it, for the finishing of our needful business as is aforesaid. While we abode in this place, we felt a very terrible earthquake, the force whereof was such, that our ship and pinnace, riding very near an *English* mile from the shore, were shaken, and did quiver as if it had been laid on dry land. We found here many good commodities which we wanted, as fish, fresh water, wood, &c. besides aligators, monkeys and the like; and in our journey hither, we met with one ship more (the last we met with in all those coasts) loaded with linnen, *China*-silk, and *China*-dishes, amongst which we found also a falcon of gold, handsomely wrought with a great emerald set in the breast of it. From

* By firing upon her, and obliging her to strike.

† The admiral had promised his gold chain to the person that should first get sight of her, which was done by *John Drake*.

∴ *Shitfire*.

∥ i. e. The *Shitplate*.

From whence we parted the 24th day of the month forenamed, with full purpose to run the nearest course as the wind would suffer us, without touch of land a long time, and therefore passed by port *Papagias*; the port of the vale of the most rich and most excellent balms of *Jericho*, *Quantapico*, and divers others; as also certain gulphs hereabouts, which, without inter-

for besides that the pinching and biting air was nothing altered, the very ropes of our ship were stiff, and the rain which fell was an unnatural and frozen substance, so that we seemed rather to be in the frozen zone than any way so near unto the sun or these hotter climates.

Neither did this happen for the time only, or by some sudden accident, but ra-

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* Here the admiral dismissed his *Portuguese* pilot, taken at *Cape Verd* islands.

Engrav'd for the London Magazine



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Notwithstanding, having notice that we should be troubled with often calms and contrary winds, if we continued near the coast, and did not run off to sea to fetch the wind, and that if we did so, we could not then fall with land again when we would; our general thought it needful that we should run in with some place or other before our departure from the coast, to see if happily we could, by traffick, augment our provision of victuals and other necessities, that being at sea we might not be driven to any great want or necessity, albeit we had reasonable store of good things aboard us already.

The next harbour therefore which we chanced with, on *April 15.* in 15 degr. 40 min. was *Guatulco*, or *Aquatulco*, so named of the *Spaniards* who inhabited it, with whom we had some intercourse, to the supply of many things which we desired, and chiefly bread, &c. And now having reasonably, as we thought, provided ourselves, we departed from the coast of *America* for the present; but not forgetting, before we got a shipboard, to take with us also a certain pot (of about a bushel in bigness) full of rials of plate, which we found in the town; together with a chain of gold, and some other jewels, which we intreated a gentleman *Spaniard* to leave behind him, as he was flying out of town.*

From *Guatulco* we departed the day following, viz. *April 16.* setting our course directly into the sea; whereupon we sailed 500 leagues in longitude to get a wind; and between that and *June 3.* 1400 leagues in all, till we came into 42 degr. of north latitude, where, in the night following, we found such an alteration of heat, into extreme and nipping cold, that our men in general did grievously complain thereof, some of them feeling their healths much impaired thereby; neither was it, that this chanced in the night alone, but the day following carried with it not only the marks but the stings and force of the night going before, to the great admiration of us all;

for besides that the pinching and biting air was nothing altered, the very ropes of our ship were stiff, and the rain which fell was an unnatural and frozen substance, so that we seemed rather to be in the frozen zone than any way so near unto the sun or these hotter climates.

Neither did this happen for the time only, or by some sudden accident, but rather seems indeed to proceed from some ordinary cause, against the which the heat of the sun prevails not; for it came to that extremity, in sailing but 2 degr. farther to the northward, in our course, that though seamen lack not good stomachs, yet it seemed a question to many amongst us, whether their hands should feed their mouths, or rather keep themselves within their coverts from the pinching cold that did benumb them: neither could we impute it to the tenderness of our bodies, tho' we came lately from the extremity of heat, by reason whereof we might be more sensible of the present cold, insomuch as the dead and senseless creatures were as well affected with it as ourselves; our meat, as soon as it was removed from the fire, would presently, in a manner, be frozen up; and our ropes and tackling, in few days, were grown to that stiffness, that what three men before were able with them to perform, now six men with their best strength, and uttermost endeavour, were hardly able to accomplish; whereby a sudden and great discouragement seized upon the minds of our men, and they were possessed with a great dislike and doubting of any good to be done that way; yet would not our general be discouraged, but as well by comfortable speeches of the divine Providence, and of God's loving care over his children out of the Scriptures; as also by other good and profitable persuasions, adding thereto his own chearful example, he so stirred them up to put on a good courage, and to quit themselves like men, to endure some short extremity to have the speedier comfort, and a little trouble to obtain the greater glory; that every man was as thoroughly armed with willingness, and resolved to see the uttermost, if it were possible, of what good was to be done that way.

The land, in that part of *America*, bearing farther out into the west than we before imagined, we were nearer on it than we were aware; and yet the nearer still we came unto it, the more extremity of cold did seize upon us. The 5th day of *June* we were forced by contrary winds to run in with the shore, which we then first descry'd; and to cast anchor in a bad bay, the

* Here the admiral dismissed his *Portuguese* pilot, taken at *Cape Verd* islands.

the best road we could for the present meet with; where we were not without some danger, by reason of the many extreme gusts and flaws that beat upon us; which if they ceased, and were still at any time, immediately upon their intermission, there followed most vile, thick, and stinking fogs; against which the sea prevailed nothing, till the gust of wind again removed them, which brought with them such extremity and violence, when they came, that there was no dealing or resisting against them.

In this place was no abiding for us; and to go further north, the extremity of the cold (which had now utterly discouraged our men) would not permit us: and the winds directly bent against us, having once gotten us under sail again, commanded us to the southward whether we would or no.

From the height of 48 degr. in which now we were, to 38. we found the land, by coasting along it, to be but low and reasonable plain; every hill (whereof we saw many, but none very high) though it were in *June*, and the sun in his nearest approach unto them, being covered with snow.

In 38 degr. 30 min. we fell with a convenient and fit harbour, and *June* 17. came to anchor therein; where we continued till the 23d day of *July* following. During all which time, notwithstanding it was in the height of summer, and so near the sun, yet were we continually visited with like nipping colds as we had felt before; inso-much that if violent exercises of our bodies, and busy employment about our necessary labours had not sometimes compelled us to the contrary, we could very well have been contented to have kept about us still our winter cloaths; yea (had our necessities suffered us) to have kept our beds: neither could we at any time, in whole fourteen days together, find the air so clear as to be able to take the height of sun or star.

And here, having so fit occasion, (notwithstanding it may seem to be besides the purpose of writing the history of this our voyage) we will a little more diligently enquire into the causes of the continuance of the extreme cold in these parts; as also into the probabilities or unlikelihoods of a passage to be found that way. Neither was it (as hath formerly been touched) the tenderness of our bodies, coming so lately out of the heat, whereby the pores were opened, that made us so sensible of the colds we here felt; in this respect, as in many others, we found our God a provident father and careful physician to us. We lacked no outward helps nor inward comforts

to restore and fortify nature, had it been decay'd or weaken'd in us; neither was there wanting to us the great experience of our general, who had often himself proved the force of the burning zone; whose advice always prevailed much to the preserving of a moderate temper in our constitutions: so that even after our departure from the heat, we always found our bodies not as sponges, but strong and harden'd; more able to bear out cold, though we came out of excess of heat, than a number of chamber companions could have been, who lie on their feather-beds till they go to sea, or rather, whose teeth, in a temperate air, do beat in their heads at a cup of cold sack and sugar by the fire.

And that it was not our tenderness, but the very extremity of the cold itself that caused this sensibleness in us, may the rather appear, in that the natural inhabitants of the place (with whom we had for a long season familiar intercourse, as is to be related) who had never been acquainted with such heat; to whom the country, air, and climate was proper, and in whom custom of cold was, as it were, a second nature, yet used to come shivering to us in their warm furs, crowding close together, body to body, to receive heat one of another, and sheltering themselves under a lee bank, if it were possible; and, as often as they could, labouring to shroud themselves under our garments also to keep them warm. Besides, how unhandsome and deformed appeared the face of the earth itself! shewing trees without leaves, and the ground without greenness in those months of *June* and *July*. The poor birds and fowls not daring (as we had great experience to observe it) not daring so much as once to arise from their nests, after the first egg layed, till it, with all the rest, be hatched, and brought to some strength of nature, able to help itself: only this recompence hath nature afforded them, that the heat of their own bodies being exceeding great, it perfecteth the creature with greater expedition, and in shorter time than is to be found in many other places. As for the causes of this extremity they seem not to be so deeply hidden, but that they may, at least in part, be guessed at; the chiefest of which we conceive to be the large spreading of the *Asian* and *American* continent, which (somewhat northward of these parts) if they be not fully joined, yet seem they to come very near one to the other: from whose high and snow-cover'd mountains, the north and north-west winds (the constant visitants of those coasts) send abroad their frozen nymphs, to the infecting of the whole air with this insufferable sharpness; not permitting the sun, no not in the pride

pride of his heat, to dissolve that congealed matter and snow, which they have breathed out so nigh the sun, and so many degrees distant from themselves. And that the north and north-west winds are here constant in *June* and *July*, as the north wind alone is in *August* and *September*, we not only found it by our own experience, but were fully confirmed in the opinion thereof, by the continued observations of the *Spaniards*. Hence comes the general squalidness and barrenness of the country; hence comes it, that in the midst of their summer, the snow hardly departeth, even from their very doors, but is never taken away from their hills at all; hence come those thick mists and most stinking fogs, which increase so much the more, by how much higher the pole is raised, wherein a blind pilot is as good as the best director of a course: for the sun striving to perform his natural office, in elevating the vapours out of these inferior bodies, draweth necessarily abundance of moisture out of the sea, but the nipping cold (from the former causes) meeting and opposing the sun's endeavour, forces him to give over his work imperfect; and, instead of higher elevation, to leave in the lowest region, wandring upon the face of the earth and waters, as it were a second sea, through which its own beams cannot possibly pierce, unless sometimes when the sudden violence of the winds doth help to scatter and break through it; which thing happeneth very seldom, and when it happeneth, is of no continuance: Some of our mariners, in this voyage, had formerly been at *Wardhouse*, in 72 degr. of north latitude, who yet affirmed, that they felt no such nipping cold there in the end of summer, when they departed thence, as they did here in those hottest months of *June* and *July*. And also from these reasons we conjecture, that either there is no passage at all through these northern coasts (which is most likely) or if there be, that yet it is unnavigable. Add hereunto, that though we searched the coast diligently, even unto the 48 degr. yet found we not the land to trend so much as one point in any place towards the east, but rather running on continually north-west, as if it went directly to meet with *Asia*: and even, in that height when we had a frank wind to have carried us thro', had there been a passage, yet we had a smooth and calm sea, with ordinary flowing and reflowing, which could not have been had there been a frete; of which we rather infallibly concluded than conjectur'd, that there was none. But to return:

The next day after our coming to anchor in the aforesaid harbour, the people of the

country shewed themselves, sending off a man with great expedition to us in a canoe; who being yet but a little from the shore, and a great way from our ship, spake to us continually as he came rowing on; and at last, at a reasonable distance staying himself, he began more solemnly a long and tedious oration, after his manner, using in the delivery thereof many gestures and signs; moving his hands, turning his head and body many ways; and after his oration ended, with great shew of reverence and submission, returned back to shore again. He shortly came again the second time in like manner, and so the third time, when he brought with him (as a present from the rest) a bunch of feathers, much like the feathers of a black crow, very neatly and artificially gathered upon a string, and drawn together into a round bundle, being very clean and finely cut, and bearing in length an equal proportion one with another; a special cognizance (as we afterwards observed) which they that guard the king's person, wear on their heads. With this also he brought a little basket made of rushes, and filled with an herb which they called *Tabab*; both which being tied to a short rod, he cast into a boat. Our general intended to have recompensed him immediately with many good things he would have bestowed on him, but entering into the boat to deliver the same, he could not be drawn to receive them by any means, save one hat, which being cast into the water out of the ship, he took it up (refusing utterly to meddle with any other thing, though it were upon a board put off unto him) and so presently made his return. After which time, our boat could row no way, but wondring at us as at gods, they would follow the same with admiration.

The 3d day following, viz. *Jan. 21*. our ship having received a leak at sea, was brought to anchor near the shore, that her goods being landed she might be repaired; but for that we were to prevent any danger that might chance against our safety, our general first of all landed his men, with all necessary provision to build tents, and make a fort for the defence of ourselves and goods: and that we might, under the shelter of it, with more safety (whatever should befall) end our business; which when the people of the country perceived us doing, as men set on fire to war in defence of their country, in great haste and companies, with such weapons as they had, they came down unto us, yet with no hostile meaning or intent to hurt us; standing, when they drew near, as men ravished in their minds with the sight of such things as they never had seen or heard of

before that time; their errand being rather with submission and fear to worship us as gods, than to have any war with us as with mortal men. Which thing, as it did partly shew itself at that instant, so did it more and more manifest itself afterwards, during the whole time of our abode amongst them. At this time, being willed by signs to lay from them their bows and arrows; they did as they were directed, and so did all the rest, as they came more and more by companies unto them, growing, in a little while, to a great number both of men and women.

To the intent therefore, that this peace which they themselves so willingly fought, might, without any cause of the breach thereof on our part given, be continued, and that we might with more safety and expedition end our business in quiet; our general, with all his company, used all means possible, gently to intreat them, bestowing upon each of them, liberally, good and necessary things to cover their nakedness withal, signifying unto them, we were no gods but men, and had need of such things to cover our own shame, teaching them to use them to the same ends: for which cause also we did eat and drink in their presence, giving them to understand, that without that we could not live, and therefore were but men as well as they.

Notwithstanding, nothing could persuade them, nor remove that opinion which they had conceived of us, that we should be gods.

In recompence of those things which they had received of us, as shirts, linnen cloth, &c. they bestowed upon our general, and divers of our company, divers things, as feathers, cauls of network, the quivers of their arrows made of Fawnskins, and the very skins of beasts that their women wore upon their bodies. Having thus had their fill of this times visiting and beholding us, they departed with joy to their houses; which houses are digged round within the earth, and have, from the uppermost brims of the circle, clefts of wood set up, and joined close together at the top, like our spires on the steeple of a church, which, being covered with earth, suffer no water to enter, and are very warm; the door, in the most part of them, performs the office also of a chimney to let out the smoke: it's made in bigness and fashion like to an ordinary scuttle in a ship, and standing sloopewise: their beds are the hard ground, only with rushes strew'd upon it, and lying round about the house, have their fire in the midst, which by reason that the house is but low vaulted, round and close, giveth a

marvellous reflection to their bodies to heat the same.

Their men for the most part go naked, the women take a kind of bulrushes, and combing it after the manner of hemp, make themselves thereof a loose garment, which being knit about their middles, hangs down about their hips, and so affords to them a covering of that which nature teaches should be hidden; about their shoulders they wear also the skin of a deer, with the hair upon it. They are very obedient to their husbands, and exceeding ready in all services, yet of themselves offering to do nothing, without the consents, or being called of the men.

As soon as they were returned to their houses, they began, amongst themselves, a kind of most lamentable weeping and crying out, which they continued also a great while together, in such sort, that in the place where they left us (being near about 3 quarters, or an *English* mile distant from them) we very plainly, with wonder and admiration did hear the same; the women especially, extending their voices in a most miserable and doleful manner of shrieking.

Notwithstanding this humble manner of presenting themselves, and awful demeanor used towards us, we thought it no wisdom too far to trust them (our experience of former infidels dealing with us before, made us careful to provide against an alteration of their affections, or breach of peace, if it should happen) and therefore, with all expedition, we set up our tents, and entrenched ourselves with walls of stone; that so being fortified within ourselves, we might be able to keep off the enemy (if they should so prove) from coming amongst us without our good wills. This being quickly finished, we went the more chearfully and securely afterward about our other business.

Against the end of two days, during which time they had not again been with us; there was gathered together a great assembly of men, women and children, (invited by the report of them which first saw us, who it seems, had in that time, of purpose dispersed themselves into the country to make known the news) who came now the second time unto us, bringing with them as before had been done, feathers, and bags of Tabah for presents, or rather indeed for sacrifices, upon this persuasion that we were gods.

When they came to the top of the hill, at the bottom whereof we had built our fort, they made a stand; where one (appointed as their chief speaker) wearied both us his hearers, and himself too, with a long and tedious oration, delivered with strange

strange and violent gestures, his voice being extended to the uttermost strength of nature, and his words fell so thick one in the neck of another, that he could hardly fetch his breath again. As soon as he had concluded, all the rest, with a reverend bowing of their bodies, (in a dreaming manner, and long producing of the same) cried Oh! thereby giving their consents, that all was very true which he had spoken, and that they had uttered their mind by mouth unto us: Which done, the men laying down their bows upon the hill, and leaving their women and children behind them, came down with their presents; in such sort, as if they had appeared before a God indeed; thinking themselves happy, that they might have access unto our general; but much more happy, when they saw that he would receive at their hands, those things which they so willingly had presented; and no doubt, they thought themselves nearest unto God, when they sat or stood next to him. In the mean time the women, as if they had been desperate, used unnatural violence against themselves, crying and shrieking piteously, tearing their flesh with their nails from their cheeks, in a monstrous manner, the blood streaming down along their breasts; besides, spoiling the upper parts of their bodies of those single coverings they formerly had, and holding their hands above their heads, that they might not rescue their breasts from harm; they would with fury cast themselves upon the ground, never respecting whether it were clean or soft, but dashed themselves in this manner on hard stones, knobby hillocks, stocks of wood, pricking bushes, or whatever else lay in their way, iterating the same course again and again. Yea, women big with child, some nine or ten times each, and others holding out till fifteen or sixteen times (till their strength failed them) exercised this cruelty against themselves. A thing more grievous for us to see, or suffer, could we have help it, than trouble to them (as it seemed) to do it.

This bloody sacrifice (against our wills) being thus performed, our general with his company, in the presence of those strangers, fell to prayers; and by signs in lifting up our eyes and hands to heaven, signified unto them, that that God whom we did serve, and whom they ought to worship, was above, beseeching God if it were his good pleasure to open by some means their blinded eyes; that they might in due time be called to the knowledge of him the true and everliving God, and of Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, the salvation of the Gentiles. In the time of which prayers, singing of psalms, and

reading of certain chapters in the bible, they sat very attentively; and observing the end of every pause, with one voice still cried Oh! greatly rejoicing in our exercises. Yea, they took such pleasure in our singing of psalms, that whensoever they resorted to us, their first request was commonly this, *Gnaab*, by which they intreated that we should sing.

Our general having now bestowed upon them divers things, at their departure they restored them again, none carrying with him any thing of whatsoever he had received, thinking themselves sufficiently enriched and happy, that they had found so free access to see us.

Against the end of three days more (the news having the while spread itself farther, and as it seemed a great way up into the country) were assembled the greatest number of people, which we could reasonably imagine, to dwell within any convenient distance round about. Amongst the rest, the king himself, a man of a goodly stature and comely personage, attended with his guard, of about 100 tall and warlike men, this day, *viz.* June 26th, came down to see us.

Before his coming, were sent two ambassadors or messengers, to our general, to signify that their Hioh, (that is, their king) was coming and at hand. They in the delivery of their message, the one spake with a soft and low voice, prompting his fellow. The other pronounced the same word by word after him, with a voice more audible, continuing their proclamation (for such it was) about half an hour. Which being ended, they by their signs made request to our general to send something by their hands to their Hioh or king, as a token that his coming might be in peace. Our general willingly satisfied their desire; and they glad men, made speedy return to their Hioh. Neither was it long before their king (making as princely a shew as possibly he could) with all his train came forward.

In their coming forwards they cried continually after a singing manner, with a lusty courage. And as they drew nearer and nearer towards us, so did they more and more strive to behave themselves with a certain comeliness and gravity in all their actions.

In the forefront came a man of a large body, goodly aspect, bearing the sceptre, or royal mace (made of a certain kind of black wood, and in length about a yard and a half) before the king. Whereupon hanged two crowns, a bigger and a less, with three chains of a marvellous length, and often doubled; besides a bag of the herb *Tabah*. The crowns were made of knitwork,

knitwork, wrought upon most curiously with feathers of divers colours, very artificially placed, and of a formal fashion. The chains seemed of a bony substance, every kind or part thereof being very little, thin, most finely burnished, with a hole pierced through the midst. The number of links going to make one chain, is in a manner infinite; but of such estimation it is amongst them, that few be the persons that are admitted to wear the same; and even they to whom it's lawful to them, yet are stinted what number they shall use; as some ten, some twelve, some twenty, and as they exceed in number of chains, so are they thereby known to be the more honourable personages.

Next unto him that bare this sceptre, was the king himself with his guard about him. His attire upon his head was a cawl of knitwork, wrought upon somewhat like the crown, but differing much both in fashion, and perfectness of work; upon his shoulders he had on a coat of the skins of conies, reaching to his waste. His guard also had each coats of the same shape, but of other skins, some having cawls likewise such with feathers, or covered over with a certain down, which groweth up in the country upon an herb much like our lettuce, which exceeds any other down in the world for fineness, and being laid upon their cawls by no winds can be removed. Of such estimation is this herb amongst them, that the down thereof is not lawful to be worn, but of such persons as are about the king (to whom also it is permitted to wear a plume of feathers on their heads in sign of honour) and the seeds are not used but only in sacrifice to their gods. After these in their order, did follow the naked sort of common people; whose hair being long, was gathered into a bunch behind, in which stuck plumes of feathers; but in the forepart only single feathers like horns, every one pleasing himself in his own device.

This one thing was observed to be general amongst them all, that every one had his face painted, some with white, some with black, and some with other colours; every man also bringing in his hand one thing or other for a present. Their train or last part of their company consisted of women and children, each woman bearing against her breast a round basket or two; having with them divers things, as bags of Tabah, a root which they call Petah, whereof they make a kind of meal, and either bake it into bread, or eat it raw; broiled fishes like a pilchard; the seed and down aforementioned, with such like.

Their baskets were made in fashion like a deep bowl, and though the matter were

rushes, or such other kind of stuff, yet was it so cunningly handled, that the most part of them would hold water; about the brims they were hanged with pieces of the shells of pearls, and in some places with two or three links at a place, of the chains forenamed; thereby signifying that they were vessels wholly dedicated to the only use of the gods they worshiped. And besides this, they were wrought upon with the matted down of red feathers, distinguished into divers works and forms.

In the mean time our general having assembled his men together (as forecasting the danger, and worst that might fall out) prepared himself to stand upon sure ground, that we might at all times be ready in our own defence, if any thing should chance otherwise than was looked for or expected.

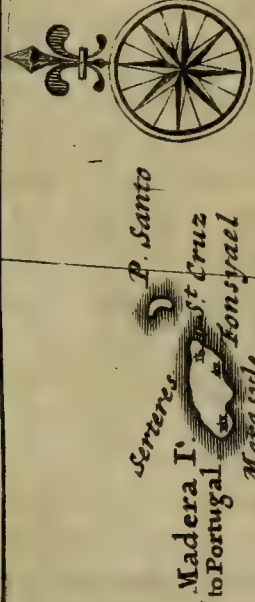
Wherefore every man being in a warlike readiness, he marched within his fenced place, making against their approach a most warlike shew (as he did also at all other times of their resort) whereby if they had been desperate enemies, they could not have chosen, but have conceived terror and fear, with discouragement to attempt any thing against us, in beholding of the same.

When they were come somewhat near unto us, trooping together, they gave us a common or a general salutation; observing in the mean time a general silence. Whereupon he who bare the sceptre before the king, being prompted by another, whom the king assigned to that office, pronounced with an audible and manly voice, what the other spake to him in secret; continuing, whether it were his oration or proclamation, at the least half an hour. At the close whereof, there was a common *Amen*, in sign of approbation given by every person: And the king himself with the whole number of men and women, the little children only remaining behind, came further down the hill, and as they came set themselves again in their former order.

And being now come to the foot of the hill, and near our fort, the sceptre-bearer, with a composed countenance and stately carriage, began a song, and answerable thereunto, observed a kind of measures in a dance, whom the king, with his guard, and every sort of person following, did in like manner sing and dance, saving only the women who danced but kept silence. As they danced they still came on; and our general perceiving their plain and simple meaning, gave order that they might freely enter without interruption within our bulwark: Where, after they had entered, they yet continued their song and dance a reasonable time. Their women also following them with their wassail bowls in

BARBARY.

The West Part of
Containing Fez, Morocco, Algier,
and Part of Biledulgerid the Canary
Islands &c. By H. Moll Geographer



The ATLANTICK

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I. Tenerif

I. Cruz

I. Gomera

I. Lancerata

I. Canaria

I. Forteventura

I. Canaria

C. Bajador

OCEAN.

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de Alta

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I. Benibabih

I. Tassat

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I. Tassat

SPAIN

Cadiz

Str. of Gibraltar

C. Spartel

Tanger

Arzila

Alcassar

I. Tarache

Mamora

I. Todale

Salle

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in their hands, their bodies bruised, their faces torn, their dugs, breasts, and other parts bespotted with blood, trickling down from the wounds which with their nails they had made before their coming.

After that they had satisfied, or rather tired themselves in this manner, they made signs to our general to have him sit down; unto whom, both the king and divers others made several orations, or rather indeed, if we had understood them, supplications, that he would take the province and kingdom into his hand, and become their king and patron; making signs that they would resign unto him their right and title in the whole land, and become his vassals in themselves, and his posterities: Which that they might make us indeed believe that it was their true meaning and intent, the king himself, with all the rest with one consent, and with great reverence, joyfully singing a song, set the crown upon his head, enriched his neck with all their chains, and offering unto him many other things, honoured him by the name of *Hyoh*. Adding thereunto (as it might seem) a song and a dance of triumph; because they were not only visited of Gods, (for so they still judged us to be) but the great and chief God was now become their God, their king and patron, and themselves were become the only happy and blessed people in all the world.

These things being so freely offered, our general thought not meet to reject or refuse the same; both for that we would not give them any cause of mistrust, or disliking of him, (that being the only place, wherein at this present we were of necessity enforced to seek relief of many things) and chiefly, for that he knew not to what good end God had brought this to pass, or what honour or profit it might bring to our country in time to come.

Wherefore in the name, and to the use of her most excellent majesty, he took the sceptre, crown and dignity of the said country into his hand; wishing nothing more than that it had lain so fitly for her majesty to enjoy, as it was now her proper own, and that the riches and treasure thereof (wherewith in the up-land countries it abounds) might with as great conveniency be transported, to the enriching of her kingdom here at home, as it is in plenty to be attained there; and especially, that so tractable and loving a people as they shewed themselves to be, might have means to have manifested their most willing obedience the more under her, and by her means, as a mother and nurse of the church of Christ, might by the preaching of the gospel be brought to the right knowledge and obedience of the true and ever living God.

VOL. II.

The ceremonies of this resigning, and receiving of the kingdom, being thus performed, and the common sort both of men and women, leaving the king and his guard about him, with our general, dispersed themselves amongst our people, taking a diligent view or survey of every man; and finding such as pleased their fancies (which commonly were the youngest of us) they presently enclosing them about, offered their sacrifices unto them, crying out with lamentable shrieks and moans, weeping and scratching, and tearing their very flesh off their faces with their nails; neither were it the women alone which did this, but even old men, roaring, and crying out, were as violent as the women were.

We groaned in spirit to see the power of Satan so far prevail, in seducing these so harmless souls, and laboured by all means, both by shewing our great dislike, and when that serv'd not, by violent withholding of their hands from that madness, directing them (by our eyes and hands lift up towards heaven) to the living God whom they ought to serve. But so mad were they upon their Idolatry, that forcibly withholding them would not prevail, (for as soon as they could get liberty to their hands again, they would be as violent as they were before) till such time, as they whom they worshipped, were conveyed from them into the tents, whom yet as men besides themselves, they would with fury and outrage seek to have again.

After that time had a little qualified their madness, they then began to shew and make known unto us their griefs and diseases, which they carried about them; some of them having old aches, some shrunk sinews, some old sores and cankered ulcers, some wounds more lately received, and the like, in a most lamentable manner, craving help and cure thereof from us; making signs, that if we did but blow upon their griefs, or but touched the diseased places, they would be whole.

Their griefs we could not but take pity on them, and to our own desire to help them; but that (if it pleased God to open their eyes) they might understand we were but men, and no Gods, we used ordinary means, as lotions, emplaisters, and unguents, most fitly (as far as our skills could guess) agreeing to the natures of their griefs; beseeching God, if it made for his glory, to give cure to their diseases by these means. The like we did from time to time as they resorted to us.

Few were the days, wherein they were absent from us, during the whole time of our abode in that place; and ordinarily every third day, they brought their sacrifices, till such time, as they certainly understood

derstood our meaning, that we took no pleasure, but were displeased with them. Whereupon their zeal abated, and their sacrificing, for a season, to our good liking ceased. Notwithstanding, they continued still to make their resort unto us in great abundance, and in such sort, that they oft-times forgot to provide meat for their own sustenance; so that our general (of whom they made account as of a father) was fain to perform the office of a father to them, relieving them with such victuals as we had provided for ourselves, as muscles, seals, and such like, wherein they took exceeding much content; and seeing that their sacrifices were displeasing to us, yet (hating ingratitude) they sought to recompence us, with such things as they had, which they willingly inforced upon us, though it were never so necessary or needful for themselves to keep.

They are a people of a tractable, free, and loving nature, without guile or treachery; their bows and arrows (their only weapons, and almost all their wealth) they use very skilfully; but yet not do any great harm with them, being by reason of their weakness, more fit for children than for men, not sending the arrow far off, nor with any great force. And yet are the men commonly so strong of body, that which two or three of our men could hardly bear, one of them would take upon his back, and without grudging carry it easily away, up hill and down hill an *English* mile together. They are also exceeding swift in running, and of long continuance; the use whereof is so familiar with them, that they seldom go, but for the most part run. One thing we observed in them with admiration, that if any time they chanced to see a fish so near the shore, that they might reach the place without swimming, they would seldom, or never miss to take it.

After that our necessary business was well dispatched, our general with his gentlemen, and many of his company, made a journey up into the land, to see the manner of their dwelling, and to be the better acquainted with the nature and commodities of the country. Their houses were all such as we have formerly described, and being many of them in one place, made several villages here and there. The inland we found to be far different from the shore, a goodly country and fruitful soil, stored with many blessings fit for the use of man. Infinite was the company of very large and fat deer, which there we saw by thousands, as we supposed, in a herd; besides a multitude of a strange kind of conies, by far exceeding them in number. Their heads and bodies, in which they re-

semble other conies, are but small; his tail like the tail of a rat, exceeding long; and his feet like paws of a want or moal; under his chin, on either side, he hath a bag, into which he gathereth his meat, when he hath filled his belly abroad, that he may with it, either feed his young, or feed himself, when he lists not to travel from his burrow. The people eat their bodies, and make great account of their skins, for their king's holiday coat was made of them.

This country our general named *Albion*, or *New Albion*, and that for two causes, the one in respect of the white banks and cliffs, which lie toward the sea; the other, that it might have some affinity, even in name also, with our own country, which was some time so called.

Before we went from thence, our general caused to be set up a monument of our being there; as also of her majesty's, and successors right and title to that kingdom; namely, a plate of brass, fast nailed to a great and firm post; whereon is engraven her grace's name, and the day and year of our arrival there, and of the free giving up of the province and kingdom, both by the king and people, into her majesty's hands, together with her highness's picture and arms, in a piece of sixpence, current *English* money, shewing itself by a hole made of purpose through the place. Underneath was likewise engraven the name of our general, &c.

The *Spaniards* never had any dealing, or so much as set a foot in this country; the utmost of their discourses, reaching only to many degrees southward of this place.

And now, as the time of our departure was perceived by them to draw nigh, so did the sorrows and miseries of this people seem to themselves to increase upon them; and the more certain they were of our going away, the more doubtful they shewed themselves, what they might do; so that we might easily judge that that joy (being exceeding great) wherewith they received us at our first arrival, was clean drown'd in their excessive sorrow for our departing; for they did not only lose on a sudden all mirth, joy, glad countenance, pleasant speeches, agility of body, familiar rejoicing one with another, and all pleasure whatever flesh and blood might be delighted in, but with sighs and sorrowings, with heavy hearts and grieved minds, they poured out woful complaints and moans, with bitter tears and wringing of their hands, tormenting themselves. And as men refusing all comfort, they only accounted themselves as castaways, and those whom the gods were about to forsake; so that

that nothing we could say or do, was able to ease them of their so heavy a burthen, or to deliver them from so desperate a strait, as our leaving of them did seem to them that it would cast them into.

Howbeit seeing they could not still enjoy our presence, they (supposing us to be gods indeed) thought it their duties to intreat us, that being absent, we would yet be mindful of them; and making signs of their desires, that in time to come we would see them again, they stole upon us a sacrifice, and set it on e'er we were aware, burning therein a chain and a bunch of feathers. We laboured by all means possible to with-hold or withdraw them, but could not prevail, till at last we fell to prayers and singing of psalms, whereby they were allured immediately to forget their folly, and leave their sacrifice unconsumed, suffering the fire to go out, and imitating us in all our actions; they fell to lifting up their eyes and hands to heaven as they saw us do.

The 23d of July they took a sorrowful farewell of us, but being loth to leave us, they presently ran to the tops of the hills to keep us in their sight as long as they could, making fires before and behind, and on each side of them, burning therein (as is to be supposed) sacrifices to our departure.

Not far without this harbour, did I see certain islands (we called them the islands of St. James) having on them plentiful and great store of seals and birds, with one of which we fell, July 24. whereupon we found such provision as might competently serve our turn for a while; we departed again the next day following, viz. July 25. And our general now considering, that the extremity of the cold not only continued but increased, the sun being gone farther from us, and that the wind blowing still (as it did at first) from the north-west, cut off all hope of finding a passage through the northern parts, thought it necessary to lose no time; and therefore, with general consent of all, bent his course directly to run with the islands of the *Moluccas*. And so having nothing in our view but air and sea, without sight of any land for the space of full 68 days together, we continued our course through the main ocean, till September 30. following, on which day we fell in sight of certain islands, lying about eight degrees to the northward of the line.

From these islands presently upon the discovery of us, came a great number of canoes, having each of them in some four, in some six, in some fourteen or fifteen men; bringing with them cocoas, fish, potatoes, and certain fruits to small purpose.

Their canoes were made after the fashion that the canoes of all the rest of the islands of *Moluccas* for the most part are; that is, of one tree, hollowed within with great art and cunning, being made so smooth, both within and without, that they bore a gloss, as if it were a harness most finely burnish'd; a prow and stern they had of one fashion, yielding inward in manner of a semicircle, of a great height, and hanged full of certain white and glistering shells for bravery; on each side of their canoes lay out two pieces of timber about a yard and half long, more or less, according to the capacity of their boat; at the ends whereof was fastened, crosswise, a great cane, the use whereof was to keep their canoes from overthrowing, and that they might be equally born up on each side.

The people themselves have the nether parts of their ears cut round or circlewise, hanging down very low upon their cheeks, wherein they hang things of a reasonable weight; the nails on the fingers of some of them were at least an inch long, and their teeth as black as pitch, the colour whereof they use to renew by often eating of an herb, with a kind of powder, which in a cane they carry about them for the same purpose. The first sort and company of those canoes being come to our ship (which then by reason of a scant wind made a little way) very subtilly, and against their natures, began in peace to traffick with us, giving us one thing for another very orderly, intending (as we perceived) hereby to work a greater mischief to us, intreating us by signs most earnestly to draw nearer towards the shore, that they might (if possible) make the easier prey both of the ship and us. But these passing away, and others continually resorting, we were quickly able to guess at them what they were; for if they received any thing once into their hands, they would neither give recompence nor restitution of it, but thought whatever they could finger to be their own; expecting always, with brows of brass, to receive more, but would part with nothing; yea, being rejected for their bad dealing, as those with whom we would have no more to do, using us so evilly, they could not be satisfied till they had given the attempt to revenge themselves, because we would not give them whatsoever they would have for nothing; and having stones good store in their canoes, let fly a many of them against us. It was far from our general's meaning to requite their malice by like injury; yet that they might know he had power to do them harm (if he had list'd) he caused a great piece to be shot off, not to hurt them but to affright them; which wrought the desired

fired effect amongst them, for at the noise thereof, they every one leaped out of his canoe into the water, and diving under the keel of their boats, stayed them from going any way till our ship was gone a good way from them: then they all lightly recovered into their canoes, and got them with speed toward the shore.

Notwithstanding, other new companies (but all of the same mind) continually made resort upon us. And seeing that there was no good to be got by violence, they put on a shew of seeming honesty, and offering in shew to deal with us by way of exchange; under that pretence they cunningly fell a filching of what they could, and one of them pull'd a dagger, and knives from one of our mens girdles, and being required to restore it again, he rather used what means he could to catch at more. Neither could we at all be rid of this ungracious company, till we made some of them feel some smart as well as terror. And so we left that place by all passengers to be known hereafter by the name of the *island of thieves*.

Till the 3d of *October*, we could not get clear of these consorts, but from thence we continued our course without sight of land till the 16th of the same month, when we fell with four islands, standing in 7 deg. 5 min. to the northward of the line. We coasted them till the 21st day, and then anchored and watered upon the biggest of them, called *Mindanao*. The 22d of *October*, as we past between two islands, about six or eight leagues south of *Mindanao*, there came from thence two canoes to have talked with us, and we would willingly have talked with them, but there arose so much wind that put us from them to the southwards. *October* 25th, we passed by the island, named *Talao*, in 3 deg. 40 min. we saw to the northward of it three or four islands, *Teda*, *Selan*, *Saran*, (three islands so named to us by an *Indian*) the middle whereof stands in 3 degrees; we past the last save one of these, and one day of the following month in like manner, we past the isle *Suaro*, in 1 deg. 30 min. and the 3d of *November*, we came in sight of the islands of the *Moluccas*, as we desired.

These are four high piked islands, their names, *Terenate*, *Tidore*, *Matchan*, *Batchan*; all of them very fruitful, and yielding abundance of cloves, whereof we furnished ourselves of as much as we desired at very cheap rates. At the east of them lies a very great island, called *Gillola*.

We directed our course to have gone to *Tidore*, but in coasting along a little island belonging to the king of *Terenate*, *November* 4th, his deputy or viceroy, with

all expedition came off to our ship in a canoe, and without any fear or doubting of our good meaning came presently aboard. Who after some conference with our general, intreated him by any means to run with *Terenate*, not with *Tidore*, assuring him that his king would be wondrous glad of his coming, and be ready to do for him what he could, and what our general in reason should require. For which purpose he himself would that night be with his king to carry him the news; with whom, if he once dealt, he should find, that as he was a king, so his word should stand: Whereas, if he dealt with the *Portuguese*, (who had the command of *Tidore*) he should find in them nothing but deceit and treachery. And besides, that if he went to *Tidore*, before he came to *Terenate*, then would his king have nothing to do with us, for he held the *Portuguese* as an enemy. On these persuasions our general resolved to run with *Terenate*, where the next day very early in the morning we came to anchor. And presently our general sent a messenger to the king, with a velvet cloak for a present, and token that his coming should be in peace; and that he required no other thing at his hands, but that (his victuals being spent in so long a voyage) he might have supply from him by way of traffick, and exchange of merchandize, (whereof he had store of divers sorts) of such things as he wanted. Which he thought he might be the bolder to require at his hands, both for that the thing was lawful, and that he offered him no prejudice or wrong therein; as also because he was intreated to repair to that place by his viceroy at *Mutir*, who assured him of necessary provision in such a manner, as now he required the same.

Before this, the viceroy according to his promise had been with the king, signifying unto him what mighty prince and kingdom we belonged unto, what good things the king might receive from us, not only now, but for hereafter, by way of traffick. Yea, what honour and benefit it might be to him, to be in league and friendship with so noble and famous a prince as we served. And farther, what a discouragement it would be to the *Portuguese* his enemies to hear and see it. In hearing whereof, the king was so presently moved to the well liking of the matter, that before our messenger could come half the way, he had sent the viceroy, with divers others of his nobles and counsellors to our general, with special message that he should not only have what things he needed, or would require with peace and friendship; but that he would willingly entertain

entertain amity with so famous and renowned a prince as was ours, and that if it seemed good in her eyes to accept of it, he would sequester the commodities and traffick of his whole island from others, especially from his enemies the *Portuguese*, (from whom he had nothing but by the sword) and reserve it to the intercourse of our nation, if we would embrace it. In token whereof he had now sent to our general his signet, and would within short time after, come in his own person with his brethren and nobles, with boats or canoes into our ship, and be a means of bringing her into a safer harbour.

While they were delivering their message to us, our messenger was come unto the court, who being met by the way by certain noble personages, was with great solemnity conveyed into the king's presence; at whose hands he was most friendly and graciously entertained; and having delivered his errand, together with his present unto the king, the king seemed to him to judge himself blame-worthy, that he had not sooner hastened in person to present himself to our general, who came so far, and from so great a prince. And presently with all expedition, he made ready himself, with the chiefest of all his states and counsellors to make repair unto us.

The manner of his coming, as it was princely, so truly it seemed to us very strange and marvellous; serving at the present not so much to set out his own royal and kingly state, (which was great) as to do honour to her highness to whom we belonged, wherein how willingly he employed himself, the sequel will make manifest.

First therefore, before his coming, did he send off three great and large canoes; in each whereof, were certain of the greatest personages that were about him, attired all of them in white lawn, or cloth of calecut, having over their heads, from one end of the canoe to the other, a covering of thin and fine mats, born up by a frame made of reeds, under which every man sat in order according to his dignity; the hoary heads of many of them, set forth the greater reverence due to their persons, and manifestly shewed, that the king used the advice of a grave and prudent council in his affairs. Besides these, were divers others, young and comely men, a great number attired in white as were the other, but with manifest differences; having their places also under the same covering, but in inferior order, as their calling required.

The rest of the men were soldiers, who stood in comely order round about on both sides; on the outside of whom, again did sit the rowers in certain galleries, which

being three on each side all along the canoe, did lie off from the side thereof, some three or four yards, one being orderly builded lower than the other. In every of which galleries was an equal number of banks, whereon did sit the rowers, about the number of fourscore in one canoe. In the forepart of each canoe, sat two men, the one holding a tabret, the other a piece of brass, whereon they both at once struck; and observing a due time and reasonable space between each stroke, by the sound thereof directed the rowers to keep their stroke with their oars; as on the contrary, the rower ending their stroke with a song, gave warning to the others to strike again, and so continued they their way with marvellous swiftness; neither were their canoes naked or unfurnished of warlike munition; they had each of them at least one small cast piece of about a yard in length mounted upon a stock, which was set upright; besides, every man, except the rowers, had his sword, dagger, and target, and some of them some other weapons, as lances, calivers, bows, arrows, and many darts.

These canoes coming near our ship in order, rowed round about us one after another; and the men as they pass'd by us, did us a kind of homage with great solemnity; the greatest personages beginning first, with reverend countenance and behaviour, to bow their bodies even to the ground: Which done, they put our own messenger aboard us again, and signified to us, that their king (who himself was coming) had sent them before him to conduct our ship into a better road, desiring a hawser to be given them forth, that they might employ their service as their king commanded, in towing our ship therewith to the place assigned.

The king himself was not far behind, but he also with six grave and ancient fathers in his canoe approaching, did at once together with them, yield us a reverend kind of obeysance in far more humble manner than was to be expected; he was of a tall stature, very corpulent and well set together, of a very princely and gracious countenance; his respect amongst his own was such, that neither his viceroy of *Mutir* aforementioned, nor any other of his counsellors, durst speak unto him but upon their knees, not rising again till they were licensed.

Whose coming, as it was to our general no small cause of good liking, so was he received in the best manner we could, answerable unto his state. Our ordnance thundred, which we mixed with great store of small shot, among which sounding our trumpets, and other instruments of musick,

both of still and loud noise; wherewith he was so much delighted, that requesting our musick to come into the boat, he joined his canoe to the same, and was towed at least a whole hour together, with the boat at the stern of our ship. Besides this our general sent him such presents as he thought might both requite his courtesy already received, and work a farther confirmation of that good liking and friendship already begun.

The king being thus in musical paradise, and enjoying that wherewith he was so highly pleased; his brother, named *Moro*, with no less bravery than any of the rest, accompanied also with a great number of gallant followers, made the like repair, and gave us like respect; and his homage done, he fell a-stern of us, till we came to anchor; neither did our general leave his courtesy unrewarded, but bountifully pleased him also before we parted.

The king as soon as we were come to anchor, craved pardon to be gone, and so took leave, promising us, that the next day he would come aboard; and in the mean time would prepare and send such victuals as were requisite and necessary for our provision.

Accordingly the same night, and the morrow following, we received what was there to be had, by way of traffick, *to wit*, rice in pretty quantity, hens, sugar-canes, imperfect and liquid sugar, a fruit which they call *Figo* (*Magellan* calls it a fig of a span long, but is no other than that which the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze* have named *Plantanes*) *Cocoas*, and a kind of meal which they call *Sago*, made of the tops of certain trees, tasting in the mouth like fowre curds, but melts away like sugar; whereof they make a kind of cake which will keep good at least ten years. Of this last we made the greatest quantity of our provision. For a few cloves we did also traffick, whereof for a small matter, we might have had greater store than we could well tell where to bestow. But our general's care was that the ship should not be too much pestered or annoyed therewith.

At the time appointed our general (having set all things in order to receive him) looked for the king's return, who failing both in time and promise, sent his brother to make his excuse, and to intreat our general to come on shore; his brother being the while to remain aboard, as a pawn for his safe restoring. Our general could willingly have consented, if the king himself had not first broke his word, the consideration whereof bred an utter disliking in the whole company, who by no means would give consent, he should hazard himself, especially, for that the king's brother

had uttered certain words in secret conference with our general aboard his cabin, which bred no small suspicion of ill intent; our general being thus resolved not to go ashore at that time, reserved the viceroy for a pledge, and so sent certain of his gentlemen to the court, both to accompany the king's brother, and also with special message to the king himself.

They being come somewhat near unto the castle, were received by another brother of the king's, and certain others of the greatest states, and conducted with great honour towards the castle, where being brought into a large and fair house, they saw gathered together a great multitude of people, by supposition at least a thousand, the chief whereof were placed round about the house, according as it seemed to their degrees and calling, the rest remained without.

The house was in form four square, covered all over with cloth of divers colours, not much unlike our usual pentadoes, born upon a frame of reeds, the sides being open from the groundsell to the covering, and furnished with seats round about. It seems it was their council-house, and not commonly employed to any other use.

At the side of this house next unto the castle, was seated the chair of state, having directly over it, and extending very largely every way, a very fair and rich canopy; as the ground also for some ten or twelve paces compass, was covered with cloth of Arras.

Whilst our gentlemen attended in this place the coming of the king, which was about the space of half an hour, they had the better opportunity to observe these things; as also that before the king's coming, there were already sat threescore noble grave and ancient personages, all of them reported to be of the king's privy council; at the nether end of the house were placed great company of young men, of comely personage and attire. Without the house on the right side, stood four ancient comely hoar-headed men, clothed all in red down to the ground, but attired on their heads not much unlike the *Turks*: These they called *Romans*, or strangers, who lay as lodgers there to keep continual traffick with this people. There were also two *Turks*, one *Italian*, as lodgers; and last of all one *Spaniard*, who being freed by the kings out of the hands of the *Portugueze*, in the recovering of the island, served him now instead of a soldier.

The king at last coming from the castle, with eight or ten more grave senators following him, had a very rich canopy (adorned in the midst with embossings of gold)

In the Year 1539. Ferdinando Soto, who had served with great reputation under Francis Pizarro, in the Conquest of Peru, was appointed by the Emperor Chas. 5th Governor of Cuba & General of Florida, Marquis of the Lands he should Conquer therein. He arrived at the Havannah in May 1539. fell in with the Coast of Florida, an Anchor'd in the Bay of Spiritu Santo having with him 9 Vessels, 350 Horse & 900 foot. He here disembark'd his Army & found a Spaniard called Ortiz who had been left by Pizarro with Navaraz, he was of great service as an interpreter, about the latter end of October they arriv'd at Pariaete, from there he sent Capt. Maldonado to the W. w. for discovery, who soon return'd having found a Harbor about 60 L. to the W. called Ochuse, of a good depth & very large (which must be what is now called Berjacula) In March 1540 having dispatch'd Maldonado with the Ships to the Havannah for supplies, he ~~was~~ in March 1540 arriv'd at Ochuse, having before given orders to Maldonado to meet him there, but he did not wait here for his Arrival, for having information of a Rich Country to the W. w. he went in quest of it, & after having many skirmishes with the Indians they cross'd the ~~great~~ River now called Mississippi, & arriv'd in a Province called Quexo on its Banks in May 1541, after having pass'd thro' many Towns, on the Western Banks of the Rio Grande in May 1542 Ferdinando Soto died, & the Command fell to ~~Mateo~~ Don Lewis Melchero who held a Council & it was agreed to proceed on by Land to join the Spaniards in New Mexico in preference to return, they at this time had lost near 300 Men by the frequent attacks of the Indians, they in July pass'd a Branch of Rio Grande - by having travell'd 150 L. to the W. w. of it. but for want of knowing how to proceed farther & the faintness of their Men it was resolv'd to return to Vilco & the Rio Grande being the last place they cross'd it, & arriv'd there on the Month beginning of 1543. where having built 7 Barges in the Month of July - they proceeded down the River, with the help of the Current they soon arriv'd at its Mouth & from thence in 52 days arriv'd at Panuco in Mexico in Sept. 1543, having lost about one half their number in this unfortunate expedition.

gold) born over him, and was guarded with twelve lances, the points turned downward: Our men (accompanied with *Moro* the king's brother) arose to meet him, and he very graciously did welcome and entertain him.

He was for person, such as we have described him, of low voice, temperate in speech, of kingly demeanor, and a *Moor* by nation. His attire was after the fashion of the rest of his country, but far more sumptuous, as his condition and state required. From the waste to the ground was all cloth of gold, and that very rich; his legs bare, but on his feet a pair of shoes of cordivant died red. In the attire of his head, were finely wreathed in divers rings of plated gold, of an inch, or an inch and half in breadth, which made a fair and princely shew, somewhat resembling a crown in form; about his neck he had a chain of perfect gold, the links very great and one fold double; on his left hand was a diamond, an emerald, a ruby, and a Turkey, four very fair and perfect jewels; on his right hand, in one ring, a big and perfect Turkey; and in another ring many diamonds of a smaller size, very artificially set and couched together.

As thus he sat in his chair of state, at his right side there stood a page with a very costly fan (richly embroidered and beset with sapphires) beating and gathering the air to refresh the king, the place being very hot, both by reason of the sun, and the assembly of so great a multitude. After a while our gentlemen having delivered their message, and received answer, were licensed to depart, and were safely conducted back again, by one of the chief of the king's council, who had charge from the king himself to perform the same.

Our general observing the castle as well as they could, could not conceive it to be a place of any force, two only cannons they there saw, and those at that present untraversable, because unmounted. These, with all other furniture of like sort, which they have, they have gotten them from the *Portuguese*, by whom the castle itself was also builded, whilst they inhabited that place and island. Who seeking to settle a tyrannous government (as in other places so) over this people, and not contenting themselves with a better estate than they deserved (except they might, as they thought) make sure work by leaving none of the royal blood alive, who should make challenge to the kingdom, cruelly murdered the king himself (father to him who now reigns) and intended the like to all his sons. Which cruelty instead of establishing, brought such a shaking on their usurped estate, that they were fain,

without covenanting to carry away goods, munition, or any thing else, to quit the place, and the whole island, to save their lives.

For the present king with his brethren, in revenge of their father's murder, so bestirred themselves, that the *Portuguese* was wholly driven from that island, and glad that he yet keeps footing in *Tidore*. These four years this king hath been increasing, and was (as was affirmed) at that present, lord of an hundred islands thereabout; and was even now preparing his forces to hazard a chance with the *Portuguese* for *Tidore* itself.

The people are *Moors*, whose religion consists much in certain superstitious observations of new moons, and certain seasons with a rigid and strict kind of fasting. We had experience hereof in the viceroy, and his retinue who lay aboard us all the time for the most part during our abode in this place; who during their prescribed time, would neither eat nor drink, not so much as a cup of cold water in the day (so zealous are they in their self-devised worship) but yet in the night would eat three times, and that very largely. This *Terenate* stands in 27 min. north latitude.

While we rode at anchor in the harbour of *Terenate*, besides the natives there came aboard us another, a goodly gentleman, very well accompanied, with his interpreter, to view our ship, and to confer with our general; he was apparelled much after our manner, most neat and court-like; his carriage the most respective, and full of discreet behaviour that ever we had seen. He told us that he was himself but a stranger in those islands, being a native of the province of *Paghia* in *China*; his name, *Pausaos* of the family of *Hombu*; of which family there had eleven reigned in continual succession these two hundred years; and king *Boxog*, by the death of his elder brother, (who died by a fall from his horse) the rightful heir of all *China*, is the twelfth of this race, he is twenty-two years of age; his mother yet living. He hath a wife, and by her one son: He is well beloved, and highly honoured of all his subjects, and lives in great peace from any fear of foreign invasion. But it was not this man's fortune to enjoy his part of this happiness both of his king and country, as he most desired.

For being accused of a capital crime whereof (though free) yet he could not evidently make his innocence appear, and knowing the peremptory justice of *China*, to be irrevocable, if he should expect the sentence of the judges; he before-hand made suit to his king, that it would please him

him to commit his trial to God's providence and judgment, and to that end to permit him to travel, on this condition, that if he brought not home some worthy intelligence, such as his majesty had never had before, and were most fit to be known, and most honourable for *China*, he should for ever live an exile, or else die for daring to set foot again in his own country; for he was assured that the God of heaven had care of innocency.

The king granted his suit, and now he had been three years abroad, and at this present came from *Tidore* (where he had remained two months) to see the *English* general, of whom he heard such strange things, and from him (if it pleased God to afford it) to learn some such intelligence as might make way for his return into his country; and therefore he earnestly intreated our general, to make relation to him of the occasion, way, and manner of his coming so far from *England* thither, with the manifold occurrences that had happened to him by the way.

Our general gave ample satisfaction to each part of his request; the stranger hearkned with great attention and delight to his discourse; and as he naturally excelled in memory (besides his help of art to better the same) so he firmly printed it in his mind, and with great reverence thanked God, who had so unexpectedly brought him to the notice of such admirable things. Then fell he to intreat our general, with many most earnest and vehement persuasions, that he would be content to see his country before his departure any farther westward; that it should be a most pleasant, most honourable, and most profitable thing for him; that he should gain hereby the notice, and carry home the description of one of the most ancient, mightiest and richest kingdoms in the world. Hereupon he took occasion to relate the number and greatness of the provinces, with the rare commodities, and good things they yielded; the number, stateliness, and riches of their cities, with what abundance of men, victuals, munition, and all manner of necessities and delightful things they were stored with. In particular, touching ordnance and great guns (the late invention of a scab-shinn'd *Friar* amongst us in *Europe*); he related that in *Survien*, (by some called *Quinzai*) which is the chiefeft city of all *China*, they had brass ordnance of all sorts (much easier to be traversed than ours were, and so perfectly made that they would hit a shilling) above two thousand years ago. With many other worthy things which our general's own experience (if it would please him to make trial) would

(better than his relation) assure him of. The breeze would shortly serve very fitly to carry him thither, and he himself would accompany him all the way. He accounted himself a happy man, that he had but seen and spoken with us; the relation of it might perhaps serve him to recover favour in his country; but if he could prevail with our general himself to go thither, he doubted not but it would be a means of his great advancement, and increase of honour with his king. Notwithstanding our general could not on any such persuasions be induced, and so the stranger parted sorry that he could not prevail in his request, yet exceeding glad of the intelligence he had learned.

By the ninth of *November*, having gotten what provision the place could afford us, we then set sail; and considering that our ship for want of trimming was now grown foul, that our casks and vessels for water were much decayed, and that divers other things stood in need of reparation; our next care was, how we might fall with such a place, where with safety we might a while stay for the redressing of these inconveniencies. The calmness of the winds, which are almost continual before the coming of the breeze (which was not yet expected) persuaded us it was the fittest time that we could take.

With this resolution we sailed along till *November* 14th, at what time we arrived at a little island (to the southward of *Celebes*) standing in 1 degr. 40 min. towards the pole antartick; which being without inhabitants, gave us the better hope of quiet abode. We anchored, and finding the place convenient for our purposes, (there wanting nothing here which we stood in need of, but only water, which we were fain to fetch from another island somewhat farther to the south) made our abode here for six and twenty whole days together.

The first thing we did, we pitched our tents, and entrenched ourselves as strongly as we could upon the shore, lest at any time perhaps we might have been disturbed by the inhabitants of the greater island, which lay not far to the westward of us. After we had provided thus for our security, we landed our goods, and had a smith's forge set up, both for the making of some necessary shipwork, and for the repairing of some iron-hooped casks, without which they could not long have served our use. And for that our smith's coals were all spent long before this time, there was order given and followed for the burning of charcoal, by which that want might be supplied.

We

We trimmed our ship, and performed our other businesses to our content. The place affording us not only all necessaries (which we had not of our own before) thereunto, but also wonderful refreshing to our wearied bodies, by the comfortable relief, and excellent provision that here we found, whereby of sickly, weak and decayed, as many of us seemed to be before our coming hither, we in short space grew all of us to be strong, lusty, and healthful persons. Besides this, we had rare experience of God's wonderful wisdom in many rare and admirable creatures which here we saw.

The whole island is a thorough grown wood, the trees for the most part are of large and high stature, very straight and clean without boughs, save only in the very top. The leaves whereof are not much unlike our brooms in *England*. Amongst these trees, night by night did shew themselves an infinite swarm of fiery-seeming-worms flying in the air, whose bodies (no bigger than an ordinary flye) did make a shew, and give such light as if every twig on every tree had been a lighted candle, or as if that place had been the starry sphere. To these we may add the relation of another, almost as strange a creature, which here we saw, and that was an innumerable multitude of huge bats or rear-mice, equalling, or rather exceeding a good hen in bigness. They fly with marvellous swiftness, but their flight is very short; and when they light, they hang only by the boughs with their backs downward.

Neither may we without ingratitude (by reason of the special use we made of them) omit to speak of the huge multitude of a certain kind of crayfish, of such a size, that one was sufficient to satisfy four hungry men at a dinner, being a very good and restorative meat; the special means (as we conceived it) of our increase of health.

They are, as far as we could perceive, utter strangers to the sea, living always on the land, where they work themselves earths, as do the conies, or rather they dig great and huge caves under the roots of the most huge and monstrous trees, where they lodge themselves by companies together. Of the same sort and kind we found in other places, about the island *Celebes*, some that for want of other refuge, when we came to take them, did climb up into trees to hide themselves, whither we were enforced to climb after them, if we would have them, which we would not stick to do rather than to be without them. This island we called *Crab-island*.

All necessary causes of our staying longer in this place being at last finished, our general prepared to be in a readiness to

take the first advantage of the coming of the breeze of wind which we expected; and having the day before furnished ourselves with fresh water from the other island, and taken in provision of wood and the like; *December* 12th, we put to sea, directing our course toward the west. The 16th day we had sight of the island *Celebes*, or *Silebis*; but having a bad wind, and being entangled amongst many islands, incumbered also with many other difficulties, and some dangers; and at last meeting with a deep bay, out of which we could not in three days turn out again, we could not by any means recover the north of *Silebis*, or continue on our course farther west, but were enforced to alter the same toward the south; finding that course also to be both difficult and very dangerous, by reason of many shoals, which lay far off here and there amongst the islands, insomuch that in all our passages from *England* hitherto, we had never more care to keep ourselves afloat, and from sticking on them. Thus were we forced to beat up and down with extraordinary care and circumspection, till *January* 9th, at which time we supposed that we had at last attained a free passage, the land turning evidently in our sight about to westward, and the wind being enlarged followed us as we desired with a reasonable gale.

When lo on a sudden, when we least suspected no shew or suspicion of danger appearing to us, and we were sailing onward with full sails, in the beginning of the first watch of the said day at night, even in a moment our ship was laid up fast upon a desperate shoal, with no other likelihood in appearance, but that we with her must there presently perish; there being no probability how any thing could be saved, or any person escape alive.

The unexpectedness of so extreme a danger, presently rouzed us up to look about us; but the more we looked, the less hope we had of getting clear of it again, so that nothing now presenting itself to our minds, but the ghastly appearance of instant death, affording no respite or time of pausing, called upon us to turn our thoughts another way, to renounce the world, to deny ourselves, and to commend ourselves into the merciful hands of our most gracious God. To this purpose we presently fell prostrate, and with joined prayers sent up unto the throne of grace, humbly besought Almighty God to extend his mercy unto us in his Son Christ Jesus; and so preparing as it were our necks unto the block, we every minute expected the final stroke to be given unto us.

Notwithstanding that we expected nothing but imminent death, yet (that we

might not seem to tempt God, by leaving any second means unattempted which he afforded) presently, as soon as prayers were ended, our general (exhorting us to have the especiallest care of the better part, *to wit*, the Soul, and adding many comfortable speeches of the joys of that other life which we now looked for) encouraged us all to bestir ourselves, shewing us the way thereto by his own example; and first of all the pump being well plied, and the ship freed of water, we found our leaks to be nothing increased; which, though it gave us no hope of deliverance, yet it gave us some hope of respite, inasmuch as it assured us that the bulk was found, which truly we acknowledged to be an immediate providence of God alone, inasmuch as no strength of wood and iron could have possibly born so hard and violent a shock, as our ship did, dashing herself under full sail against the rocks, except the extraordinary hand of God had supported the same.

Our next essay was for good ground and anchor-hold to seaward of us (whereon to hale) by which means, if by any, our general put us in comfort, that there was yet left some hope to clear ourselves; in his own person, he therefore undertook the charge of sounding, and but even a boat's length from the ship, he found that the bottom could not by any length of line be reached unto; so that the beginnings of hope, which we were willing to have conceived before, were by this means quite dash'd again; yea, our misery seemed to be increased; for whereas, at first, we could look for nothing but a present end, that expectation was now turned into the awaiting for a lingering death, of the two, the far more fearful to be chosen: one thing fell out happily for us, that the most of our men did not conceive this thing, which had they done, they would, in all likelihood, have been so much discouraged, that their sorrow would the more disable them to have sought the remedy; our general, with those few others that could judge of the event wisely, dissembling the same, and giving, in the mean time, cheerful speeches, and good encouragements unto the rest.

For whilst it seemed to be a clear case, that our ship was so fast moored that she could not stir; it necessarily followed, that either we were there to remain on the place with her, or else leaving her, to commit ourselves in a most poor and helpless state to seek some other place of stay and refuge, the better of which two choices did carry with it the appearance of worse than a thousand deaths.

As touching our ship, this was the comfort that she could give us, that she herself lying there confined already upon the hard and pinching rocks, did tell us plain, that she continually expected her speedy dispatch, as soon as the sea and winds should come to be the severe executioners of that heavy judgment, by the appointment of the eternal judge already given upon her, who had committed her there to adamantine bonds, in a most narrow prison, against their coming for that purpose; so that if we would stay with her, we must perish with her: or if any, by any yet unperceivable means, should chance to be delivered, his escape must needs be a perpetual misery, it being far better to have perished together, than with the loss and absence of his friends to live in a strange land; whether a solitary life (the better choice) among wild beasts, as a bird on the mountains, without all comfort, or among the barbarous people of the heathen, in intolerable bondage both of body and mind.

And put the case that her day of destruction should be deferred longer than either reason could persuade us, or in any likelihood could seem possible (it being not the power of earthly things to endure what she had suffered already) yet could our abode there profit us nothing but increase our wretchedness and enlarge our sorrows; for as her store and victuals were not much (sufficient to sustain us only some few days, without hope of having any increase, no not so much as a cup of cold water) so must it inevitably come to pass, that we (as children in the mother's womb) should be driven even to eat the flesh from off our own arms, she being no longer able to sustain us; and how horrible a thing this would have proved, is easy by any one to be perceived.

And whither (had we departed from her) should we have received any comfort? nay, the very impossibility of going appeared to be no less than those other before mentioned: our boat was by no means able at once to carry above 20 persons with any safety, and we were 58 in all; the nearest land was six leagues from us, and the wind from the shore directly bent against us; or should we have thought of setting some ashore, and after that to have fetched the rest, there being no place thereabout without inhabitants, the first that had landed must first have fallen into the hand of the enemy, and so the rest in order; and though perhaps we might escape the sword, yet would our life have been worse than

than death, not alone in respect of our woful captivity and bodily miseries, but most of all in respect of our christian liberty, being to be deprived of all publick means of serving the true God, and continually grieved with the horrible impieties and devilish idolatries of the Heathen.

Our misery being thus manifest, the very consideration whereof must needs have shaken flesh and blood, if faith in God's promises had not mightily sustained us, we passed the night with earnest longings that the day would once appear, the mean time we spent in often prayers and other godly exercises, thereby comforting ourselves and refreshing our hearts, striving to bring ourselves to an humble submission under the hand of God, and to a referring ourselves wholly to his good will and pleasure.

The day therefore at length appearing, and it being almost full sea about that time, after we had given thanks to God for his forbearing of us hitherto, and had with tears called upon him to bless our labours; we again renewed our travel, to see if we could now possibly find any anchor-hold, which we had formerly sought in vain: but this second attempt proved as fruitless as the former, and left us nothing to trust to but prayers and tears, seeing it appeared impossible that ever the forecast, counsel, policy, or power of man could ever effect the delivery of our ship, except the Lord only miraculously should do the same.

It was therefore presently motioned, and by general voice determined to commend our case to God alone, leaving ourselves wholly in his hand, to spill or save us, as seems best to his gracious wisdom. And that our faith might be the better strengthened, and the comfortable apprehension of God's mercy in Christ be more clearly felt, we had a sermon, and the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour celebrated.

After this sweet repast was thus received, and other holy exercises adjoined were ended, lest we should seem guilty in any respect for using all lawful means we could invent; we fell to one other practice yet unessay'd, *to wit*, to unloading of our ship by casting some of her goods into the sea; which thing, as it was attempted most willingly, so was it dispatched in very short time. So that even those things which we before this time nor any other in our case could be without, did now seem as things only worthy to be despised; yea, we were herein so forward, that neither our munition for defence, nor

the very meal for sustentation of our lives could find favour with us, but every thing, as it first came to hand, went overboard; assuring ourselves of this, that if it pleased God once to deliver us out of that most desperate strait wherein we were, he would fight for us against our enemies, neither would he suffer us to perish for want of bread. But when all was done, it was not any of our endeavours, but God's only hand that wrought our delivery; 'twas he alone that brought us even under the very stroke of death; 'twas he alone that said unto us, *Return again ye sons of men*; 'twas he alone that set us at liberty again, that made us safe and free, after that we had remained in the former miserable condition the full space of twenty hours; to his glorious name be the everlasting praise.

The manner of our delivery (for the relation of it will especially be expected) was only this. The place whereon we sat so fast was a firm rock, in a cleft whereof it was we stuck on the larboardside; at low water there was not above six foot depth in all on the starboard, within little distance, as you have heard, no bottom to be found; the breeze, during the whole time that we thus were stay'd, blew somewhat stiff directly against our broadside, and so, per force, kept the ship upright: it pleased God, in the beginning of the tide, while the water was yet almost at lowest, to slack the stiffness of the wind; and now our ship, who required thirteen foot water to make her fleet, and had not at that time, on the one side, above seven at most, wanting her prop on the other side, which had too long already kept her up, fell a heeling towards the deep water, and by that means freed her keel and made us glad men.

This shoal is, at least, three or four leagues in length; it lies in two degr. lacking three or four minutes south latitude. The day of this deliverance was the tenth of *January*.

Of all the dangers that in our whole voyage we met with, this was the greatest; but it was not the last, as may appear by what ensueth. Neither could we indeed, for a long season, free ourselves from the continual care and fear of them; nor could we ever come to any convenient anchoring, but were continually, for the most part, toss'd amongst the many islands and shoals (which lye in infinite number round about on the south parts of *Celebes*) till the eighth day of the following month.

Jan. 12. being not able to bear our sails by reason of the tempest, and fearing of

of the dangers, we let fall our anchors upon a shoal in 3 degr. 30 min. Jan. 14. we were gotten a little farther south, where, at an island in 4 degr. 6 min. we again cast anchor, and spent a day in watering and wooding. After this we met with foul weather, westerly winds, and dangerous shoals for many days together; insomuch, that we were utterly weary of this coast of *Silebis*, and thought best to bear with *Timor*. The southermost cape of *Silebis* stands in five degr. that side the line.

But of this coast of *Silebis* we could not so easily clear ourselves. The 20th of January we were forced to run with a small island not far from thence; where having sent our boat a good distance from us to search out a place where we might anchor, we were suddenly environed with no small extremities; for there arose a most violent, yea, an intolerable flaw and storm out of the southwest against us, making us (who were on a lee-shore amongst most dangerous and hidden shoals) to fear extremely not only the loss of our boat and men, but the present loss of ourselves, our ship and goods, or the casting of those men whom God should spare into the hands of infidels. Which misery could not by any power or industry of ours have been avoided, if the merciful goodness of God had not (by staying the outrageous extremities wherewith we were set upon) wrought our present delivery, by whose unspeakable mercy our men and boat also were unexpectedly, yet safely, restored unto us.

We gat off from this place as well as we could, and continued on our course till the 26th day, when the wind took us very strong against us, west and west south-west, so as that we could bear no more sail till the end of that month was full expired.

February 1. we saw very high land, and, as it seemed, well inhabited; we would fain have born with it to have got some succour, but the weather was so ill, that we could find no harbour, and we were very fearful of adventuring ourselves too far amongst the many dangers which were near the shore. The third day also we saw a little island, but being unable to bear any sail, but only to lie at hull, we were by the storm carried away, and could not fetch it. February 6. we saw five islands, one of them towards the east, and four towards the west of us, one bigger than another, at the biggest of which we cast anchor, and the next day watered and wooded.

After we had gone hence on February 8. we descried two canoes, who having

descried us as it seems before, came willingly unto us, and talked with us, alluring and conducting us to their town not far off, named *Barativa*; it stands in 7 degr. 13 min. south the line.

The people are *Gentiles* of handsome body and comely stature, of civil demeanor, very just in dealing, and courteous to strangers; of all which we had evident proof, they shewing themselves most glad of our coming, and chearfully ready to relieve our wants with whatsoever their country could afford. The men go all naked, save their heads and secret parts, every one having one thing or other hanging at his ears. Their women are covered from the middle to the foot, wearing upon their naked arms bracelets, and that in no small number, some having nine, at least, upon each arm, made for the most part of horn or brass, whereof the lightest (by our estimation) would weigh two ounces.

With this people linnen cloth (whereof they make rolls for their heads, and girdles to wear about their loins) is the best merchandize, and of greatest estimation. They are also much delighted with *Margaretas* (which in their language they call *Saletas*) and such other like trifles.

Their island is both rich and fruitful, rich in gold, silver, copper, tin, sulphur, &c. neither are they only expert to try those metals, but very skilful also in working of them artificially into divers forms and shapes, as pleaseth them best. Their fruits are divers likewise, and plentiful, as nutmegs, ginger, long-pepper, lemons, cucumbers, cocoes, figs, fagoe, with divers other sorts, whereof we had one in reasonable quantity, in bigness, form, and husk, much like a bay-berry, hard in substance but pleasant in taste, which being sod, becometh soft, and is a most profitable and nourishing meat; of each of these we received of them whatsoever we desired for our need; insomuch, that (such was God's gracious goodness to us) the old proverb was verif'd with us, *After a storm cometh a calm; after war peace; after scarcity followeth plenty*; so that in all our voyage (*Terenate* only excepted) from our departure out of our own country hitherto, we found not any where greater comfort and refreshing than we did at this time in this place, in refreshing and furnishing ourselves; here we spent two days, and departed hence February 10.

When we were come into the height of 8 degr. 4 min. Feb. 12. in the morning we espied a green island to the southward; not long after, two other islands on the same side, and a great one more towards the

the north; they seemed all to be well inhabited, but we had neither need nor desire to go to visit them, and so we pass'd by them. The 14th day we saw some other reasonable big islands, and February 16. we pass'd between four or five big islands more, which lay in the height 9 degr. 40 min.

The 18th we cast anchor under a little island, whence we departed again the day following; we wooded here, but other relief except two turtles we received none.

The 22d day we lost sight of three islands on our starboard side, which lay in ten degr. and some odd minutes.

After this, we pass'd on to the westward without stay, or any thing to be taken notice of till the ninth of *March*, when in the morning we espied land, some part thereof very high in 8 degr. 20 min. south latitude; here we anchored that night, and the next day weigh'd again, and bearing farther north, and nearer the shore, we came to anchor the second time.

The eleventh of *March* we first took in water, and after sent our boat again to shore, where we had traffick with the people of the country; whereupon the same day, we brought our ship more near the town; and having settled ourselves there that night, the next day our general sent his man ashore, to present the king with certain cloth both linnen and woollen, besides some silks, which he gladly and thankfully received, and returned rice, cocoas, hens, and other victuals in way of recompence. This island we found to be the island *Java*, the middle whereof stands in 7 degr. and 30 min. beyond the equator.

The 13th of *March* our general himself, with many of his gentlemen, and others, went to shore, and presented the king (of whom he was joyfully and lovingly received) with his musick, and shewed him the manner of our use of arms, by training his men with their pikes and other weapons which they had before him; for the present we were entertained as we desired, and at last dismissed with a promise of more victuals to be shortly sent us.

In this island there is one chief, but many under-governors or petty-kings, whom they call *Raias*, who live in great familiarity and friendship one with another. The 14th day we received victuals from two of them, and the day after that, to wit, the 15th, three of these kings, in their own persons, came aboard to see our general, and to view our ship and warlike munition. They were well pleased with what they saw, and with the entertainment which we gave them. And after

these had been with us, and on their return had, as it seems, related what they found, *Raia Donan*, the chief king of the whole land, bringing victuals with him for our relief, he also the next day after came aboard us. Few were the days that one or more of these kings did miss to visit us, insomuch, that we grew acquainted with the names of many of them, as of *Raia Pataira*, *Raia Cabocapalla*, *Raia Mangbango*, *Raia Bocabarra*, *Raia Timbanton*; whom our general always entertained with the best cheer that we could make, and shewed them all the commodities of our ship, with our ordnance, and other arms and weapons, and the several furnitures belonging to each, and the uses for which they served, his musick also, and all things else, whereby he might do them pleasure, wherein they took exceeding great delight with admiration.

One day amongst the rest, viz. *March* 21. *Raia Donan* coming aboard us, in requital of our musick which was made to him, presented our general with his country musick, which though it were of a very strange kind, yet the sound was pleasant and delightful: the same day he caused an ox also to be brought to the water's side, and deliver'd to us; for which he was, to his content, rewarded by our general with divers sorts of very costly silks, which he held in great esteem.

Though our often giving entertainment in this manner did hinder us much in the speedy dispatching of our business, and made us spend the more days about them, yet here we found all such convenient helps, that, to our contents, we at last ended them: the matter of great importance which we did (besides victualling) was the new trimming and washing of our ship, which, by reason of our long voyage, was so overgrown with a kind of a shell-fish sticking fast unto her, that it hindred exceedingly, and was a great trouble to her sailing.

The people (as are their kings) are a loving, a very true and just dealing people. We trafficked with them for hens, goats, cocoas, plantains, and other kind of victuals, which they offered us in such plenty that we might have laden our ship if we had needed.

We took our leaves and departed from them the 26th of *March*, and set our course west south-west, directly towards the cape of *Good Hope*, or *Bon Esperance*, and continued without touch of ought, but air and water, till the 21st of *May*, when we espied land (to wit, a part of the main, *Africa*) in some places very high, under the latitude of 31 degr. and a half.

We coasted along till *June 15*, on which day, having very fair weather, and the wind at south-east, we pass'd the cape itself so near in sight, that we had been able with our pieces to have shot to land.

July 15, we fell with the land again about *Rio de festo*, or *Rio Grande*, where we saw many *Negroes* in their boats a fishing, whereof two came very near us, but we cared not to stay, nor had any talk or dealing with them.

The 22d of the same month we came to *Sierra Leona*, and spent two days for watering in the mouth of *Tagoine*, and then put to sea again; here also we had oysters, and plenty of lemons, which gave us good refreshing.

We found ourselves under the tropick of *Cancer*, *August 15*, having the wind at north-east, and we 50 leagues off from the nearest land.

The 22d day we were in the height of the *Canaries*.

And the 26th of *September* (which was *Monday* in the just and ordinary reckoning of those that had stayed at home in one place or country, but in our computation was the *Lord's-day* or *Sunday*) we safely, with joyful minds and thankful hearts to God, arrived at *Plimouth*, the place of our first setting forth, after we had spent 2 years 10 months, and some few odd days beside, in seeing the wonders of the Lord in the deep, in discovering so many admirable things, in going through with so many strange adventures, in escaping out of so many dangers, and overcoming so many difficulties in this our encompassing of this nether globe, and passing round about the world, which we have related.

Soli rerum maximarum Effectori,

Soli totius mundi Gubernatori,

Soli suorum Conservatori,

Soli Deo sit semper Gloria.

A General

A General Account of Africa.

AFRICA, one of the four quarters of the world, next in bigness to *Europe*, by the ancients had several names; *Olympia*, *Ammonis Ortygina*; but the most noted, *Apher*, from a nephew, it's said, of *Abraham's*. It extends from about 36 N. to as many degrees of southern latitude; and excepting *Egypt*, *Barbary*, *Morocco*, and in this last Age the coast of *Guinea*, is a country as little known as any part of the globe. *Marmol* says, the *Arabians* in the 400 of the *Hegyra* passed into *Afric* and divided it. This is certain, that it has many fine large rivers, some of them navigable for ships. Along the banks of these rivers, the inhabitants abound with millet, rice, pulse, or Indian-corn. The further we depart from *Morocco* on this west side, or *Egypt* on the east, there is always found less industry and more ignorance: for governments, tho' never so tyrannical, are better than none, extending some improvement to humanity.

The *Niger*, which is one of the largest rivers in *Africa*, is said to have the same property of overflowing every year, like *Nile*, remunerating to the inland parts a vast fertility and increase; and this very probably, because it has been traced some hundred leagues, and by the course descends from the *Ethiopian* mountains, the common fountain of both.

The *Senega* and *Gambia*, branches of this great river, disgorge here at the windward part of *Guinea*; they are large rivers, driving considerable trade: to the former of these, the king of *Morocco* extended his dominions, about 1526, by the conquest of the kingdom of *Tombuto*, which still continues tributary, and whence that king raises considerable Negro armies, his chief Strength. A college of the sect of

Haly is founded in *Melli*, a kingdom upon this river. They have many crocodiles or alligators, sea-horses, and sharks in them. *Senega* affords great quantity of gum; and at *Gambia* begin our factories for slaves, teeth, and gold, on which this general remark, That the slaves there, faring softer from a better soil, are not so hardy as those lower down. The teeth are as large, and in as much plenty, as at any one part of the whole coast; those taken out of the sea-horse are small, not weighing above five or six pounds, but more solid than the elephant's. And lastly, their gold is current in what the traders call bars, little twisted lengths, or in rings of 4, 5, 6, 7, or 8 s. value.

All the great rivers flow and ebb regularly, being governed by the moon, as the tides on our own coasts; but the sandiness of the soil, and nearness of the sun, makes the country between so extremely dry, that they have great scarcity of water for an hundred miles an end sometimes; and this drought is what brings the beasts of all sorts in droves to the banks for satisfying thirst, (tygers, panthers, leopards, antelopes, elephants, apes, ostriches, &c.) From which accident, say they, might probably have happened the many *Hebridous* productions that have made this country the proverb of all ages; it continually producing something new or monstrous.

Their chief diet is *Indian* corn, rice, palm-nuts, bananas, yams, pine-apples, and now and then a little fish, or a fowl; all which thro' ignorance, and want of necessaries, are very slovenly cooked by them.

Africa is almost a triangle in shape; the kingdoms on the north are *Mahometans*; and in the trading towns of *Barbary* and *Turky*,

Turky, there is a little mixture of Jews. On the eastern line next *Persia* are said to be some of the sect of *Gaurs*, followers of *Zoroastes*, a very learned *Persian* philosopher, that appeared, according to Dr. *Prideaux*, about 2300 years ago: he instituted fire-worship, and established it by a superior cunning, through most parts of *Persia* and *India*, where there are still some left, poor and despised, (called *Persees*) since the seventh century, when the *Mahometans* over-run that country, and almost extinguished them. In *Æthiopia* (*Prestor John's* country) writers say, are a sort of Christians, still acknowledging the patriarch of *Alexandria*; merely nominal I believe, for the *Greeks* themselves, much

nigher his pastorship, have since their conquest by the *Turks*, in a manner lost their Christianity; poverty and ignorance, the consequence of captivity, having obliterated the outward pomp, which, next to power, is the main pillar in all religions. Inland, and to the southern extremity, they are *Pagans*. And on this western line (the *Negroes*) all trust to the *Gregory* or *Fetish*; which in the bulk of it means no more than what we in *Europe* call *Charms*, which in many respects carries strong superstition, that is, a vain religion in it; only their consecrated materials having more reverence from their ignorance and fear, work more stupendous effects; or are imagined to do so, which is the same thing.

A
RELATION
OF
SEVEN YEARS SLAVERY

Under the
TURKS of *ALGIER*,
Suffered by an *ENGLISH* Captive Merchant.

Wherein is also contained
All memorable Passages, Fights, and Accidents, which
happened in that City, and at Sea with their Ships and Gallies
during that Time.

TOGETHER WITH
A Description of the Sufferings of the miserable
Captives under that merciless Tyranny.

Whereunto is added
A Second Book, containing a Description of *Algier*,
with its Original, Manner of Government, Increase, and pre-
sent flourishing Estate.

By FRANCIS KNIGHT.

*A true and strange Relation of Seven Years Slavery under the Turks of Algier,
suffered by an English Captive Merchant.*

The au-
thor's cap-
tivity.

Vicissitudes are incident to kingdoms, to cities, and to men, and were to me, in my age of twenty-three years and five months of my life: and in the year of grace 1631, on the ninth day of *December*, when it pleased Almighty God to give power to the Infidels to prevail over me, whereby I became captive, and interdicted the company of those of my consanguinity; prohibited of divine oracles, and detained from my native country (to which I am yet a stranger) but (praised be God) in a way to survive, to see the natural place of my habitation, and to re-expostulate with those, one with me in proximity of blood, in the familiar language of our loves.

Having passed those calamities, which as I want imagination to conceive, so am more defective to divulge.

Arrival at
Algier.

January the sixteenth day, in the year before nominated, I arrived in that city fatal to all Christians, and the butchery of mankind; not that I so term it, in respect it serves as a purgation to evacuate the *Turkish* country of superfluous people; my condolation is for the loss of many Christians, taken from their parents and countries, of all forts and sexes. Some in infancy, both by land and sea, being forced to abuses (most incorrigible flagitations) not only so, but bereaved of Christian religion, and means of grace and repentance. How many thousand of the *Nazarene* nations have been and are continually lost by that monster, what rational creature can be ignorant of? But far worse is their condition from whom these pieces had their extraction, in whom their unhappy parents once delighted themselves, with hope they might prove soldiers in the Lord's battles. To which intent they fed them with their sweat, nourished them with their blood, and made their sole joys; What affliction is like theirs? That such living pieces of their bodies should be extorted from them. And by whom? But by a people unknown, monsters more like than men, where they not only have their natural condition changed, and are made their corrosive; but they do wilfully prove their countries greatest enemy. Who can but religiously condole their misfortunes, whose so preellent hopes should be turned to despairs? Who would not wish his loins dry rather than fruitful in such wickedness? These are not only the greatest caudators in *Barbary*, but in all others; not in places of obscurity, but in the great *Turk's* *Soray*. Who are his cour-

tiers? Who his counsellors? Who his visiers? Who his bashaws? Who his greatest instruments? but these deniers, the sons of Christians. What hath been the advancement of their glory? but our neglect, I mean in the slights of many poor souls, that in their agony despaired, and with *Noah* in a fit of their folly discover these secrets that were hid six hundred years before. Thus madly do many of them cast themselves upon the point of those dangers, whereby they have seen so many miscarry: but, being forced to that experience which they cannot redeem, expiate all shame. I do religiously lament the shipwreck of some of them who were of my acquaintance: to whose denials I have been an ocular witness. Lord, how easily do these profess the new Religion, priding themselves in *Turkish* ceremonies, and in a faith once execrable unto them; whereto, not confidence, but vice invokes them? Had they but the grace of a common woman, who with unloosing her petticoat loseth shame, but recovering it takes it up again, there might be hopes of them, that at the hearing of the cock crow they might with *Peter* remember their sins, get out of them, and weep bitterly. There is honey to be taken out of the lion; and such a plague is opportunity, that many a regular man is forced to solicit their friends, and dearly to esteem of their acquaintance, as well as to the peril; I will ascribe to the jet-stone its due. The obligation I owe to some of them I have a just propension to requite them for; but I am not obliged to dusk their vices, nor contrarily will maliciously profess calumnies against them, but condoling their destinies wish them grace. I was two years and six months a slave to one of them; in which term I knew not what suffering was, only afflicted by being an ocular testator of the calamities of others; I was not employed in the least servility. His presence did not disturb me, but I was most an allegory in his company, and sure then to fare best; none of my actions but were to his content, and none so acceptable to him as myself. My affability, freeness of speech, and boldness had so obliged his affections to me as almost the world could not expiate. And, indeed, he was an honest moral man.

Opportunity gave me occasion sufficient to register the passages of those times happening in that city. His ability to write this relation.

The first accident famous for memory in this term was in the year 1634, on *Friday*

The banishment of the *Collolies*.

Friday the 20th of *June*, in blowing up the *Cassaba* or house of council, and chief fortrefs of that city. Nature, if it once degenerates, grows more monstrous and extreme than dispositions born to cruelties; many years past, the *Turks*, upon surmises of treason plotted against them by the *Collolies*, their own children, for so they are by them called, banished all such of them as were of the council, as by denomination *Bulla Bashaws* and *Odda Bashaws*, and performed it with no little subtlety. No word passed in the city of these suppositions, nor had the *Collolies* any thought that their so secret plots had been the *Turks* intelligences, who, knowing the danger, neglected no time to remedy so threatened a mischief; all rested private, until the first divan day, or day of great council, when sixty of the primest of them were banished; strange that the *Colloly* should not know his guilt, and more strange it is, that the *Turks* should banish a faction more powerful than themselves in number, in friends, and in estates, and equal dignities, all speaking one language; yet the banished departed at the *Turks* pleasure, without demanding the cause and knowledge of their offence.

The politick *Turk* ordained the place no further than *Bugea*, the next port town to the orient, but with two commissions given the captains, to whose charge they were committed, and appointed to open one after the other; wherein they were commanded to transport them to *Tunis*, a city absolute. Until the next council-day, all rested without clamour, and now two hundred more of them are banished. The *Bellages*, citizens, and natives murmured, but dare not make complaints of their griefs; they neglected their accustomed course of trade. The *Turks*, by proclamation commanded all men to open their shops, buy and sell, and not to have any mis-supposition of their intents or doings, past or to come, betwixt them and their children, as being differences among themselves; also giving hopes to the banished in a short time to be recalled to *Algier*, and raise them to their former dignities. The third great divan or council-day were banished five hundred more of them, without any insurrection or stir made by the *Collolies*; and in fine, on the fifth day, all the rest, consisting of one thousand five hundred and seventy-four men, chiefest in the city for esteem, in that they were descended from the ancient *Turks* which conquered that country, and in substance the richest hope is of that noble and courageous faculty that it commonly brings more than it carries away. No advertisement all this time came to *Algier* of the banished transportation from

one port to another, nor their friends any way suspecting them to be so far banished as *Tunis*. But time, the mother of all truth, untaught the *Collolles* error; and now, by the experience of many years, see themselves frustrate of all hopes to return in a fair way to that terrene paradise. They now combined, with difficulty, to possess themselves of that city, which once they, being possessed of, might easily make retention. Sixty of them, of a more undaunted resolution than the rest, vowed to surprise the *Cassaba*, prime fortrefs of the city; the stratagem to effect it was thus: The *Collolies* went thither in women's apparel, wearing long mantles to the ground, and their faces covered, as is the fashion of that country, and, having scymitars, covertly entered the *Cassaba*, crying *Sherillah*, or demanding justice; the day was *Friday*, and the time morning, a great advantage to the *Collolies*: for, it being the *Turks Sunday*, most of them that kept the said *Cassaba* were in the city visiting their friends; in brief, some one way, some another: besides, it was the fifteenth day, when the bashaw makes a feast to the whole divan. In this manner twenty-three of the *Collolies* enter this *Cassaba*, and the other thirty-seven of the confederacy not present; the *Turkish* bulla bashaws, which carelessly kept the gate, not thinking them to be other than women, the *Collolies*, now to embrace their opportunity, draw their cutlasses, kill all they find in the *Cassaba*, shut the gate, and for a while are masters of this sumptuous fortrefs, and now display their banners upon the walls; which sudden revolt coming to the intelligence of the aga, general of the soldiers, and bashaw, vice-king under the great *Turk*, yet not informed, who they were that had surprised their *Cassaba*; some conjectured them to be the *Cookoose*, whose mother and son to that king were then prisoners in that *Cassaba*. The jealous *Turk* makes proclamation upon pain of death for every *Colloly* to keep his house, nor any more *Allarbies* or *Tagarens*, subjected people, to take arms or wear a knife; so posted to the *Cassaba*, and found them to be *Collolies*, men politick in war, powerful in faction, as being thousands of them unbanished, which never had borne office, having also the *Allarbies* and *Tagarens* to their devotion, all supposed enemies to the *Turk*, who now give the assault. The *Collolies* defended from six of the clock in the morning to ten, at which time usually on all their churches on *Sundays* is hoisted up that rag of *Mahomet*, a green flag. The *Turks* offered them pardon, and the restoration of their goods detained from them; they deny all composition, and resolve not only to defend what

what they had gotten, as their own *patria*, but to get more if they could. The *Turk* now impatient, and well knowing the ensuing danger, if they made not some speedy way before night; assuring themselves, that all that were weary of their government, malecontents, and others, then would stir, and themselves doubtful of one another's loyalty, resolved to make *otote*, *obote*; something or nothing: they bring scales to the walls and enter. The defendants seeing themselves desperated, and unable to make any longer resistance, fired twenty thousand quintals of powder, blew a piece of ordnance out of the castle to the fish-gate, a mile in length, spoiled many houses, and had destroyed the whole city, but that this *Cassaba* is seated upon a stupenduous mountain, and the city lying all downright under it, and the nature of powder being to evaporate into a regular elevation; the sky was darkened with smoke and dust, and nothing heard but clamours in the streets (as if the day of general account had been then.) Had those ignoble spirits, that lived in worse ignominy than the *Jews*, but stirred, they might, without an aking finger, have extirpated the glory of the *Turk* there, and honoured themselves with the lordly command of the most flourishing city of *Africa*. Six thousand souls perished by that blow, but, of the *Collolies*, he only that fired the powder; twenty-two of them being taken alive were most cruelly tortured, some were crucified, others having their bones broken, were dragged along the streets at horse tails; others had their shoulders stabbed with knives, and burning torches set in them dropping down into their wounds; the *Turks*, biting off their flesh alive, so died, and four of them being walled in were starved to death.

Are taken
and tor-
tured to
death.

A guilty conscience projects terrible things; what perplexity the other *Collolies* of the city were in, I need not recount; all censured them dead persons, but, the council disagreeing in themselves, their fortunes were better than their deserts. The *Turks* now will not permit the soldiers marriages, and by that means extinct so monstrous a lineage: some of the council in detestation of that race offered to kill their own children, upon condition all others do the like; but others, in the surplusage of their loves, countermanded that bloody decree and unnatural act; only inquisition was made for certain women which had given entertainment to those *Collolies*, and were condemned to be all thrown into the sea; but, being packed from one place to another, and not to be found, at last was published a revocation of the sentence of their deaths, and they escaped and enjoyed their ancient privileges.

These combustions soon came solicitors to the king of *Cokoose*, who takes present occasion to lay siege to a castle, which the *Algiers* kept to his great annoyance in that country; as speedily came news to the *Algiers* of the castle's besieging, who were then studious to fetch off two hundred of their soldiers in garison there, and also, ceremonious to conserve their honour, sent for both a *Hamper* or general army, consisting of five thousand foot *Turks*, and three thousand *Saphi's* or horsemen: The king of *Cokoose*, *semper idem*, continued the siege, containing his forces within the mountains, whereon is situated the castle; the *Turks* then, according to their old custom, trusted more to policy than valour. They knew well the danger to assault the enemy at such an advantage, and therefore propounded terms of peace, and fortune helped them; the *Turks* were licensed to depart the castle with honour, and the army returned to *Algier* in peace, and were received joyfully. In *August* next, they enlarged the prince of that country, giving him, amongst other presents, a *Spanish* Christian woman, whom, according to the custom of that religion, he took to wife, and the queen, mother of that king, and grandam to the prince, who also was a renegado of the *Spanish* nation, and had been long prisoner in *Algier*, they set at liberty.

In *July* 1635, there arrived *Monsieur de Sampson*, French ambassador, in a polacra of *Marseilles*, with his king's flag aloft bravely. This gallant comes ashore with his retinue, consisting of other messieurs, and visited the council and the king; his action was stately: The aga or general called a council, sends a *Cheuse* serjeant for the ambassador, who came before him; they demanded his ambassage; he answered, he was sent by his king to demand his majesty's subjects, by virtue of that interchangeable league mutually conserved betwixt his majesty and their emperor; they answered, they knew none to command them, in their government: And, if his king had sent him to treat for the enlargement of those *French*, which upon just occasion they detained, or for such slaves as were of that nation, he should have the sole reference unto them.

Arrival of
a French
ambassa-
dor.

His nego-
tiation.

Three hundred forty-seven free *Frenchmen* were then in *Algier*, being all taken without fighting, and therefore unfold: But in far worse condition than those that were. Four hundred *Turks* and *Moors* were in the *Marseillian* gallies, which monsieur offered to exchange for his freemen and the slaves, which were six hundred more, which they refused; but offered monsieur the slaves for the price they

they were sold for in the market, referring the freemen to the dispose of the bashaws. Monsieur now treats with the bashaw; he demands ten pieces of eight *per* head for them: Monsieur storms (as I think he had good cause to do) having promised his king miracles in the accommodation of the *French* affairs. He demands a second conference, and it is granted him; the slaves are offered him for the money they cost in the market, but the freemen raised to 20 pieces of eight *per* head: Monsieur, according to the *French* fury, boils, and illustrates the puissance of his king; fire and tow meet together; the *Turks* fury is as much as the *French* choler, and he is now more affronted; the slaves are now become importunate, vexing monsieur as the poor widow did the unrighteous judge; but his answer to them was imperial, He had brought no money for them. The freemen do now solicit his propense affection, and implored his Christian care of their estates; they offer to pay the said twenty pieces of eight *per* head with interest, and the principallest of them to come in bond for satisfaction and security; and in sum, every person to give particular bond to those which had so obliged themselves. Sure it was most piteous to see how many sufficient men of that nation were put to most vile services; whereas, if they had been sold, many had means to have given for their enfranchisement, which upon these differences were detained; and most of them, unable to comport with such barbarous indurances, miserably perished. Monsieur demands a third conference, and is admitted; he demands an absolute answer, for that he meant in all haste to be gone; the slaves are offered him upon the former terms, but the freemen now exhausted to thirty pieces of eight *per* head. Monsieur departs without any further treaty: The council sends to him to take in his flag, he bids them do it; they take his sails from the yard, and rudder, all which they carry into their magazine, and with a *Branos anissetim* leave him his flag. Monsieur demanded licence to depart; they deny him, and having detained him four months after, and cost him some pieces of eight, he is licensed and depart: The poor *French*, having made songs of freedom, and extolled the glory of their grand chevalier to the skies, are now left to condole and to new-make their forward reckonings, whilst they are derided of all nations, and the *Turks* adding mulct unto them. No man can promise to himself an immutable condition: It is two years and a half since I fell from my

renegado to *Mahomet* aga, a man of the *Armenian* nation; and he now being dead without wife or child, I am thereby slave to *Usuph* bashaw, being *February* the 16th, 1637; and the 13th of *June*, and, with other slaves of his, I was embarked on the galley of *Norilla-bay*, at midnight, as the custom is, after the book was made; we launched from *Algier*, the 16th ditto, near *Colla*: The *Turk*, having eight gallies, met with six of the great duke of *Tuscany's* gallies, who at first made an *Italian* bravado, but, in fine, with sails and oars ran away.

The *Turks* now proud that the *Algier* gallies had chased away the best gallies of all the Christians, in the height of their spirits, they rounded both islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, taking many towers upon each of them, burning and taking feluca's, setteaus, and other navigation: And now the second time met with the great duke's gallies, who would not endure the sight of them; the *Turk*, pursuing his resolution, nineteen days after our departure from *Algier*, took a town in the bay of *Genoa*, where, besides rich spoils, they brought from thence three hundred sixty-five persons, and in their return burned a *Flushing*, being a brave new ship, having eighteen pieces of ordnance, laden with *Callery* cheese: And, being now in their return, met the third time with those *Leghorn* gallies, and chased them, but could not fetch them. In fine, this voyage ended in twenty-eight days, when they returned in safety to *Algier*, with no little riches, glory, and applause of the people: and now is come a new bashaw to that city, and, as custom is, the old must pack and be gone. He put off all his *English*, *French*, and *Dutch*, to *Ally Picbellin*, general of *Algier*, a great man in substance, having, besides his lands and other riches, eight hundred Christian slaves, and a great tyrant. He respected no man above another, and in truth we were all exquisitely miserable that were his slaves. The 23d of *August*, Anno 1637, we were re-embarked on the galley of *Norilly-bay*; and the 1st of *September* they took *Colpe* in *Spain*, a little town eight leagues to the east of *Allicant*; they landed when first *Aurora* gave her light, and continued the fight till one or two of the clock in the afternoon; besides the spoils, they brought from thence three hundred and fifteen Christians; the women and children the next day they sent upon a galley for *Algier*, but put all the men to the oar. The 3d ditto they took the tower of cape *Paul*, which resisted from morning till four o'clock in the afternoon; in all which time, neither there, nor at *Colpe*, appeared

The author on board a galley.

An account of its expedition.

Second expedition.

one man, either for resistance or intelligence. They harrowed the castle, took all the towers to the castle of *Guardellmare*, and so westward, till they came to *Tetuan* in *Barbary*, where the general took in sixty thousand pieces of eight for his account proper. And after they returned for the coast of *Spain*, as a terror, and had done much more damage to the *Spaniards*, but they were twice prevented by *English* ships: they returned for *Colpe*, and gave *Scala Franca* to the *Spaniards*, who visit their forlorn friends, and the unhappy men made spectators of that place where they received their disaster. In sum, good quarter was performed to them, when at the end of thirty days they returned to *Algier* with acclamations of joy of the inhabitants, all the house-tops being covered with women crying *Allalujah*, *Allalujah*, with salutation of cannons, and general rejoicing of the people. It was now *October*, and we hoped that year's toil was past, for so hath been their custom to repose the winter; I mean from galley navigations, and to the slaves advantage; for, although they work hard all day on land, yet they rest at night, and enjoy their fills of water (which is precious in the galleys.) But what is not too little for the unsatiable gulf of inhuman desires! *Ally*, the general, would ingross the whole world to himself, *Plus habeo, plus careo*. Another voyage must be made this year, and was with six galleys, but ended in the expence of what they had formerly gotten; their best fortune was, they safely returned to their homes: two galleys were detained in the port, to carry soldiers to the eastern garisons, and my lot fell to go upon one of them; and now preferred *Bogavant*, the worst condition of galley-slaves: our furthest port was but one hundred leagues, to *Boma*, a goodly *Moors* city, and famous country, I mean for its fertility, as abundant in all necessaries for the life of man; and I say famous, in that being a city where *St. Augustine* was born; from whence one hundred twenty-nine soldiers were to go for *Constantinople*, founded by *Constantine* the great, our countryman, and first Christian emperor; in which city are yet so many apparent footsteps of Christianity, over whose walls and gates are so many verses, written both in *Greek* and *Latin*, of excellent esteem, for rare antiquities, many whereof were sent me by renegadoes, which went thither of my acquaintance; but my escape hath left them, and that happily in *Algier*, as never meaning to return for their accumulation, being glad I have so escaped: sudden and unexpected events are those that cause most admiration.

Third expedition.

The city of Boma.

Monfieur de Mantie, a *French* general, is now at sea, with fifteen of his king's ships, and a commission to infranchise the *French* slaves; yet it seems the god *Neptune* was wroth with them, for with a storm at sea their fleet was separated, and most of them forced to return for *Marseilles*, having spent their masts, and received other misfortunes; yet all commissioned, if accident should separate them, *Algier* road should be their rendezvous; four hundred *Turks* and *Moors* they brought with them to exchange for their *French*: very confusedly arrived some of them to the port; first, two sail, one of thirty-six pieces of ordnance, whereof *Bronnoy* of *Rochelle* was captain, and another of twenty-eight pieces of ordnance; good quarter was offered them by the *Algiers*: *Bronnoy's* purser comes ashore without a hostage, professing a visit to the *French* consul; at the instant were in the road, and ready to depart, two ships of *Algier*, the one of forty, and the other of twenty-eight pieces of ordnance, both bound to *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and well known to *Foran's* purser; two such ships never went out before from *Algier*, for, besides the excessive riches of their lading, and passengers of greatest wealth of that city, bound in pilgrimage to the solemnities of *Mecca*, one ship of them had known in her above three hundred thousand soltanies in gold, each soltany worth there seven shillings *English*: the purser returns to his ships, who were both riding without command; the council sends the trugman to have them come in, or depart their road, to which they presently obeyed; nor can I give them any term of better grace: they stand to the west, and within an hour after weigh the *Turks*, who since have ended their voyage contentedly, and returned to *Algier* with great riches. Three days after, being the 11th of *October*, arrived that noble captain, and glory of the *French* nation, *monfieur de Mantie*, in a goodly ship of fifty-eight pieces of brass ordnance alone, and anchored without command. The divan or council sends to know what he came for; he answered, to demand his king's subjects, which they illegally detained: with answer returned, the *Turks* resend their trugman, commanding *monfieur* presently to depart, or come under command, otherwise he should know more from them. Captains were convoked, and the divan determined *Alderaman Rice*, of the *Moors* nation, a right valiant man, and expert seaman, should be presently armed to go forth and fetch him in; but *monfieur* weighed, put out his bloody flag, and departed. The 13th ditto, came in

A French fleet against Algier.

Monfieur de Mantie demands the *French* slaves.

in another of the same fleet, and put out a white flag, using many other signs to parley; but in the night went out two gallies, whereupon the *French*, distrusting the worst, let slip her cable and anchor; and was the next day weighed by the *Turk*, and carried to their magazine, which saved them a labour.

Ill news hath wings; it is now the 18th ditto, when advertisement comes to *Algier* of the taking a setteau of *Ally* the general, and they make it the common cause, alledging the *French* met with her upon the coast of *Barbary*. A goodly prize she had been; for in her, besides rich lading, was in ready cash seventy thousand pieces of eight. The whole inhabitants now boil, the *French* consul is now sent for, and, without any litigation of his cause, is by the great divan or council, adjudged to be burnt at *Babelwach* gate. Also *Jacus Santo*, that paid the rents of the *Bastione*, condemned to be hanged at *Babashon*, usual places of Christians martyrdom; eighteen thousand pieces of eight a year paid the said *Santo* to them: A man which had formerly swayed, a person of great experience in the country, and well studied in the art *Machiavel*, and much hated by the poor *French* captives as a perturber to their infranchisements. In fine, no rod is so fit for a mischievous man as his own; through timour of death, they would both have turned *Turks*, but not permitted, nor could any thing assuage the fury of the divan, but their deaths; yet some gave the word, that, if they would die *Turks*, they should be permitted, and that for the saving of their souls. *Ally* the general, for so is this gallant called, powerful in the city, and the *Turks* glory, interceded for them, giving many pertinent and powerful reasons for their remission. The damage, said he, that is done is to me, as being sole owner of the said vessel, and her essentials, for which I desire no revenge for my own particular: But, as I am yours, and all I have obliged to this city, if your honours think it requisite to revenge the affront done us, by this late general, which with one only ship outbraved us in our most happy and invincible port, famous for virtue and janizaries, whose valour hath shaken, and been a terror to the misbelievers of all *Nazarine* nations, more than an hundred years; I have a just propension, and am most prompt to adventure my life and substance in this most noble city's quarrel; and, as the time of the year is now improper to invade the *French* territories, I esteem it most convenient there be presently armed six sail of gallies, for the surprising of the *Bastione*, to make a spoil of what they find there, as well of people as others;

which will be sufficient satisfaction to us for the present, and a real demonstration to that *Tralenian* nation, how little we esteem them. This oration, highly esteemed, was received as an oracle, and the divan commands the expedition of the gallies, who in two days were provided, and the 19th of *December* at noon, without making book, they rowed from *Algier*, and in three days arrived at the *Bastione*; no sooner anchored, but monsieur the governor, with other messieurs come a-board to kiss the hand of *Ally* the general: in fine, many madamoiselles, and the people there, were curious to see so great a man; the visit and compliment ended, the governor began to take leave of the general, who now demands entertainment in the *Bastione*: Monsieur promises no man more welcome, they go on land together; but instantly followed such a crew of *Turks* as they presently became masters of the *Bastione*. Monsieur, that had *Cicero's* ears, diffident of the event of so unusual a change, shifts himself from the general, takes horse, and happily recovered to *Barke*, a castle of the *Genoese*, and escaped captivity; three hundred and twelve were then captivated, with one hundred and twenty thousand pieces of eight in ready money; four hundred hogheads of wine were there staved, the loss redounding to the *French* more than one hundred thousand pounds sterling, besides the benefit which they made by the sale of one hundred thousand ducats a year *de claro*. And so much for the *French* affairs with *Algier*.

Servility and bondage to an ingenious spirit is worse than death, which is common to all, this to the miserable. The danger of the sea now keeps the *Turks* at home, and we galley-slaves, not to be idle, are set to hauling the cart in lieu of horses, some to fell water, to chop the vineyard, and others to build houses: in the interim I am devising some course or way to effect my liberty; five of us combine together, to take a boat some two miles from the town, which frequently loaded ballast there, having constantly but one *Turk* and two Christians rowers in her: more oars must be got, a mast and sail, otherwise it had been madness to plunge ourselves into more mischief. In fine, four oars, a mast and sail, * *Boraches* for water, bread and compass were provided; but all the difficulty was to get them out. For a piece of eight and a half I got a *Frenchman*, native of *St. Malo*, who had a good mule to carry all; he and I loaded it; our act was just, but none of the wisest, and the *Frenchman* fit for the purpose: we went in company to the town-gate without question, but the ward overthrew the car-

The *French* consul ordered to be burnt.

Bastione surprised.

The author's contrivance to escape.

* Hogskins or leathern bottles.

carriage, as too suspicious, and laid hands of the *Frenchman*, who doubted nothing of the sufficiency of my warrant, having told him they were to be carried to my patron's garden. In sum, I seeing all desperate, whilst the *Frenchman* was looking about for me to make an answer, I left him, who could not accuse me, as neither knowing my name, my patron, nor where I dwelt. The poor man afterward with his patron, and a rogue merely maintained to prevent the escape of Christians, fought me; but I kept house till the wonder was over, and was truly grieved for the detriment the poor man suffered by blows, not any way worthy blame in me, as seeking my liberty; the poor man afterwards divers times met me, drew his knife, and would have killed me, to which he ever made deep protestations with a good deal of *French* fury, which my *English* resolution cared not for. It is not the ill event of an action that can disanimate a good spirit; the weak faint with every succeeding trouble, but the good heart recollects a double courage in affliction: we were afterwards a more jolly company, being thirteen and all *English*, who did join and make a purse of sixty pieces of eight; our desire was to build a boat, myself the man elected to provide all necessaries, and made sole treasurer. My first inquisition was for a convenient garden, and such a one as was manured by *Englishmen*; a very commodious one was found, twenty-seven deal boards I bought, and had them sawed and carried forth, our vessel floored, pitched, and chalked; when, within two nights we should have been all ready to depart, unfortunately one of our carpenters discovered himself, by carrying his rule open in his hand; when coming without the gate, he thrust it up under his doublet, he was espied by a *Moor*, who gave advice to *Dell Ishaw* the spy, who with his company tracked him into the garden; the subtle rogue, taking his best advantage, hid himself until the evening, and then came upon us naked; he and his crew came armed, took six of us, and carried us to the bashaw's prison, where our patrons redeemed us, paying five pieces of eight *per* head; three of my poor countrymen were cruelly beaten, whereof one died; my patron then, being *Armenia Mahomet* aga, bid me welcome, without giving me one blow; but, if it had been *Ally* the general, I had lost my ears and nose, which is his custom. I was conscious to the calamities of my poor countrymen, not that we could impute blame to one another; for I account every Christian obliged to use all possible attempts for the effecting his li-

berty; for a man doth not only discover a pusillanimous heart, and indocible disposition, in neglecting the least opportunity, but also commit a sin against God, who hath not given us wings to outfly our enemies, but reason to devise stratagems, and hands to execute them.

It is many years since *Charles* the first *Roman* emperor, of famous memory, assaulted that city, where he received the loss of many of his gallies, and his army dissipated; and it is now the 27th of *March* 1638, when by a diver was discovered much of the ruins of that armada, and weighed by the *Algiers*, the whole side of a galley intire, and the timber as new, besides three pieces of brass ordnance, and five pieces of plate; all without hurt or bruise, to which I was an ocular witness. Ambition is ever in travel, and finds no intermission of painful throws, until it hath brought forth its abortive desires: my patron, and master of eight hundred Christian slaves, is devising more than usual employments, and such as caused great admiration amongst the people; and, to add to his greater fame, he sends for the most esteemed and best architects of those countries, and commences most rare and sumptuous architectures, or edifices for the lodging of soldiers, the thought of which caused a languishing dejection in all of us his slaves, as none of us exempted from those toils, which was to us an interminable vexation (only the divine goodness that might prevent it) neither was this our sole mulct, but greater was our castigation in being subject to so many masters; as builders, gardeners, all spectators were our commanders, and we obliged to obey. Lord, what passions were in us miserable wretches, what with the impertinency of detractors, and our assiduous labours, as is no marvel that all things seem offensive to a crazed body! maledictions wanted not to countermand the period of those fabricks; it is time and truth that conquers; what the future of it may be, is beyond my thoughts to determine; in a vast and confused manner we left it, when we embarked on the gallies the 9th of *May* 1638, and the 11th launched from *Algier* for that presupposed golden voyage, for that now *Ally* had promised to do wonders.

Prosperity begets pride, and pride goes Fourth before destruction; combination was time- Expedi- ly made last winter with the *Algiers* and on. *Tunefians* for the uniting of their sea forces; and for what end, but for the performance of some great exploit, eight gallies of the one, and as many more of the others were prepared and armed.

Who

Who should be general commander was not questioned; as who would oppose *Ally* of *Algier*, for greatness renowned in all *Africa*: not only *Turks* presumed to do wonders, but also the Christians feared it; the one, presuming on their strength, proudly boasted, they feared not all the gallies of the *Messiah* nations: in sum, *Jews* and all made account the whole east of the *Mediterranean* coast of Christendom should by this fleet be destroyed; and the common merchants of Christian slaves prepared money to buy, as if so many slaves had been ready then in the markets to be sold. But to the purpose, *Tunis* being in the way, the *Algiers* consent to go thither, and so much the timelier, because *Ally* would shew himself in every port by the way; the *Alerbes* flock from all parts to him, and he being ambitious takes no little pride and glory in it. On the fourth of *June* we came to *Besert*, but the *Tunis* gallies were gone from thence three days before with ordnance and other ammunition to fortify *Susa*. *Ally*, too great to enter the gates of this inferior town, was welcomed by the senators or council without the wall, where he took horse and posted for *Tunis*, whose king and whole divan meet him upon the way, which was a great addition to his arrogance, and received him into *Tunis* a goodly city, and was sumptuously entertained and feasted; the inhabitants thought themselves honoured that might have the sight of his person; and, to raise his glory to the height, he is made by the council general of the whole navy, and authorised to go whither he pleased. The *Tunis* captains all obliged to his command, none monopolised against him; *Ally* sent for his fleet to *Tunis*, or the *Galletta*, otherwise the ruins of *Carthage*: we must not be seen there but in the morning, and that with flags, standards, and streamers waving; command was given to the slaves to row proudly, which is with a long stroke, one in half a quarter of an hour; the action, their heads bowed to the oars geroon; their fall with a caper; a princely sport to the spectators, and most royal of navigations, but the most vile of all slaveries to the subjected. Presents came from the city to the gallies; white bread was not valued, there came such abundance that it fell to the slaves palate, we having been there seven days most welcome to the *Tunisians*. The *Tunis* gallies were arrived, who were no sooner descried, but the *Algiers* weigh to use the compliment of meeting; and then he was the bravest gallant that could shew most silk: and certainly their standards were (for their worth and curiosity of rare verses written in them in letters of gold in the *Turkish* language) to be ad-

mired. They gave each other their vollies of small shot and their ordnance, and so ended their salutation.

Their thoughts travelled within them as a woman in labour, who finds no rest till she be delivered. And they to hasten their designs went to *Porta Ferina* to tallow, and with all celerity set forward for the Christian shore. The first ship we met withal was the *Love of London*, near the isle of *Fautalleria*; she was a goodly ship and the weather fair, but the *Turks* had nothing to say to her; we were next in chace of five Christian gallies, who nimbly got from us: in the morning we arrived at *Stromblo*, where we put a-shore a frigate of *Naples*; the men all ran a-shore, but three of them, whether wilfully or otherwise I know not, were devoured by those affrighting fires perpetually burning, able to invoke remorse in the most flagitious and obdurate hearts, the noise being like the roarings of hell. The others advised the *Turks*, that those gallies which they had chaced were of the city of *Naples*: and not only so, but which is most to be lamented, to see how voluntary Christians are to discover the greatest secrets, though to the ruin of their own countries; for what places hath the *Turk* taken but by the information of spies, natives of those places, who casting off grace, after their information, receive rewards and turn *Turks*, and are instruments to ruinate their whole posterity? *I have known three that have pilated the Turk to the place where they were born, and been instruments in the captivating of their own fathers and mothers, and all their lineage, taking their parts of the price which their parents were sold for in the market, which served them for spending-money, on whores, in taverns, and for worse vices.* These *Neapolitans* advised the *Turks* of two gallies of that city laden with silks, whose cargoes were of excessive value, and bound for *Genoa*, and must pass that way, and that within three days; but God turned that counsel to foolishness, for, had they attended the time, they could not have missed them.

Ocootra, a city in *Calabria*, and in the kingdom of *Naples*, was next aimed at as a place of riches, and in it esteemed three thousand people at mid-day; having struck down their masts, they boaged for that place, yet made such delays as that they came not thither till fair day, but landed boldly; the people that could did run away; the *Turks* took the city and rifled it, and brought away one hundred and fifteen persons, one whereof was the bishop of that place, and fifteen nuns, the chief of which was cousin german to the prince of *Rochelle*; the other, were impotent and aged people: then was the whole coast in an uproar,

roar, and, as we were passing by, they let fly their ordnance at random; but the *Turk*, to amplify his glory to the ignominy and reproaches of the *Italian*, passed through the valley of *Messina*; that city thundered but to little purpose, only to shew the *Turk* what they could do if they were nearer; the bold *Turk* landed upon the main, and set on fire their houses, burnt fisher-boats, passage-boats, horses, and travellers, provision, without fear, harrassed all the coasts, killing beeves, and other cattle, and setting whole fields of corn on fire, and committing many other outrages, to the great damage of the country: inso-much, as it was disliked by some *Turks* themselves; and, being now come to *Rochelle*, they met with a *Neapolitan* ship of twenty guns, and having discharged three of them, they took his, and afterward set fire on her, and then being insolent were ready to attempt any thing; their prosperity made them mad. *Malapane*, a renegade of the *Greek* nation, who ran away with a galley of the great *Turk's* which he sold in *Tunis* for twenty-six thousand pieces of eight, informed them of a city lately sunk: wherein, of many thousand souls which perished by that disaster, there only remained about four hundred persons possessing great riches, living in cottages erected for their present necessities; his information was most joyfully received, and the projector not a little proud to be the instrument of so great a benefit. The attempt was prosecuted, and at midnight fifteen hundred *Turks* landed to captivate and spoil those imagined more than distracted and forlorn people: *Malapane* was general conductor, and he brought them to the city, which the day shewed them to be standing, and sumptuous, who sent them such orators, as made them use more haste back than good speed. This city was well known to *Ally*, captain bashaw, who with eighty gallies, and a power on land, battered it three days and returned with shame; it is called *Cotroone*, and lies within six leagues of Cape *St. Mary's*, the entering of the gulf of *Venice*,

Thus was *Italy*, the eye of Christendom, infested by these rovers. The *Levant* wind being high caused them to continue sail there for seven days space within a league of that city, in which time the *Turk* foraged the country, took many of the inhabitants that lived in villages, and remote houses, their gallies heads all day on land, and they cutting wood, making water, and dressing pillo, a chief dish, pleasing their palates: no native appeared in all this time for resistance, therefore by imagination they reigned kings; the wind calming with all celerity, they advance for their

great exploit: but he that with his incomprehensible eye seeth the actions and discerneth the intentions of all men, disposing things according to his divine will, as celeriously sends an obstacle to perturb their way. Such a *Levant* wind arose, as for security they were forced to return to their former place of rendezvous. The next intermission of such huge and unwonted gusts, they again set forward, and, not having rowed four leagues, were repulsed by the like occasion; no sooner re-anchored, but that furious element converts itself to calm mildness, and now the third time attempt the accomplishment of their high ambition, and are repulsed; had they not been more insensate than irrationals, they could not but have repaired to the consideration from whence their so often countermand proceeded: in sum, God, reserving them for a greater castigation, calms the wind, and they joyously advance, and now got to cape *St. Mary's*, the most eastern part of *Italy*; and, not to be discovered, strike the gallies mast into the cushea, or down upon the deck, and each rows who shall be foremost, to arrive to the middle island in the gulf of *Venice*, or as the *Italian* calls it, *Il Isella de Methia*; the three thousand Christians promised them by the spy, a man of more than sixty years of age, and one that had lived a Christian in a captive's estate thirty-seven years; this great booty is now in an attained agitation; stately *Catria*, a city in *Sclavonia*, ocularly presents herself unto them; the bag or stroke of the oar is reinforced to no little detriment of the poor Christians; the all-sufficient God, conscious to their endurances, commands the wind to countermand the inexorable cruelties of their oppressors, by whose fury the *Turk* is desperated of better fortunes; nor had any of them the least hope but to have perished in that tempest: the *Turk*, ignorant of the coast in this ecstasy, implores the knowledge of some Christian, to whom the danger of death was alike equal, and obtained, all consenting for the preservation of so many Christian lives; they harboured them in the port of *Vollonia*, in the duchy of *Albany*; but man is not so sensible of the most perfect health, as of the least sickness; so no sooner was this danger over, having recollected good tackling, with other necessities, than they reconsulted whither to go; all of them deeply protesting never to return to *Algier* without sufficient purchase, answerable to so many difficulties, endurances, and so great an adventure: their first project ever approved the best; for in that island there were at least three hundred Christians, beside rich pillage, and no difficulty in taking it, as being unfortified; yet others contrary

opinioned,

opinioned, opposed, alledged the danger of the sea, which for a time caused a demur in some of them; yet concluded, that, when that should fail, they would fall upon some *Greek* town, which lived under the *Great Turk's* obedience, and, let his greatness take it how he would, they cared not. *Solymon* aga, governor of the country, advertised *Ally* the general the nearness of *Corfu*, and of two galleasses, and twenty gallies always kept there by the state of *Venice* to defend their seas, who, without all question, would soon come to have intelligence of their being there; but *Ally* bravely replies, not to care for all the gallies of *Venice*, much less for those of *Corfu*; *Mahomet* bey, a man more considerate, and captain of the *Tunis* gallies, with other captains of both cities, intreat him to get some other port for better security; but all counsel, the purchaser of goodness, is contemned by him; news is at *Corfu* of those gallants being in *Vollonia*. *Marino Capella*, proveditor or general of the armada, with all religious care uses more than ordinary expedition, for the arming his navy; in a day and a night they are provided and ready; and *Saturday* morning, *June* 8th, arrives at that port with his whole armada; the *Turkish* gallies then at sea, their powers upon the land; this *Vollonia* is a great bay of five leagues deep or long, land-locked on both sides; it hath in the plain a great castle and well fortified, and in it a great number of excellent brass ordnance; upon the hill or mountain of exceeding great height is another castle overseeing a great part of the country, and far discovering at sea; which castle, discovering the *Venetian* navy, shot a warning-piece, the word now *Forra tendo*; for we had then our tents up to keep us from the weather, which then rained, thundered, and lightened in most terrible manner: it is now time the *Turk* look about himself; they let slip their cables, and rode under the castle, there being in sight those that, before they cared not for, now fear them: it is too much to be a speaker and a doer, the deepest waters are the least heard, whereas the shallowest make the greatest rise: the *Turks* are now consulting for best order of defence, and by general consent bring their poops to the shore, and their prows to the sea, their gallies lashed one to another, only leaving distance for the slaves to use their oars, for the gallies order; the foul weather and abundance of rain made the *Venetians* all improper to give an assault that day. *Sunday* morning, after the performances and rites of Christianity, they put abroad their flags and standard, and with drums and trumpets advance in the front,

where the two galleasses thundered with their artillery, before the smaller gallies ordnance could do execution. *Ally* the general now solicits the virtuous *Mustapha*, captain of the castle, to defend his navy and people from the violence of the *Nazarene* misbelievers, which with store of pieces of eight he effected, as the *French* proverb says, Silver answers to all; it is so powerful a prevailer with that nation of the *Turks*, that, giving them money with one hand, they may put out their eyes with the other; powder and gunners are sent into the castle, which is not a trivial one, but contains an *English* mile in circumference: in sum, it is a place strong both by art and nature, having in it more than one hundred and fifty pieces of brass ordnance, the best that ever I saw. *Mustapha*, the captain, now displays the horse-tail, or royal ensign of the great *Turk*, and stoutly defends the *Barbariscoes* party; the fight is hot on both sides, and, in spite of the castle, had the *Venetians* continued it but half an hour longer the *Barbariscoes* had all leaped into the sea, and left their gallies, and four thousand five hundred Christian captives to their virtue; but, as to the unfortunate, there never want succeeding troubles, in the interim this disaster befel us, one of the captains of the galleasses lost his arm, upon which she retired; dissension falling betwixt the *Venetians*, the major part of the captains commanded a retreat, contrary to the will of that noble general *Marino Capella*, who for his worth and valour may be ranked amongst the greatest captains of those times. Thus ended that fight which had continued near three hours to the glory of the *Turks* for the present, who for joy gave their fees or out-cries, *Alla, Alla, Mahomet*, and *Rosallah*, which is God, God alone, and *Mahomet* his prophet; thundering with their great ordnance and volleys of small shot, in derision of the Christian virtue, whilst the *Venetians*, retired to their place of first anchoring, immediately sent a galley for *Venice* to advise the serenissimo prince and illustrious senate, what occurred, demanding their future pleasures concerning those *Turkish* pirates: there is many a snake lies hid under strawberry leaves; for all this great flash of the *Turkish* glory, they are yet timerous what the event will be, and, to prevent the worst, the same night they disembarked all their Christians, carried them a mile into the country, and erected tents in the field for their rendezvous, being all well coupled, ten and ten together in chains; they also make a trench opposite to their gallies to play the brave fellows in; and, having been blocked up by

by the *Venetians* near a month, grow weary and distasteful of such command ; in sum, the one and the other, having their especials of each others condition ; the *Turk* is informed the *Venetian* is very slenderly manned, as not having one galley with another, above forty, some but thirty soldiers, which, indeed, was true : the *Turks* are now ashamed, and blame some cowardliness, and with all haste tallow and prepare their gallies, which are soon accommodated, but before a supply of soldiers is come to the *Venetians* from *Corfu* ; but, without the *Turk's* knowledge, they now call a council, and conclude to send mustapha, captain of the castle, to treat with the *Venetian* general, and under that pretence, to discover their forces. *Mustapha* goes to them, parlies with *Marino Capella*, and, according to their wonted custom, falls to dissimulation, and exhibits *Ally's* letter to that general ; demands, by his permission and favour, free passage, for that he came not thither propensely, but being bound for *Constantinople*, to serve his emperor, was put into their seas by extremity of weather, and, to authenticate it, exhibited to the *Venetian* general the great *Turk's* letter ; but *Marino Capella*, *semper idem*, refused all treaty with them, and had good cause of incredulity by good intelligencers. *Mustapha* returns with this answer, that, if they would come forth, they should be most welcome, and courageously received, but to their own perils ; and, if it fortun'd them to carry him, he must have patience : but, if it fortun'd him to carry them, as he hoped in the mercy of *Jesus*, and the virtue of their patron *St. Mark*, he should, they must have the like ; he also saw the *Venetians* well armed, and having delivered this answer to *Ally*, he is not a little perplexed ; the *Venetians*, on their parts, as vigilant as the *Turks*, had there especially some *Turks*, others *Albineses*, and *Jews* of the country, by whom he got daily information of the *Turks'* proceedings, excellently well played on their parts ; they employed *Turks* averse in religion and condition to the Christians, who, without suspicion, every day eat and drank with the enemy : consequently, the better able to inform the *Albineses* and *Jews* they employed to accuse the validity or invalidity of the *Turks*, report the *Venetians* conformable to good intelligence, ordered his armada, the galleasses were placed where the *Turks* must pass, if they attempted it ; and every night having their frigates and boats, which came under the castle-walls, and to the very prows of the gallies ; which so daunted the *Turks*, that they now utterly desisted from their resolution of combat, and, all amov'd, are devising a new way to secure

the slaves, if the *Venetian* should land his forces, and aim to fetch them off by force : five-hundred of us were put into a tower in the castle, all lying ten and ten in chains, a place as dark as pitch, and a foot thick in dust ; but it is now seven weeks since the arrival of the *Venetian* armada in this port, and their galley, sent to *Venice* for further orders, is returned ; the prince and synod authenticate *Marino Capella's* doings, that what his excellence should do, should be well done ; nor does he omit any time to illustrate his zeal to the Divine Majesty and valour, to ruinate so many miscreant enemies to the faith of *Christ* : who, at break of day, commences a second battle, with thundering off great ordnance, and vollies of small shot ; for although the *Venetians* carry not so many soldiers in their gallies as the *Turks* do, yet have they this advantage of them, that, upon any occasion, they arm their bonavollies, and condemned men, who, upon promise of liberty, or other reward, will fight bravely ; the *Turks* leave their gallies, and run into the castle ; Christians they force to be gunners ; the two galleasses with four, other smaller gallies, batter that castle, whilst the others board the *Turkisk* gallies, lay their fasts to them, and row them away ; thus nobly did the *Venetians* end this fight in less than an hour, to their glory, and the infamy of the *Barbariscoes* : great murmurings were now amongst the *Turks*, against *Ally*, their general, who has no other way to escape their fury and revenge, but by open-handed liberality, wherein he promised to relieve the soldiers present necessity : in sum, his generosity is universal to the relief of that ruined company, as well Christians as *Turks* ; and he promised the remuneration of all the captains, by refurnishing them with as many gallies as they had lost. The hurleburly with these glorious proffers being over, *Ally* now seeks all the coast, and recollects the greatest shot the *Venetians* had made against them, which he since presented to the great *Turk*, whom he intercedes for remuneration and revenge, urging a breach of peace, in that the *Venetians* surpris'd their gallies in one of his master's ports. But, three days after that fight, he march'd from *Vollonia* to *Selenico*, in *Arcadia*, leaving behind him only fifty-eight Christians in great indisposition, whereof myself was one, so feeble, as accounted a dead man ; but such is the goodness of God, as endureth daily : it pleas'd the Divine Majesty to keep me in a languishing sickness. I was three times recovered, and three times down in relapse, of a most violent fever ; but thanks be unto God, that hath not given me over as a prey to their teeth ; in thirty-five

five days after returned a *Bulla* bashaw of *Algiers*, with orders from our patron or master *Ally*, to carry us all for *Arcadia*; but the *Bulla* bashaw returned thither only with seventeen men, which were indifferently recovered, some being dead, and the rest very sick; but God so provided for me, that I was consciously commiserated by the *Bulla* bashaw, who left me to receive better fortune.

Certain *Turks* were left with us as guardians or keepers, others to oversee those materials belonging to the galleys landed before their surprisal, whereof the chief was *Murate*, a renegado of the *Corfica* nation, a person of great honour in *Algiers*, lieutenant-general of the armada, father-in-law to *Ally* the general, a man of an hundred and four years of age, whose desire was to die in the face of the Christians fighting the battle of *Mahomet*; three days after the *Bulla* bashaw's departure, he died in *Vollonica*.

God, that had preserved us in so many inevitable dangers, did also restore some of us to more than an ordinary strength of body, from so great feebleness, and such poor means for recovery: no sooner were we able to stand upon our legs, but we are studious how to bring to pass our liberty: fourteen of us, being in reasonable strength, resolve to give the attempt; yet some pusillanimous base spirit proves a traitor, informs the guardian of our intentions, and not only so, as being resolved to run away, but also to kill him: for his report we are all castigated, and our case pitious. Command was given to the soldiers of the castle to look vigilantly unto us; that death is better than so base a life, nor could this deter or disanimate us from our resolution to obtain liberty or death; no time so fit as the present, come what will come.

All were in chains, four and four, except a *Spaniard*, the supposed dear friend of our guardian, and myself dispenser of the house: it fortun'd our guardian to go to the next town, called by them *Desbera*, some miles off; in whose absence we used such art, as we got all the rest out of chains, and the locks again so put in, as to be taken out with our fingers: in the evening returns our keeper, well fuddled or well drunk, whereby no search was made to our fetters that night: it being *Saturday*, the 22d of *October* 1638, betwixt twelve and one hours in the night, we rose together; two rouse the ablest men amongst us, throw their coats over their faces, and would not go: a *Jersey-man*, and by trade a cooper, was so drunk that he could not go; but my grief is for those poor souls, whose indif-

position was such as they could not go; I was conscious to their pitious moans, but could not help them. What became of our keeper, I cannot tell; my comforts told me they had not done him any violence: he had good cloaths and some pieces of eight, of which we took not any with us, but left all, a testimony of our generosities, as to condemn all terrene materials, preferring penurious liberty before fetters of gold. Our provision was some bread; and we also carried a *Boracha* for water, and a double rope, with which we scaled the castle-walls. In this manner we departed, four *Englishmen*, one *Welchman*, a *Jersey-man*, two *Frenchmen*, one *Spaniard*, one *Majorcan*, a *Neopolitan*, a *Greek*, and a boy of *Malta*: in our passing through the castle, although it be full of houses and people, we heard only the barking of a dog; and, having gone near two miles, took the shore-side for our director. God, who never fails those that trust in him, so provided for us, that we found two boats, one of them having a mast standing; her we embraced, and sunk the other, to prevent their pursuing after us; and, having rowed two nights and a day, we recovered the isle of *Corfu*, and landed at a monastery called *St. Catharine's*, where we were courteously received by the *Greek* fathers; at noon we rowed to the monastery of *Madone*, where we had intelligence of a galley being some two miles from thence cutting wood, and that night to go for the city of *Corfu*. The captain, *Illustricemo de Molinea*, entertained us with all courtesy, received us into his galley, carried us for that city, and presented us to the proveditor of the island; who, after our examination not a little to his content, sent us to the general galley of *Venice*, where we had a supper and lodging that night, and the next day a pass, and embarkation for *Venice*: being now to render thanks unto the Lord, who has done this great work for me, in delivering me from such an inextricable labyrinth of misery; *blessed be God that hath broken that snare, and set my feet in a large room; not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name be the glory.* I am now in my way to *Venice*, upon the galley of *Counterine*; the first scale we made was at *Budway* in *Epire*; our second at *Catriea*, a sumptuous city in *Sclavonia*; our third at *Rogousea*, famous for antiquity and strength, being an absolute signory, having many other cities under her obedience, and enjoying an ample patrimony; only it is her misery to be tributary to the great *Turk*, to whom for dismolestation they pay yearly 40,000 pieces of eight: our fourth anchoring was

at *Lessena*, our fifth at *Spellata*, our sixth at *Sabinica*, a sweet city, famous for her port and invincible castle in the sea; our seventh at *Zara*, a sumptuous and spacious city: we are shortening our way, and come to *St. Peter's* in *Dalmatia*, and also passed other cities not so remarkable as the rest, which I therefore omit to nominate. At *Polla* in *Istria* we met with the general galley of *Algier*, and sometime the glory of *Barbary*, which, with one more presented by the *Venetians* to the pope, are all that remain of those sixteen galleys of the *Turks*, the rest being sunk in *Corfu*: we are come to *Ruena*, a pretty city and most fertile country, and from thence to *Perenca*, a city destroyed by the pope's excommunication: in fine, with sight of other cities, I arrived at *Venice*, where I embarked upon the great *Charles* of *Bristol*, and, having been at *Sefelenia* and *Zant*, am in agitation to survive to see the natural place of my habitation.

Thus have I recorded a plenary memorial of my seven years bondage, but not the several accidents of my endurances, there wanting in me ability to divulge them; for, as there is no calamity can befall a man in this life which hath the least parallel to this of captivity, neither are the endurances of captives equal, although the least without the divine assistance were insupportable; yet are they all easy in comparison to that of the galleys, which is most inhuman and diabolical, and such as doth rather perverse men, than repleat any good humour in them; good fortune to me is a singular motive to modesty, and a forcible spur to moderation; prayers win me, menaces reject me, favours relent me, fears perverse me. Alas, such are their detriments, as cause them to curse the day of their nativities, and the parents that ingendered them; and, if it were to die, to curse God himself; I speak it with awful timour: in their passions they renounce heaven, *St. Peter*, and all sanctity; in their agonies or discontents, they usually spit against the wind, disputing whether God and nature be conspired against them, when it is either calm or contrary; for a drop of water they would pawn their

souls, and often are constrained to drink of the salt ocean; their repast at best but bread and water, and for want of sleep are in continual extasies; the stroke of the oar is dolorous, and with its assiduoufness many split their hearts at it; in this misery all things make against themselves: the scorching heat now penetrates their brains, their flesh is burnt off their backs, when anon they are as much pinched with cold: strong fetters are their nearest comforts, from which they are never exempted, unless for equal miseries; their repose, when they have any, is sitting; their pillow the bank upright, and that double, not having so much room as to stretch their legs; their sleep, when they have any, is an hour in twelve, and that at night, when the one half rows, and the other slumbers: a call of a whistle awakes them all, three hundred or more of them, their audience and leap must be altogether; the disciplined take oar in hand, the stroke regular and punctual; their heads shaved unto the skull, their faces disfigured with disbearding, their bodies all naked, only a short linnen pair of breeches to cover their privities; they mount and fall like *Appa* and *Camilla*, for so is the command: from poop to prow nothing but execrations and passing of blows: Who have not their head and face broken, all their bodies pearled with a bloody sweat? Nay, which of their senses is not a window to let in sorrow? If chaced by the Christian galleys, by whom they may be relieved, they are then forced to put might and main to run from them, the *Turks* standing with drawn sabres over their heads; and, if by feebleness any faints, he has his arms or head cut off: they are beaten to put on their cloaths, and beaten to take them off; they are beaten to eat, drink, sleep, and wash, and are beaten for doing any of these; what shall I say more of these exorbitant men? Who had they the virtue of patience, reposing sure confidence in the Divine Majesty, I presume, God would deliver them; so wishing them grace, whilst lamenting their estates left in those torments, many of whom I love most dear, do end this discourse, desiring God to send them liberty.

The End of the FIRST BOOK.

BOOK

page 470. V. 2. Deg W. from Lond. 30 Deg E. from Lond. 70

AFRICA,
According to y^e Newest and
most Exact Observations.
By
Herman Moll Geographer.



B O O K II.

Wherein is contained the Description of Algier, its first Rising to this Greatness, its Government, the particular Denomination of its Governors, its Revenues, its Forces by Sea and Land, its Victories, its Inhabitants, its Lands, Territories, and Riches.

HOW many thousand of the *European* people have not only lost their estates and been utterly ruined, but also what an innumerable company of Christian souls hath been perverted by the city of *Algier*, is by miserable experience known unto most people; so her fame on the contrary hath spread itself unto all the *Mahometan* nations, insomuch as *Chineses* and those other eastern people have been allured unto her in all parts of the great *Turk's* dominions, and, amongst the fierce and warlike *Tartars*, she is termed sultan jossier, the golden and king of cities: here soldiers are of the bravest and most desperate of all *Turks*, so esteemed for valour, and that with the grand signior himself, who ascribes them the pre-excellence of virtue above his own janisaries; this city was in the year of grace, 1414, taken from the Christians by *Barba Rosba* and other thirty-two *Turks*, pirates, in a frigate accidentally putting into that port; yet hath for its situation, bordering to the west, the kingdom of *Mauritania*, east the kingdom of *Cokosse*, south the *Zara*, and north the *Mediterranean* sea: situated five leagues in the bay called *Monta Fusa*, and is built on the side of a hill, presenting itself to the spectators at sea, east, west, and north, eight or ten leagues, in form of a top-sail hoised; her houses built stair-like one over the other, enjoying a most wholesome air and pleasant situation: scarce any house of the city but hath the prospect of the sea; there are in her many stupendious and sumptuous edifices, though outwardly for the major part present themselves but simple and rude; her circuit doth not exceed three miles, in which circumference are a multitude of people, and excessive riches, in gold, plate, and household furniture; her women for beauty give place to none. So far their immunities are not to be paralleled by any; they have an *Indies* in diamonds, pearls, gold chains, and other rich vestures, insomuch that it occasioneth a proverb amongst the *Turks*, who says there are three things that destroy the world: The Christians in law,

the *Jews* in feasts, and they upon their wives. But, having spoken in general of the wealth of this city, I will also inform you who are the possessors of it; the *Turk* is he that fights for all, both by sea and land, and by his power as conqueror keeps all the other sorts of the inhabitants as vassals in great subjection, yet in substance is but a slave unto them, as possessing goods by imagination, and the others possessing the essentials: for the *Moors* and *Tagerins* are the owners of lands and ships, and the only armourers of them, whom I may compare to the main sea, and the *Turks* but as rivulets, or small streams, to empty themselves in the great ocean; for, besides their pay and shares they get at sea, they enjoy for the major part but little others, of which the taverns, whores, and worse vices serve to sponge them: in sum, they are slaves to the toils and hazards of fortune and their assiduous travels, and have no free exemption from them until they come to be *Bulla* bashaws; and, when *Musul* aga's, having passed all offices, and made all benefits, which their youthful toils may infeof them in, they shoot their arrows and unbend their bows, and are exempted from all, having forty shillings a month pay, with houses, and enjoy a life void of all cares; yet, some *Turks* there are of them that are excessively rich, yet but few.

This city, on all parts to the land, is walled, and of sufficient strength; it is so moated and trenched, besides being situated upon a hill, that hath on the west side of it so great a dale and ascent, as by ordinary conjecture there is no means possible to assault her on that side. She hath a most sumptuous mould, and on it built a castle of excellent workmanship, in the midst of it, north upon a line from the sea-gate, in which are planted sixteen pieces of brass ordnance; the chiefest and strongest fort to the sea that called the *Tapona*, in which are twelve pieces of great weight and goodness; many other block-houses are on that side, but the city generally unwalled to

to the sea, where ships of greatest burthen may come within musquet-shot and batter her: nor can any shot be in vain, her edifices being as I have before rehearsed, and all built with brick, and that very slender, her streets narrow, and she infinitely populous; so that, if ever she be forced, it must be with a good fleet by sea, and also sufficient land forces must be necessarily required: her walls are abundantly stored with brass ordnance, and upon two mountains she hath, as I may term them, the bridle and the saddle, two castles; the one commenced in a night by *Charles*, the fifth *Roman* emperor, the other built by the *Tagerins*, each commanding the other, and both the city; there is also the stirrups, which they call the *alcassaba*, in which they hold their great council; it is also their magazine or great store-house of ammunition and provision, and treasure, in which is yearly laid up for their future occasions five hundred thousand doubles, accounting each double to the just *English* shilling; and this great place of strength is only kept by two hundred *Bulla* bashaws, chief men in council: to the west, near half a mile without the city, is also *Babelwaite* castle, built at the charge of a certain bashaw or vice king of the *Rowse* nation. When it was taken by *Barba Rosha*, it was no other than a vast wilderness; but he following his piracies, and getting wealth by that trade, had in short time great companies of *Turks* and *Allarbies* resorting to him, whereby it greatly increased it, not to fame, commodiousness, nor beauty, until *Philip III.* king of *Spain* banished the *Moriscoes* from his country, of which fort many came unto this city; whereby it increased in ingenuity of arts, in fortifications, in buildings, in planting fruits not known there before; in arming ships with great alacrity to do spoil upon Christians, in exhausting the price of captives, adding new torments to them, and by exacting great ransoms from them to sponge them to the dregs; since whose arrival to her, that city hath flourished to the admiration of the *Turk*, and is now become famous for her high hand carried over all Christian navigations, and her great booties gotten daily from them; for her buildings, and they so compact, as there is not a foot of waste ground, or garden in all the city: commodious for her abundance of fountains in all parts of her, and concavity for the passage of ordure and excrement from all houses and corners; honoured with artificers, beautified with rich shops, and adorned with the abundance of all necessaries, worthy the regaling so noble a city; all which she enjoys by the industry of the *Tagerins*, and its permanency by favour of the great *Turk*, where-

by she hath so long reigned by the ruins of all Christians uncontrouled: the great *Turk* lodging this thief in his house to no other purpose, nor will permit any Christian prince to take revenge against this city, putting them off with imperative answers, that it is his; where, although he commands least, only receiving from her twenty thousand pieces of eight a year, which is not paid him as a tribute, but merely as a reward to this dissimulation in tolerating and protecting them in their most contested, execrable, and infamous doings, participating in their robberies, receiving besides other presents of boys, which, if gentlemen, are customarily presented to him; for all which he rewards them with the honour of wearing his fools coats, and their captains, by sending them flags, and other favours, as his greatness pleaseth to bestow upon them.

They have for their gimaufe ecclesiastical or church-government, chief of all other sorts of priests, a mustee, which custom they have taken from the Christians, who has the title amongst them of an archbishop, and is of the *Arabian* nation: many other sorts of priests are amongst them, different to one another, as their several habits do demonstrate, which commonly go under the name of tollops, excepting their marabotes, esteemed men of greatest sanctity by the *Arabians*, and the dervises, of greatest estimation with the *Turks*. The chief in temporal matters is the cady or chief-justice; but, to speak of those that sway in government, the greatest personage in that city is the general of the gallies, who has his place for term of life, and yearly 40,000 shillings revenue: there are also four other personages, as their beys, alcads or generals of their camps: the greatest person in council, or otherwise their sole director in matters of state, is their hossia or secretary; yet all of these obliged to the wills of the divan or council, at whose pleasure are their preferments, honours, estates, and lives; they of the council being so absolute in themselves, as that they have infallibility and indefectibility, power to make laws and obtrude them, whereby all those aforementioned officers are but as cyphers, serving only as interpreters to them, whose will is their reason: they have no written laws, but observe tradition and customary statutes for their government; they seldom judge upon mature deliberation, but do all in a fury: their custom is first to execute the delinquent, and after judge him: to conclude, they have no certain rules of justice, but what their fancies lead them.

They

Of its government.

Of their governors. They have a bashaw or vice-king, who comes from *Constantinople*, and by nation must be a renegado, and one bred and educated in the great *Turk's* seraglio or court; he represents the grand signior's person, yet not elected by him, but buys the place of the captain-bashaw, who for 10,000 pieces of eight gives him a flag, which he presents to the great *Turk*, who has not at any time been known to contradict the captain-bashaw's grant herein, but authenticates his election, gives unto the new bashaw letters of credit unto that commonwealth, who so goes for *Algier*; his time limited but for a year, yet fortunes to remain there in dignity of bashaw three or four years, as it frequently happens some to die by the way, or some other disaster to befall them: his intent is profit, and not honour: at his doubling the point of *Mountafous*, he is obliged to discharge a piece of ordnance, as notice to the present bashaw to depart the palace with all his materials; for such is their custom, that all, that the new bashaw finds in the palace, he seizes upon it as his own: the *Algerines* ever receiving the news with joy, for that every soldier's pay is then raised to a double in the month. The divan, with all reverence, meet him upon the mole, from whence they convey him to his palace on horseback; his secretary riding before him, carrying the horse-tail, or royal ensign of the great *Turk*, his music also on horseback; but the council of the city ride not on horseback, only the aga-general of the soldiers, his kaja or second, with twenty-four *Aya* bashaws, with many other *Bulla* bashaws on foot, their coats loose and long, their hands laid one upon the other, and both upon their girdles, their eyes dejected to the ground; one hundred and twenty *Odda* bashaws follow them, having sterts of gold, half a yard long, and a palm broad, set on their heads, wearing feathers in a round hoop, which covers all their bodies, sixty of these carrying naked scimitars, upright against their breasts; the other sixty carrying carbines of excellent workmanship, and great value; six chouses or pursuivants go before, to make way for their passage; which is the manner of welcoming this kingly fellow to that city, and a naked palace, and himself as naked: the great men of the city present him, for three days, many dishes of meat, which many of them have received, as honey in their mouths, but it ever proves gravel in their throats; yet hope is of that noble faculty, that it is able to replenish its master's indigency and necessity with all things: it is rare that any of them goes away with almost a coat to his back; two

of them in my time went away miserably poor, having, after the expiration of their times, and the arrival of a new bashaw, lain many months prisoners in chains; and their equipage as fatal, for three treasurers to *Mustapha* bashaw, a man of an hundred and four years of age, succeeding one another in place, did likewise succeed each other in the manner of their deaths, who in seventeen days time poisoned themselves one after another, wanting money to pay the soldiers, and fearing what the fury of the divan would do unto them. *Durgoot* bashaw, for the like cause, they pounded in a mortar; never went any away fairly. But *Usupb* bashaw, sometime my patron, who was thought to carry substance with him, yet in his vice-regency was three times forced to take the marabout-house for sanctuary to save his life; and, had not fortune extraordinarily helped him, had otherwise inherited the miseries hereditary to those bashaws: yet want there not those who solicit and make friends, and give money to obtain the place; such biters are that nation at the golden hook, that, I presume, if it were at hell for gold they would not refuse that bait. He now interests himself in wretchedness, his place calls him to give the pay, and the soldiers will have it; six hundred *Musal* aga's, eight hundred *Bulla* bashaws, four hundred twenty-four *Odda* bashaws, and the number of soldiers uncertain, imperially demand it: he has not a certain number of soldiers to pay, for they receive all the *Turks* that come, all free Christians that turn *Turks*, and renegadoes, whose masters make them to turn *Turks*; provided he has their masters consent thereto, for it is in their pleasures to keep them slaves perpetually, and their posterity; the number of them in dead pay is also uncertain, being according as children are born, for that every soldier's son at his birth-day is entered into two shillings a month pay; his charge is augmented by twelve hundred swaves or horsemen, which chiefly follow them for hope of spoil; for a *Turk* may not pillage any thing of the conquered, for, if he saw a crown of gold lying at his feet and should go to take it, the next soldier to him, upon pain of death, is obliged to cut off his head, referring the spoil to the base and underserving, but that a *Turk* should account the honour of victory the greatest recompence of reward; and those ignoble sort of soldiers have but four shillings a month pay: this bashaw is also obliged to maintain the *Bulla* bashaws in the cassaba with victuals; with horses, when they go in camp; and also to the soldiers to carry their baggage, the cooks kettles, and to furnish them

with powder, shot, tents, and other necessities; and once in fifteen days to make the whole council a feast; to maintain the household expences of the aga or general of the soldiers; besides giving him, if he sit but three days in that chair, one thousand shillings; and, if two months, no more, for so their manner is to abide in that dignity, yet few of them have been known to have continued that time of two months. Of their elder *Bulla* bashaws they elect their twenty-four *Aya* bashaws, and of their elder *Aya* bashaws they make their *kaja*, and this *kaja* is made aga; yet he, upon sufficient reason given, may excuse himself of the place, yet with consent of the divan or council. I have known many sit down, and immediately rise again, and in a day four or five of them to do the like, at such time as any great difference or stir hath been amongst them: I knew one of them, a man of good esteem, through timour and conscience, a great matter of importance being to be judged, made an apoloical excuse, and refused the place; but the divan took him down, gave him two hundred blows, and after, with less ease, made him resit in the chair to do justice; from which, when they are dismissed, they turn *Musal* aga's, and are then exempted from all toils, troubles, or divan matters, and are only called thither at such times as some infrequent matter is presented, and the like hath not passed in their *Bulla* bashaws times. When they send for the ancient of the *Musal* aga's, to know if any such had occurred in his government, who gives his answer and opinion and departs; the third in place are the *Odda* bashaws, who are the last in council, nor do these enjoy an equal pay, but according to their service; for, if there be a nation that retains the discipline of the *Romans*, they are these: no man is presented to place by descent or valour; as well the sheep as the lion: first they are soldiers, and have but four shillings a month pay, and four breads, which they raise by service, for every time they go in the army; to a shilling upon the nativity of every son of the great *Turk*, to another upon any victory that the great *Turk* hath, to another for every enemy's head they cut off, to another upon the coming of a new bashaw; to another from a soldier they rise to avickelhage, or steward, to an *Odda* bashaw, and so to a *Bulla* bashaw; to an *Aya* bashaw, to a *kaja*, and, in fine, to aga, and then musouled or turned out; so that it is fortune that brings them in place, but not in pay; a new soldier, by the death of his officers, comes to place, but it is service that advances his pay; the soldier has but

four breads a day, the *Odda* bashaw the like, the *Bulla* bashaw eight, the *Aya* bashaw twenty-four, provided they be not married, for, when they marry, they lose their bread and houses: most of the *Bulla* bashaws have houses rent-free, yet get them by favour; for, when a *Bulla* bashaw is very sick, he sends word to his best friend, that is destitute of a house, for his scimitar, which he gives order to have drawn, whereby, if he dies, his friend is put in possession, according to their custom and proverb; for they say they rose by the sword, they live by the sword, and they shall end and perish by the sword; the most profitable places are those of the chouses, or pursuivants, who must be natural *Turks*, and are in number six, continuing in office six years, during which term they enjoy many privileges, and, at the expiration of their times, turn *Bulla* bashaws, having passed a life free of care, and gotten many thousand pieces of eight. The next to them, in matter of profit, are the arches, or cooks, and are in number one-hundred and twenty, who succeed one another in place, till they be *Archa* bashaws, or arch-cooks, when they turn *Odda* bashaws, and their last year of service in that office is worth, to them, one-thousand five-hundred pieces of eight, during which time they are interdicted the company of women: I knew one of them taken in company of a woman, by one of his fraternity, had presently his turbant torn off his head, and was led as a malefactor, before the divan, whose first demand to him was, Whether there wanted boys? In sum, they degraded him, and mulcted him with five-hundred blows, for transgressing these ancient customs. In fine, the bashaw is but a figure, and received by them merely to take that charge and trouble upon him, which all of themselves of the great ones refuse: there are four alcaids or generals of camps, which, by nation, must be renegadoes; and these are excessive rich, for all they can extort from the *Moors*, above the king's tribute, they put into their own purses, for which the *Allarbies* exhibit continual complaints against them; one of the chiefest of them, in my time, was, in council, like to be torn in pieces; nor have they any other way to prevent the like accident, but by keeping themselves indebted to the treasury, and chiefest men in council: great obligation had *Caide Muxato* to *Hamfa Hosiea*, who, in that hurly-burly, wherein the whole divan were in a confusion, after a sign, and beckoning with the hand, spoke in this manner unto them: Fathers, brethren, and sons, this accused person is indebted to the common treasury two-hundred-thousand doubles, wherefore look well
what

what you do, and take notice of the first man that offers him violence, that he may pay his debts; upon which they desisted, and the alcaid escaped that danger. With them is no pleading or capitulating of causes, for a mere oration doth but bring a man's life in question; the word with them is, Shall it be so, or shall it not be so? *Geller gellimesse*, Shall he come or not come? They stand in ranks, passing the word by a chouse or pursuivant; their action, their hands upon their bellies, jetting each other with their arms or elbows, raising their voices as they are in choler, or as a pot boileth with the addition of fire, until they are many times all in a combustion; they have a wise prevention of a greater mischief, so that these two particulars are commanded by them upon deepest pains, not to drink wine, or any strong liquors, before their coming to that house or place of divan, or to wear or carry a knife thither; their ancient proverb causes, I believe, these cautions; for, they say, that blood shall begin at that divan-place, and run down into the *Cava*, which is a thousand paces: I have known them so much divided, as their aga, twenty-four *Aya* bashaws and cadies, all turned out of places at one time: in brief, it is such a government, as the like is no where else in the world; yet are they that govern, in their actions, otherwise grave, wearing their turbants in greatness, and their beards in length, as they are in office; but what is most to be admired at is, that, when they are but common soldiers, they are most publickly flagitious, taking shame as no enormity; but, when they come to the place of divan-men, they are a present metamorphosis, which, were it not so popular, were more to be admired; they are generally illiterate, yet are their doings famously esteemed in the grand signior's court, as appears by this, that, when his greatness is any ways discontented, and that none of his visiers dare speak unto him, they repleat a good humour in him, by presenting to his sight the government of *Algier*. They have two great divan days weekly, *Saturday* in the alcaissaba, and *Sunday* morning in the bashaw's house; however, they sit every day in council: if a Christian hath any matter of importance, it must be treated in the alcaissaba; yet is no Christian permitted to enter that place, but must stand at the door, and send in his demands by the trugman or interpreter, who is a renegado, by whom they return their answer; nor is a Christian permitted to speak publickly in the divan, nor will they have any matters delivered to them, but in the *Turkish* tongue, and by a trugman.

The aga, who is general of the soldiers and chief in council. Of governors in particular.

The kaja, his second.

The twenty-four *Aya* bashaws, or twenty-four in place of council.

Bulla bashaws are eight-hundred; these sway in council.

Odda bashaws are four-hundred and twenty-four, and wear a red cloth in their caps, in manner of a tongue, with a wrested turbant, a long coat, and are not permitted to wear any other garment.

The haffia, their only counsellor, whose advice they receive as an oracle.

Six chouses, all wearing vests like the *Odda* bashaws, and are apparelled in green coats, made of a fashion peculiar to themselves, for their better knowledge; they have the sole power to apprehend divanmen, provided they have a warrant from the aga; nor may they take a soldier by any part of his body, but by the girdle; nor doth the soldier, upon pain of death, dare resist him: infinite privileges do these soldiers enjoy, for, if a *Tagerin* or *Moor* strikes one of them, he has his hand immediately cut off. I knew a sheriff, a sect that lineally derive themselves from *Mahomet*, being most egregiously abused by a soldier, in his choler struck him; he was presently apprehended: for this custom is amongst them, that any of them, crying *Sherellab*, which signifies, *God's Justice*, and the contrary party shall refuse to go to the place where justice is administered, all persons present are obliged to assist the plaintiff, so that ordinarily they drag such as make any wilful resistance: this sheriff, being for his offence brought before the council, interceded by way of privilege and respect of blood; but he only obtained this courtesy, that they cut off his left hand, whereas usually they cut off the right hand of all others that offend in like nature. Whilst these soldiers live unmarried, they all live in courts of guard, called by them *Cassheries*, pieces of excellent workmanship and commodity; nor may any of them lie out at night, without leave of their lieutenant, whom they call their *Odda* bashaw, who has power to castigate them for any offence they do commit, so it be not criminal; yet has the soldier this privilege, that, if he conceives his lieutenant to envy him, to appeal to the divan; which, however, if any of them do, they are sure to suffer a double jerking: for that, in the courts of guard, they may not give more blows than did the *Jews* to *Paul*, forty save one; and those must be given by the lieutenant himself, and that upon his knees, and he obliged, upon like castigation, not to carry his arm above his head; yet so obedient are these

these soldiers to their commanders, that, after beating, they rise and pray for the perpetuation of the faith of *Mahomet*, and prosperities of the shadow of God, their emperor; of their bashaw, their fathers, the governors and commonwealth of *Algier*, and kiss their officer's hand and head, thank him for his favour in correcting them, and promise for future time to live more regular; and, being premonished by the lieutenant, he is discharged: for criminal causes they are carried to the *alcassaba*, where they are mulcted according to their offence. I have known many there beaten to pieces, in matter of *divan-men*; upon the least suspicion or accusation, they are instantly strangled and thrown into the sea, where having lain twenty-four hours, they are weighed by their friends and buried: other officers there are, but have no voice in council, as the arches or cooks, and are a hundred and twenty-four; their duty is to purvey the city with flesh; the admirals of their ships, and sea captains, are in great estimation, yet have no voice or command in council, and are all, once a year, obliged to go to sea, otherwise are sent into the camps, where they are no more privileged than the common soldiers.

Of its revenues.

They send out four camps yearly into the country, exacting from the *allarbies* excessive tributes, who, were it not for their own civil dissensions, and they politically stirred up by the *Turk* for their own advantage, were not otherwise able to put their faces out of the gates of *Algier*; but, making this opportunity the *Moors* plague, they march many hundred miles, triumphing over millions of the natives, the *allarbies*, and that not with thousands of soldiers, but with a handful of men, and they without discipline; I mean of postures, or common probability; they receive from their camp called *Tittere*, being north-east from *Algier*, bordering upon the kingdom of *Cookose*, from which king they receive no tribute, but from the *allarbies* inhabiting the plains, tributaries to that prince, they have yearly 200,000 doubles.

From their second camp, called *Piscary*, in the sandy deserts, bordering upon the *Zara* and *Negroes* country, twenty-four days in their march thither, south upon a line, in which country grows no corn-grain, their sole feeding being rice and dates, they receive yearly 200,000 doubles.

They also by this camp receive tribute from the *Negroes*, who send them yearly 200 of their children.

Thirdly, *Sbarke*, extending west as far as *Botoyea*, and the kingdom of *Mauritania*, or *Tremassine*, pays 400,000 doubles.

Gorbe, extending its territory as far in

the east as *Tobarco*, a castle in possession of the *Genoese*, pays 400,000 doubles.

From their garisons, as *Constantina*, 50,000 doubles.

From *Bonna*, a port-town, 50,000 doubles.

From the *Bastione*, when it was in possession of the *French*, 90,000 doubles.

From *Tobarco*, they receive yearly 10,000 doubles.

From *Colla*, a port-town, 40,000 doubles.

From *Gigery*, a port-town, 15,000 doubles.

From *Buggea*, a port-town, 40,000 doubles.

From *Shershell*, a port-town, they receive yearly 40,000 doubles.

From *Massagan*, a port-town, 50,000 doubles.

From *Massagonem*, a port-town, 50,000 doubles.

From *Tremassin*, metropolitan city of the kingdom of *Mauritania*, they yearly receive 200,000 doubles.

From the *allarbies* of *Montegero*, and the vale of *Medea*, and the farms of the citizens, 800,000 doubles.

From the gardens adjoining near the city, being 16,000, 800,000 doubles.

By the gates of the city, 40,000 doubles.

They have rent from all shops in the city, proportionally as they are let to those that occupy them, which must be very great; yet I could never come to the true knowledge of it. For their sea revenues they are uncertain, they being, as purchase comes in; of all goods and people that are taken, the bashaw has the eighth part, and all ships or other vessels solely to his own particular, with all other provision and ammunition appertaining to them. They have no constant trade, but with the *Leghorners*, and they, when most comes, but two small vessels in a year: other trade they have, the chiefest being for *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, yet most performed by a people called *Iarbines*; all paying twelve and a half *per cent*. In sum, for their camps, garisons, gardens, and the like, to my knowledge, by good information, they have certain rent 3,475,000 doubles, amounting each double to the just shilling *English*, and is 34,750,000.

Their sea forces chiefly consisted of their gallies, yet never exceeded the number of nine at one time: *Ally Pickellin*, with the fool in the gospel, resolved, in the year 1639, to have brought them to twelve, and to have built a galley groce; but one was in the same year lost at *Bonna* by a tempest, and the other eight all taken by the *Venetians*; so that, at that present, there was never a galley remaining in that city;

city; nor can I conceive that ever *Ally* will return thither, from the *Levant*, where he now is to build more. So that their sea forces, at the present, consist altogether in ships, which are sometimes more, sometimes less. When I was first brought thither, in the year 1631, they had ninety vessels of all sorts, which they armed in robberies; but, in three years after, they had not thirty, and were utterly disanimated to arm their ships in reprisal voyages, nor would, upon any terms of advantage, deal with an *English* ship of force, until a certain allarby, born in the mountains of *Cookose*, captain of a pink of twenty-six pieces of artillery belonging to the bashaw, unfortunately met with the *Adventure of London*, a ship of twenty-one pieces of ordnance, and forty-five men, which this *Moor* boarded, and immediately mastered, she being richly laden, for the account of *Genoese*; which hath since imboldened that captain to take divers *English* ships of good force, who refuses to fight with none that he meets withal: thus much of their sea forces and ships, which may be at present eighty sail, most *Flemish* ships, some carrying forty pieces of ordnance.

Of their
land forces.

No *Tagerin* or *Moor* of the city may be a soldier, or go in land service; they are only allowed arms in their houses to defend the city, if it should be invaded; in their four camps, they send out two-thousand four-hundred men; they have in their garisons one-thousand more: in my time, in their hamper or general army, which, in 1633, they sent against the king of *Cookose*, when all their ships were in port, and all their soldiers at home, beside those in garison, they could make but four-thousand five-hundred soldiers, beside *Bulla* bashaws and *Odda* bashaws, their commanders. I will allow, for sick men, and others in merchants voyages, one-thousand more; so that, in my judgment, they cannot have above five-thousand soldiers in pay; and although there be Christians that daily turn *Turks*, and *Turks* which daily come out of the *Levant*, which are presently put in pay; so, by their fights on land and at sea, there are daily killed more or less of them, and that to the benefit of the bashaw, for, if a soldier dies without children, he inherits his goods; they have also a people which follow them for spoils, called *swayves* or *horsemen*: besides all these, there are permanently in the city, of gentlemen, *Tagerins* and *Moors*, above fifty-thousand able men to draw sword: and thus much of their land forces.

Of their
victories.

The virtue of this people doth appear, by the large and ample patrimony which in that country they command, in de-

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spight of millions of their enemies; and they a people framed to war, able of body, fierce of nature, and cruel of disposition, the most excellent horsemen of the world, I mean the *Moors*: In 1542, with *Ally* their bashaw, they marched to the very gates of *Tefs*, one of the most famous cities of *Africa*, and returned, having made composition, and received of the citizens for each day to each soldier, as long as they had been from *Algier*, a ducat a day: their officers advanced their reward, as they were in dignity; and the bashaw, by their relation, returned with excessive riches to his own particular. They did, in the year 1620, fight many battles with the king of *Cookose*, beat him out of his country, only leaving him a mountain, which, by its unpassable ways, and difficult ascent, was the sole refuge he had to keep himself from their swords, they having burnt his cities of *England*, *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Sicily*, *Naples*, *Rome*, *Venice*, *Germany*, and others which were and are yet called according to these principal places of Christendom.

In the year 1626, they conquered the kingdom of *Mauritania*, from the *Marabot*, named *Sedeabdelcadder*, and called by them *Antichrist*; and that sumptuous city of *Tremassin*, metropolis of that kingdom, were *Marabot* (by his conjurations, for so I esteem them, and that with good reason, to be conjurers, charmers, and witches) did by his art magic many miracles, whereby he became famous amongst those indocible and superstitious people: the *Moors* who flocked to him, not only as the man that would defend them and that kingdom, but also, by his extraordinary virtue and power, get more, and heaven for them also, they esteeming him as the man of God, for so are they still led to believe; the greatest exorcist with them is the greatest saint. The divan of *Algier* sends out an army against him, consisting of six thousand *Turks* foot, and two thousand *swayves* or horsemen; the *Tagerins* and *Bellagees* citizens, with other superstitious people of the city, lamented that the blind *Turk* would apparently run into an inevitable destruction: the *Turks* wives condole their husbands presumption, in going to conquer such a man of God. The *Turk*, *semper idem*, set forwards; the general of the army was a colloly, and the man that since blew up their cassaba; they encountered this great prophet, having with him an army of above twenty-thousand men; join battle, but, his art failing, great numbers of his soldiers are slain. In fine, he was abandoned of all his people, and taken prisoner; the *Algerines* lead him alive, and stuffed his skin

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skin with straw, and sent it for *Algier*, where it was carried in triumph in all public places of that city, to the glory of the *Turks*, and infamy of all superstitious *Moors*: the *Turks* pursued their advantage, and made a final conquest of that country; only *Tremassin* was an obstacle in their way, which the *Turks* besieged, and after divers skirmishes it was yielded to them; they put two-hundred soldiers in garison in their alcaßaba, and triumphantly returned to *Algier*, where they were received with glory. Most famous is this city, and of all others proud in her good fortune against the soldiers and state of *Tunis*. In 1627, when, upon differences between them about a certain castle the *Algerines* built, which they of *Tunis* challenged to be built in their territories and jurisdiction, substitutes were appointed on both parties to treat and ratify some regular way betwixt them; and that the difference should not be only judged by *Turks*, but rather by *Moors*, natives of the country, to whose experience the right was better known: long time was spent in commission to effect it, but neither the one nor the other would turn their affections to that good use. In fine, it came to the intelligence of the great *Turk*, who did strive to accommodate a stability of peace betwixt them, nor could his greatness herein prevail; the commissioners, deputed by both commonwealths, returned unaccorded; the grand signior, pope-like, by book and candle excommunicated them both, if they disobeyed his pleasure therein, which they least set by, and, casting away all legal capitulations, armed on both sides: they of *Tunis* raised an army of eight thousand foot of the *Turkish* nation, with volunteers, admitting and accepting all gentlemen of the collollies, that would go to that service: *Henescha*, a great prince of the allarbies confederated with them, and for old injuries vowed revenge upon the *Algerines*, who on their parts neglected no opportunity, stayed their land forces, and ships from navigation, levied six-thousand *Turks*, nor would they admit volunteers, gentlemen of the collollies, or others, not in pay. *Ben Ally*, a prince of the east, and of the *Moorish* nation, a great enemy to his tributary *Henescha*, the other prince confederated with the adverse party, brought unto their assistance seven-thousand horse; the combination with the *Tunisians*, and prince *Henescha*, was made with strong promises and protestations of love one unto the other, confirmed with deep vows to be allied in an indissoluble and perpetual obligation; both promise, upon victory, to march to the gates of *Al-*

gier; and not only so, but to make a final extirpation of those incorrigible people of that city; by mutual conditions, the spoils were to be given to prince *Henescha* and his soldiers, but the lands and cities conquered to be the reward of the *Tunisians*, who, to effect matters answerable to so great expectation, carried forty pieces of brass ordnance of all sorts in their army, and eight-thousand soldiers, *Turks*; *Henescha* brought to their assistance eleven-thousand horsemen, of his own subjects: the *Algerines*, with an undaunted resolution, advanced to their new-built castle, as far in the east as *Tobarco*, one hundred and thirty leagues; carried not one piece of artillery with them, nor did their own forces exceed the number of six-thousand foot, *Turks*; *Ben Ally*, their confederate, brought to their assistance, seven-thousand horsemen, of their own people, allarbies, notwithstanding the great disadvantage, on the enemy's part, as being, in horse and foot, many thousand more than they were; besides, having so many pieces of ordnance, marched into their territory, and found their enemies, with whom they joined battle; the *Algerines* first made at the ordnance of their enemies; and, after a hot skirmish, being valiantly resisted, the fight increasing on all sides, the victory was a long time doubtful, yet by general opinion like to have fallen to the *Tunisians*: the two princes of the allarbies had as hard bickering on their parts, as now the time to shew (that king of passions) their malice one against the other; the *Algerines* impatient took their usual fury, gave the word to every soldier to throw down his musquer, and to end the quarrel by dint of sword; which doing, they entered upon the ordnance of their enemies, and by their valour gained them, which they now turned as a rod of mischief to whip their first masters, and like a torrent make farther into the army of the enemy, who for a long time made valiant and noble resistance; but the virtue of the *Algerines* prevailed, and the conquered fled, leaving behind them three-thousand five-hundred of their companions dead upon the ground of their *Turkish* soldiers; forty pieces of artillery, many banners of great curiosity and value, with rich pillage, which fell to *Ben Ally*, and his allarbies, beside his glory of victory obtained against his mortal enemy prince *Henescha*. The *Algerines* returned with this glory to their city, and are by the inhabitants received with joy and triumph, whilst they of *Tunis* lamented their disgrace, and were perplexed what more mischief the *Algerines* purposed to do unto them, to whose mercy certainly they were, their lives, their goods, and their

their city; and the greater was their terror, for the arrival of forty *Algier* ships at the *Galletta*, or port *Carthage*: but they were, upon the first advertisement of victory, recalled by the council of *Algier*, without doing them of *Tunis* the least damage, and they utterly demolished the castle which had caused that difference betwixt them; how many battles they have fought with the *Allarbies*, were too tedious to recount: they have divers times overthrown the armies of *Ben Ally*, and *Henefsha*, with other great princes of the *Moors*, and are in continual and daily skirmishes with them, to whom they are a terror, and their fame spread in all *Africa*.

Of its inhabitants.

She is proud in citizens, consisting of twenty-eight thousand families, besides *Jews* unaccounted, who cannot be less than thirty thousand souls; her inhabitants consist of four sorts of people. Of *Bellages* natives, and first inhabitants of the city; of *Tagerins*, a people banished *Spain* by *Philip III.* and *Jews*; all which are but tenants at will to the last, and that is the *Turk*, from whom are also extracted two other sorts of people; one the collolies, their children natural, and the renegadoes, their adoptive children, of which three sorts of men are the soldiers of *Algier*: as for the condition and manners of this people, excepting that which tends to the upholding their state and commonwealth, I mean their government military, they are so depraved as they have no good custom amongst them; for, although in all their doings, they begin with the first Mover, if it be but in cutting a piece of bread, and that in their way they wash and pray five times a day, and are very ceremonious in their law, yet are they incorrigibly flagitious; they are said to commit sodomy with all creatures, and tolerate all vices; so their women for their parts are most impudent and addicted to all kinds of unnaturalness, yet greedy lovers of money; they make no scruple of murder, neither of infants is it enquired after: so on the contrary doth the soldier, upon discontent, jealousy, or displeasure, cut their throats, throw them out at windows into the sea, and in the open streets without remorse of conscience or inquisition of justice, to say so much as, What hast thou done? There is no natural love for the man to his wife, nor from the woman to her husband; they marry without sight one of another, their aim and intent being only interest: they buy their wives, paying half their dowry in hand, and the other upon divorce; for upon the least difference they turn away each other: the man obliges himself to maintain his wife, with a precise form of allowance, which if he any ways fails to perform, it is

frequent and legal for the woman to abandon her husband, and that without scruple, although in their abode together they have had many children (like to like, as the devil said to the collier) for they are as well rewarded in their children, whose disobedience is such, that to defame and buffet them is usual, and their parents count it a favour to do them service: so is the *Jew*, a most execrable people, and alike hateful to all nations; bloody-hearted, living by fraud, and, notwithstanding their knowledge of the law, are as disobedient to their parents as the other. There is yet another sort of people, and they are Christians, whose case is to be pitied, that lies groaning under the yoke of *Turkish* tyranny, who martyr them daily by their most contested, most inexorable, and inhuman cruelties, whose number and virtues, were they armed, were not only enough to master *Algier*, but make a final conquest of all *Africa*; they are esteemed to be sixty thousand, truly I think them little less; for, by common probability, there being sixteen thousand gardens, and one with another having a Christian, some two, three, and four, besides so great a number as are in the city, put to all vile and base services, others that go to sea, they doing nothing that tends to labour themselves, it carries too great a probability to be that number: but those that I most lament, and nature obliges to be most indulgent to, is for more than fifteen hundred of my miserable country-men, who are there plunged in the most vile and greatest detriments; certainly a fair course would effect their enlargement, and without all doubt be most acceptable to almighty God, and bring a benediction upon his majesty, his royal posterity, people and dominions; they have a most confident opinion of his majesty's gracious favour toward them, and are credulous that his royal bounty will be no less propense to them, than it hath been to those that were in *Morocco* and *Sallee*; they blame the wills of some ill affected persons, who they say have long countermanded that beneficence which would have been their redemption; here are those indeed that pretend, if those men should be redeemed, upon like hopes others would not fight, and so give away merchants estates, which, alas! is a weak assertion; we all know it is not the common sort that sways, but the captain, which if a lion, a sheep will follow him: in corporal diseases, if the head be ill, how is all the body dis-tempered; but what rational man is there, that would yield himself into a fourteen or fifteen years slavery, although he knew certainly, at the end of that term, to be redeemed? Who do us all this mischief, but

but Christians? Consider the unwonted damages we daily receive by them, premeditate what may more ensue, if some speedy course be not taken to relieve them; those poor souls, who in anguish of their hearts, bereft of all Christian consolations, and means ordinary to revisit their *patria*, many having wives and children whom they love most dear; so that, like a bear robbed of her whelps, they are forced to take revenge, despairing of better fortunes, and suppose by doing great spoils to anticipate their enfranchisement; such men they are, that had, or may his majesty have occasion to use sea-men, a thousand of them were better than the best three-thousand in *England*; pardon me for the comparison, for they have had custom to beget boldness, and experience to do execution, many of them having been there eleven, some twelve years; fighting to them is as ordinary as to us carousing: in sum, they are excellent men, either for offence or defence, in sea services, and so customarily expert, that, by judgment of their eye, they will eschew and avoid a great shot: it is further pretended, if they should be enlarged, and a peace established, those pyrates of *Algier* would never conserve and keep it; I am certain that the last peace was broken by the *English*, by whom those of *Algier* received many injuries, and long suffered them before they fought the least revenge; and the first *English* ship brought thither caused many differences betwixt themselves in divan; nor would they consent to have the company sold, till they saw the poor men so neglected as no man interceded for them; I am confident, that, if his majesty should send for those his poor, but most loyal subjects, that the *Turks* would give them up on honourable terms, and have a just propension to a good, firm, and constant peace; which the better to oblige them to observe, in my opinion, the way were to establish a council in that city, which should be allowed sufficient maintenance by those that shall settle a factory there: it is also necessarily required in the persons so substituted, to be moderate, methodical, and sufficient; and that the *Algerines* on their part send hither one of their *Bulla* bashaws, a *Turk* by nation, which will be a powerful means to oblige them to keep and conserve the peace; the trade will be as beneficial as any traffick in *Barbary*, although lately it has not so proved; the cause was not in the city, or inhabitants, but in the instruments employed in the negotiation, which wanted experience in the country: besides, the bastion is now vacant which long hath been in the hands of the *French*, worth two-hundred thousand ducats *per annum de*

claro, gotten by fishing coral, wherein, if any desire further satisfaction, I will resolve them: in sum, as these nations and kingdoms of ours are this day the happiest and most flourishing in the whole world, envied by most Christians, and admired by all *Turks*, who ascribe a pre-excellency of wisdom, prudence, and virtue to our king's majesty now reigning (long may he live to reign over us) and to the right honourable lords of his majesty's most honourable privy-council, absolutely to be the wisest and most virtuous Prince and counsellors in the universe; I do implore the Majesty Divine to be their counsellor, by whose assistance, as long, to the admiration of the world, they have been guided, so they may be ever, notwithstanding of all those that bear them envy; whilst let it be our consolation against all enemies and maligners, that there is no greater sign of the mercy and favour of God, to any nation or people, than when the hearts of public governors are raised up to the punishment of vice, reward of virtue, and for the commanding of pious and restorative actions: in fine, I make no question, but, at time convenient, these poor afflicted people shall be thought on, commiserated, and relieved. I was lately solicited by certain personages to give my advice concerning them and the state of *Algier*, and by discourse do collect that a certain gentleman intends to prove means and friends to get a lottery, by which he doubts not to get more than two hundred thousand pounds sterling, and with the one part pretend to redeem the captives, and with the other to make himself a compleat man; these and such like ridiculous projects are to be derided as preposterous, and the event expected to speed accordingly; a better, more laudable, and speedy way may be taken to prevent many ensuing dangers threatened upon our navigations and people; thirty thousand pounds turned or employed in such materials, as would advance profit in the country, put in men's hands experienced, will by God's mercy and his majesty's favour enfranchise them.

The greater the enemy, the more worthy the conquest; the lesser the number of the conquerors, the more renowned and honourable the victory; since *Barba Rosha's* time, of one hundred and twenty years, who took this city with thirty-two men, from so mean a beginning, and from so base obscurity has this city raised her glory in most parts of the known world, and extends her magnitude and territory to the east as far as *Tobarco*, one hundred and thirty leagues to the south; as far as the *Zara* and burning zone of the negroes country to the west; as far as *Boteyca*, and

to *Tetuan*, one hundred and thirty leagues; and at sea is a terror to most navigators, and a scourge to all the *Mediterranean* coasts of Christendom.

Of their riches.

No man may be incredulous or marvel at her excessive essentials and materials of gold and silver, having lived upon the spoil of all Christendom more than one hundred and twenty years; what abundance of riches hath been since that time brought into her, is known by miserable experience to most Christians; the substance of whole cities and islands hath been involved into her gulf; nor is she alone enriched by these, but also by all sorts of goods which they take, and sell to Christian and *Jewish* merchants for ready money; excessive riches they get by captives, exacting from them great ransoms; the poorest, and which of themselves have nothing, of the *Spanish* nation, are usually redeemed for a thousand shillings; and for *Genoese*, if, under twenty-two years of age, the signiors of *Tobarco* are obliged to free them for a hundred pounds sterling; nor doth there want diligence in them to perform and effect their enlargements; it is anniversary for the *Spaniards* by collections, called amongst them *Lemossena*, to enfranchise three or four hundred men, and for ready money paid in pieces of eight: besides her yearly tributes, which they get from the *Allarbies*, not being less than two hundred thousand pounds sterling; inso-much that she is an *Indies* or mineral, for that, of all that is brought into her, none is carried out again: as for corn and other necessaries, which oblige the life of man, the citizens have all the land of many days journey of their own; so that, having ingrossed so great a part of the country, they do not only furnish themselves with provisions, but also with money, which they get of the neighbouring *Allarbies* for provision; and, surely for oil, figs, and the like, which the *Cabills* of the kingdom of *Cookose* bring them, they leave the principal and product for trivial commodities, which their indocible capacities cannot furnish themselves with; and for what commodities are brought thither from *Marseilles* and *Legborn*, in way of trade, they leave all behind them, and bring much money also, whose coming thither is only for redeeming captives, and buying reprisal goods. Thus have I accomplished the capitals, and given a true relation of that flourishing city, whose only rich stones, diamonds, and pearls are sufficient to answer the charge of that navy and army that shall be sent to conquer her; besides, what fetters of gold, gold chains, and the

like are daily to be seen in her streets, it being so popularly known, I need not speak of: as for her riches, in present coin of plate and gold, I have sufficiently demonstrated them to satisfy any reasonable judgment. Oh! that I might live to be an actor in a martial way to see her conquest; they fear none so much as our *English* nation, neither is it difficult or doubtful, with a good fleet of ships and an army of thirty thousand soldiers on land, to pluck down her pride, she having many enemies within her, and enough to effect her ruin; and most of all, her oppressions and sins, which cry to the heavens for judgment against her: so, having ended with that city, I think it also requisite to nominate the equipage of the bashaw, or their vice-king, which I omitted to intermix with the other officers of the divan, because they have no voice in their council, nor command in the city; and, to speak truth, the only privilege the bashaw has is, that he hath power over the *Moors* of the city in matter of justice, yet tolerated by the divan to exact great sums of money from them, the better to enable him to give them their pay.

The bashaw must be a renegado, bred in the great *Turks* seraglio or court.

Of the bashaw's officers and retinue.

His kaja or treasurer, his second, a renegado to some visier in *Turky*.

His allimene or receiver, and is for maritime affairs, an inferior renegado.

His hooffiea or secretary, and may be of either sort, *Turk* or renegado.

His chamberlain, and by the grand signior's command must be a natural *Turk*.

His aga or captain of his horse, a renegado.

His collope or priest must be a natural *Turk*.

His chillabies or gentleman attendants, are all renegadoes, and boys of finest beauty and comeliness.

Six players on cornets, and two sackbuts, renegadoes.

Four players on kettle-drums, negroes.

Forty sollacks, appointed by the divan for his guard, give daily attendance at his palace-gate, and are the oldest *Odda* bashaws, or corporals of the council.

His guardian over his Christian slaves, a rogue of the *Moorish* nation, and two other negroes.

Twenty-six chouses or serjeants to arrest men indebted, provided they be *Moors*, for that a soldier may not be imprisoned for debt; and these serjeants are all *Moors*, natives of the country; the rest of his household, as cooks, scullions, and the like, are Christian slaves.

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JOHN DUNTON, London Mariner, Master of the
Admiral, called the *Leopard*.

Whereunto is annexed,

A LIST of *Sallee* Captives Names, and the Places where they
dwell, and a Description of the three Towns in a Card.

To the Right Honourable Lord Vane, one of his Majesty's Privy-council of his High Court of Admiralty.

Right Honourable,

I N September last was twelve-month, I redeemed myself prisoner from *Sallee*, being sent out master and pilot in a *Sallee* man of war, with twenty-one *Moors*, and five *Flemish* renegadoes, unto the coast of *England* to take Christians, and brought them into the isle of *Wight*, under the command of *Husk Castle*, where I was detained as a pyrate, and sent to *Winchester* with the rest, till we were tried by the law; then, coming to *London* very bare, I found much favour at your honour's hands; for which I must ever rest engaged, and have no way to testify my thankfulness more, than by presenting this my poor endeavour to your honour: which, if you please to accept and consider of, may be a means to relieve more, as you have done me; for my only son is now a slave in *Algier*, and but ten years of age, and like to be lost for ever, without God's great mercy, and the king's clemency, which, I hope, may be in some measure obtained by your honour's means; and then your poor suppliant shall be ever bound to pray for you and yours all his days,

and ever rest at your command,

JOHN DUNTON, Mariner.

A fleet of ships set out by his majesty against the Turkish pyrates, and pyrates of *Sallee*, in January 1636.

JOHN DUNTON went a-board his majesty's ship the *Leopard*, at *Chatham*, the 26th of *January*, to see her victuals and provision taken in for her voyage; and, the 10th day of *February* following, his majesty's ships had all their victuals and provision shipped a-board, and were ready to set sail; but the wind was not good, for it was against us, and at north-east, and at east north-east, until the 13th day of the said *February* in the morning, at eight of the clock, we broke ground, to set sail with the said ship the *Leopard*. And we did warp the same ship to his majesty's dock at *Chatham*, and there did ride till the 14th day of the said *February* in the morning, and then, at day-light, we did make way to warp the said ship down over the chain, the weather then being calm, and no wind stirring; and, as soon as we were down over the chain with the ship, we had a little wind northerly; so we sailed down to *Gillingham*, and there came to an anchor in six fathom water, for the wind was against us at north and north north-east; and we did ride all night, until the 16th day of the same *February* in the morning at ten of the clock, at which time we set sail with the wind at south south-west, and did get up as far as the west end of the *Nore*, and there came to an anchor, and rode all night, till the 17th day in the morning at day-light, and then set sail; and at noon we came to an anchor in *Tilbury-hope*, and there did ride to get seamen to man our ships, and get our fleet toge-

ther, and staid for nothing but a wind. And, the 24th day in the morning, we set sail from *Tilbury-hope* with the wind at west, and little wind; and the 26th day of *February*, at two of the clock in the afternoon, we came to an anchor in the *Downs*, in eight fathom water, with the wind at west north west, and there we did ride until the 4th day of *March*; in the morning at six of the clock, we set sail out of the *Downs*, with the wind at south-east, a fine gale of wind: and, sailing along the coast of *England* until the 6th day of *March* at noon, we departed from the southermost land of *England*, called the *Lizard*, in *Cornwall*, and set our course for the coast of *Spain*, with the wind at east north-east. And I will not be too tedious to set down every point what course we did steer, and every day how the wind was, because I will make it as short as I can; and sailing along the coast of *Spain* with a fair wind, and sometimes with a contrary wind, we did not see a sail nor a ship all the way, but one small carvil; and, short of the northern cape, we had much wind at south-west, and west north-west; and the 12th of *March* in the night, betwixt twelve and one of the clock, our rear-admiral, the *Hercules*, bore her main-mast by the board, and we were fain to leave her; and, we staying by her all night, until the next day, our general asked the captain what he would do, and he told him that he would go for *Lisbon* to set a new mast; so we took our leave of him, and steered away our course; and

and that carvil we saw, we could not speak with her, for she was too windward of us.

It was the 19th of *March* that we saw that carvil; and so sailing along the coasts, until the 21st of *March* in the morning at day-light, we saw the south cape of *Spain*, and were near the land by six o'clock in the morning; and so, steering away our course south-east for *Sallee* in *Barbary*, the 23d of *March* in the morning, we saw the land at noon, and made the town of *Momora*; at night we came to an anchor in twenty-seven fathom water, two leagues off the shore before *Momora*, and there rode all night, until the 24th day of *March* in the morning; we set sail at ten of the clock, with little wind at north north-west, and, at four of the clock in the afternoon, we came to an anchor in *Sallee* road, in thirty-three fathom water, right before the new town of *Sallee*: our captain and general, having the command of all the ships, sent some unto the southward, and some unto the northward; and, we riding in the middle, right against the castle, and before the harbour's mouth, that ships should neither go in nor out, we so dispersed all our ships over all the road of *Sallee*, that neither ship nor boat could pass in nor out, for our ships and boats lay under the castle every night close under the harbour's mouth to watch. The 26th of *March*, our general sent his letter a-shore to the governor of new *Sallee*, to demand our king's majesty's subjects, and Christians, and satisfaction for ships and goods, and for all those Christians that were sold away both to *Algier* and other countries, before we came there; which did trouble them very much, and move their patience. And, in a brava-do, they refused to send our general an answer; but, being on our guard, and, looking well about us, we went roundly to work with them another way, which they expected not, as you shall know hereafter. It was God's great mercy that we came into the road so soon as we did, for they had made ready all their ships to go for the coast of *England*, as it was credibly reported by some Christians that were slaves a-shore, who stole away out of the town, and came swimming a-board the *Leopard*; they were most *Frenchmen*, and some *Spaniards*, and they told our general, that the governor of new *Sallee* sent for all the captain renegadoes, and commanded all the captains in new *Sallee*, that they should go for the coast of *England*, near the shore, with their ships, and hoist out all their boats, and go a-shore and fetch the men,

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women, and children out of their beds, had not God, of his great mercy, prevented them; but, we coming so suddenly into the road upon them, before they knew of any ships that our gracious king had at sea, or any such intent to send a fleet of ships upon the coast of *Barbary*, they were grown to such a height of pride, that, some *English* merchants, and men a-shore, telling the governor of new *Sallee*, that they were the king of *England*'s ships, he said, What care I for the king of *England*'s ships, or all the Christian kings in the world; am not I king of *Sallee*? But we made him sing another song in a short time after, for we went to work with him another way that he dreamed not of. The 27th of *March*, at three of the clock in the afternoon, there came in a *Sallee* man of war from *Algier* with passengers, and went close a-board the north shore, as near as she could steer from running a-shore; we and the *Anti-lope* shot above one-hundred pieces of ordnance at that ship; we shot through and through her, and over her into the town. It was such a great sea, that we could not sink her; but we met with her in the harbour, and sunk her there, amongst the rest, as will appear in a short time afterwards; we then coming to an anchor hard by the castle, the castle shot at us, and we shot at the castle, and into it, and over it, and through it, and into the town, and through the town, and over it, and amongst the *Moors*, and killed a great many of them.

The 29th of *March*, the governor of the old town did send our king's letters of peace a-board to our general, and did desire a peace with our king; for they are out with the new town, and many letters passed between the saint and our general; and so, in a short time after, our general did make a peace with the saint: the old town was terrified with the rogues in the new town, for we saw them in fight all day a-shore one with the other, and a great many men and horses were killed and hurt on both sides. The old town set up a white flag of truce upon their walls for our boats to come a-shore to see what they would have; so our general caused five or six of our boats and shallops to be manned with good small shot, and our boat with the king's colours therein went a-shore, and they told our men they lacked a surgeon. Our cockswain, having order from his general to take in two of the best of them and bring them a-board the *Leopard* for pledges, sent our surgeon's-mate a-shore; and in a short time he cured all their hurt men, that were curable, at which the

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governor and all the *Moors* in the old town did much rejoice, and were very diligent unto us; and all those rogues in new *Sallee* were very crop-sick, and much discontented at our being a-shore, and so conversant with them, and called them and us *English-dogs*, and did say amongst themselves, that they were all turned Christians, and railed upon them and us, shooting with their great guns at them and us continually; and they of the new town had built a bridge over the river upon boats with deal-boards to march over to the old town with horse and man, with many thousands, and were fully resolved to take the old town into their own possession, had not we prevented them; but, in a short time after, we made them pull up their bridge, break their camp, and go their ways home and fortify their own walls and castles; for they found their hands full of us.

April the 5th, our peace was concluded with the saint our friend; this saint's name was *Siddy Hamet Allilash*; he is a petty king of the old town, and some other towns in *Barbary*, as *Barbary* is in much trouble, and many wars one with another; but it will be now better: for the king of *Morocco* doth now go a-broad to wars himself; he was abroad this summer with forty-thousand men, horse and foot, and was coming to *Sallee*, but the saint, our friend, prevented him; for he burnt up all the corn upon the ground round about the country, so that their king could have no provision for his men and horses; and by that means he could come no nearer *Sallee*, than within thirty leagues; and so he was fain to retire home again, with fire and sword laying waste all the country wheresoever he went, and putting them all to death.

The 9th of *April*, we saw a sail off at sea; we gave her chace until night, and lost her; we went into the road again, for she was so to the windward of us, that we could not fetch her.

The 11th day, in the morning, we saw two ships; we gave them chace all day, but they were far off at sea, and night was coming on, and so we lost them.

The 18th day of *April*, the *Hercules*, our rear-admiral, did come into *Sallee* road from *Lisbon*, and had set her mast again.

The 20th day of *April*, the two towns of *Sallee* were in fight very hard one against another, and did kill a great many men on both sides: we stood and looked upon them in our ships as they were in fight, we riding at an anchor, and could not reach them with our ordnance; they were a-shore.

The next day, being the 21st of *April*, the *Moors* in the old town hung out a white flag for our boats to come a-shore, and our general sent two of our boats a-shore to the old town with the king's colours in our boats; and, as soon as our boats did come to the shore-side, there were many *Moors* would have come aboard: our men did take in three of the best of them, and they told our general, that he should have all the old town at his command, as castles, forts, guns, and men, all to lay siege and battery against the new town, at his service, or any thing else in the town, for the king of *England's* sake: so, in a short time after, our general did send our master-gunner and one of my chief mates a-shore, to see how the town was fortified, and how many guns they had mounted, and how many great guns they could bring to beat upon the new town, for to lay battery, and likewise, how many great guns they could bring to beat upon the ships to sink them, or how they might come to burn them; and also, to go round about the town, and take very good notice of all things therein, and likewise of all their ships, and for a place to make a trench for great guns; and they, being many times a-shore, did find out a place for a trench; and so, in a few days after our general had well understood himself, what a good work it would be to sink and burn their ships, he gave order unto our master-gunner, and my chief mate *Simpson*, with some other good seamen out of every ship, to take some barrels of powder and shot a-shore into the old town, and to shoot at their ships, and to sink as many of them as they could; and they did sink three of their best ships the first day, and the next day they came aboard for powder and shot, and they told our general, that they had found out a place to make a trench, that would sink all their ships in the harbour; and our general did send to every ship, for every gunner and man to take their turns a-shore to manage their ordnance and battery all day long; and, while the trench was making, our men did sink many of their ships, and shot through many of their houses, and killed a great many men in their town and castle, and continued killing them every day: and when the trench was made, and their guns hauled down into the trench, our general sent for all the best gunners of every ship, and appointed every gunner and his company his day, and to take powder and shot with them, and so to go to work with their ships, to sink and destroy them all. As they were shooting at their ships and barks, the

the *Moors* in the new town did shoot at our men in the trench, and did shoot off one of our men's legs; but he is well again, God be praised for it: for we did so torment them by sinking and burning their ships, that they were stark mad, and at their wits end: for we did every day sink some of their ships, and kill some of them in the new town with the great guns, with shooting out of the trench at them, and shooting through their houses from the walls and forts of the old town, and from every place where our men came, or could bring great guns for to beat upon them, or their ships, boats, houses, churches, men, or any thing of theirs; and at last we did sink and spoil and burn all their ships but three that did lie up in the harbour behind a point of rocks, that our men could not bring any guns to beat upon them; and, what with the saint besieging them by land, and we by sea, they were in a mutiny in all the town, and together by the ears amongst themselves; and being so, and victuals beginning to be short with them, they were so tormented, that that side which was strongest, in the night, set upon the governor, and took him prisoner, and put him in chains, and sent him prisoner to the king of *Morocco*, that is, fifty leagues from *Sallee* to the southward; and, when the governor to that great king of theirs was gone, they made one governor one day, and another another day, from the time we did come into the road, to the time the old governor came to the town again.

The 27th day at one of the clock in the morning, seven of our boats were close aboard the shore at watch, and did see two great carvels coming out of the harbour; our boats did set upon them, and wedged one of their rudders fast, and did lay her by the lee, being board and board, and did heave in fire-pots unto her, and did burn three men of them to death, and did kill fifteen men of them outright, and did hurt eighteen more of them with our small shot; they did kill us one man in the head with their small shot and hurteight more in our boats with small shot, and our boats had men hurt in all that fight thirty seamen, some in the legs, and some in the arms with small shot; and two of the *Hercules's* men were shot with arrows on the back, and are dead; and all our men are well again, God be thanked. They were so near the shore, and a gale of wind off the land, that we could not help them, nor rescue them with our guns; and the rogues from the shore did beat off our boats with their small shot; and so our boats were forced to leave them, and go aboard their ships again.

The 28th of *April*, we saw two ships off

at sea; the *Mary* and *Hercules* went off to them, and fetched them up, and spoke with them: they were two *Spaniards* carrying soldiers from *Momora*.

The 29th of *April*, the saint, our friend, besieged the new town of *Sallee*, and set all their corn on fire, on the ground, without the town, and did keep them in, that they could not stir.

The first day of *May* in the morning, we saw a sail go into the harbour from all our ships: for she went so near the shore that we durst not follow her. The *Antilope* followed her into the harbour's mouth, and made many a shot at her, and did kill a great many of her men, as the *Moors* in the old town told our men.

The 5th of *May*, the *Mary* and *Hercules* did come into the road from *Fedally*, and told our general that they did put a *Sallee* man of war ashore at *Fedally*, and set her on fire, and the saint had taken all her men: she was one of the best ships they had; she had in her twenty-three or twenty-four great guns, and, coming from *Algier* with a great many men in her, would have gone a roguing, had not we destroyed them.

The 11th day in the morning we saw a ship off at sea, and gave her chace all the day, and in the night we lost sight of her; for it was dark, and no wind.

The 12th day in the morning, we saw two ships, and we did give them chace all day until night, and then lost them, it being dark, and little wind.

The 15th day in the morning, we saw two ships to the northward of us, as far as we could see them; we did give them chace all day, and at night we lost them.

The 18th day, at two o'clock in the morning, eight of our boats were in fight with four of their great boats until daylight: we did kill them a great many men in their boats, as they were coming from *Fedally*: and, had it not been a gale of wind, our boats had taken them all before they had gotten into the harbour. We had but two men hurt in all our boats.

The 24th day, our boats did take a great boat of theirs.

The 25th day, we did give a man of war chace to the southward of *Sallee* all the day: in the night we lost her, for it was dark, and little wind.

The last of *May* in the morning, we saw a ship off at sea: we gave her chace all day till night; she sailed too fast for us. All those ships that we chaced were men of war, rogues and pirates of *Sallee*. Some of them came out of the *Streights*, and some small men of war of them came out of *Sallee*.

The 1st of *June* in the morning, we saw two ships off at sea; we gave them chace

chace all day, till at night, it being dark, and little wind, when we lost them.

The 5th, at ten o'clock at night, the governor was sent away prisoner in a boat to the king of *Morocco*, thinking that the king would have cut off his head; and we, having notice of his going, watched narrowly for him with all our boats: it was such a night, and so dark, and so great a fog, that our boats could not meet with him, for we would have taken him prisoner.

The 7th, in the night, a small man of war came out of the harbour; our boats, being upon the watch, met her, and put her a-shore, and she was split to pieces, and all her men drowned and taken by the saint, our friend.

The 10th of *June*, the *Expedition* came into *Sallee* road.

The 11th, the *Providence* came into the road; and one of their men of war came creeping along the north shore, a mile from the northward of the old town; our boats and one of the pinnaces set upon her, and put her a-shore, and she was split to pieces, and most of her men killed and taken by the saint, our friend.

The 23d of *June*, our general went on board the *Expedition*, in the morning, to see how they would row, and they rowed after three leagues a watch, and rowed under the castle; and the castle fired at her, and she shot at the castle, and into the castle, and over the castle, and into the town, and over the town; and the castle at her, and she at them; and so they did lie shooting one at another, until four o'clock in the afternoon; and then she came off into the road again, and came to an anchor hard by the *Leopard*, and came off very well, and had never a man hurt, we give God thanks: they broke one of their best brass guns in the castle, with shooting at her.

The 27th, in the morning, we saw two ships at an anchor under the castle; our general sent for all the ships boats to tow in the *Providence*, for it was calm, she rowed and eight boats did tow, and they towed her within musquet-shot of the shore, and the *Providence* did shoot at those two ships one hundred pieces of ordnance through and through, and the great shot killed them some men outright, and went a-shore amongst a thousand *Moors*, and the castle discharged above eighty pieces of ordnance at her. The men in the town came down to the water-side with one thousand small-shot at her; and at noon they left off, and she came off very well, and had never a man hurt; but her ropes, her sails, and her sides were paid with small-shot; we could

not know how many *Moors* she did kill them.

The 13th in the morning, we saw a ship; captain *White* chased her a-shore to the northward. The same day at noon, the new town sent a boat on board with letters to our general, about the Christians, and would fain have made a peace with our general; but he would not make a peace with them, except they would give us all our Christians, and satisfaction for all that ever had been taken by them; those words made them in a dump, and when they saw our two pinnaces come into the road out of *England*, and row with oars after one of their ships, they were stark mad, and sought all the ways they could for a peace with us, or with the saint; and there ran away one hundred men in a day out of the new town to the old town, to the saint: and most of the best men in the town, for want of victuals, which were very short with them, who durst not go out for fear of our men, were almost all starved for want.

June the 30th, we saw a ship at sea, and gave her chace all day, and at night we lost her; it was dark and little wind, so that we could not fetch her.

July the 3d, we put a *Sallee* man of war a-shore, with fifty-five *Moors* and *Turks* in her, all killed, and drowned, and taken by the saint our friend, and their ship split all to pieces.

The 11th in the morning, we saw three ships at sea, gave them chace all day, and at night we lost them.

The 12th, the *Providence* chased a *Sallee* man of war a-shore, with eighty-five *Moors* and *Turks* in her, to the southward, all taken and killed by the saint our friend, and their ship split all to pieces: to the southward of *Sallee*, six ships and carvels, and two boats put a-shore without the harbour of *Sallee* bar; unto the southward, two ships and one boat; unto the northward, four ships and one boat: they were all men of war, and pirates of *Sallee*; and all the ships, that we gave chace to, were all *Turkish* men of war, and pirates of *Sallee*, but four that came to trade with the town; but our general would not suffer them to trade.

July 26th, our master-gunner, and my mate *Simpson*, and a great many men more, had made ready some great guns, to go up to the saint, by the general's appointment, about the head of the river; for they in the new town had taken away their bridge, that they had made upon boats and deal boards, to go over the river into the old town, to fight with them, and did fight with them many times; and had taken the old town, if we had staid away

away but ten days longer ; but when they saw our ships, and knew wherefore they came, we made them soon take away their bridge again, for fear we should take away their bridge from them, and carry our great guns over, and beat down the town about their ears ; and made them in a woeful case, that they were sometimes in the mind to give up the town to the saint, and sometimes inclined to give it to the *Spaniards* ; and at last they were disposed to run away, and would have run away a great many out of the town daily, if they could have told how to have got out of the harbour ; for they could not hold the town above six or ten days longer, the Christians having all escaped to our general ; but we so looked out with our boats close in the shore, and before the harbour's mouth, that they could not stir ; and, if they had got out of the harbour from our boats, our ships in the road were all ready to set sail, and to cut our cables in the hawser, and all our sails in smiting being ready to set sail after them, at an instant.

The 27th of *July*, there came letters to our general from the king of *Morocco*, and mr. *Robert Black*, a merchant, and interpreter for the king's ambassador, to our general ; in that ship was the old governor, that was sent away in chains unto the king of *Morocco*, and had made his peace with the king ; so the king sent him to be governor in *Sallee* again, with a proviso, that he could make his peace with our general about our Christians, for the town of new *Sallee* was very near the matter to be none of the king of *Morocco's*, nor he to be entertained for governor again ; had not our gracious king, with his ships, given him possession of it, he had never been king of *Sallee* in this world ; for we had notice of their coming a week before they came, and our general sent his warrant with the *Providence*, and one ship more, besides a small frigate, to sea, to look for their coming.

The same day our pinnace the *Providence* met with him, and commanding him a-board our ship the *Leopard*, he was kept prisoner till the next day, when our general threatened to hang him, at which he trembled very much, and was sore afraid : our general sent for all the captains a-board, and, holding a council of war, it was agreed upon, that the king's alcaid, and mr. *Robert Blake*, should go a-shore first into the new town, and see how they would entertain the king's alcaid, and how they would entertain the old governor again. The 28th day, they sent a boat a-board unto our general, with eleven Christians that were the governor's slaves, or most of them, and merchants some of

them, to my knowledge, and told him, if he would send the governor a-shore, he should have all the Christians a-board ; and it was agreed upon, that they should bring all our Christians a-board in their boats : the old governor being set a-shore, they did receive him very thankfully again, for, had not he and the king's alcaid come as they did, the town had been the saint's and ours ; but God would not have it so ; and they made as much haste to bring our Christians a-board as they could, because they would have us gone out of the road.

On the 8th of *August*, we had all our Christians a-board our ships, with their names, and in what towns they formerly dwelt, as you shall see in a list following, God willing.

The same day towards night, our general sent four of our ships away, to rove and range the coast of *Spain*, to look for the *Turkish* men of war, pirates, or others, viz. the *Antelope* and *Hercules*, and the *Providence* and *Expedition*, being two ships and two pinnaces.

On the 12th, the *Mary-Rose* and the *Roe-buck*, came into *Sallee* road from *England*, with a new supply, not knowing what we had done ; but, the *Moors* of new *Sallee* seeing two ships with the king's colours, they were mad to see more ships come into road of *Sallee* ; and we must stay still to take in the king's alcaid, and mr. *Robert Blake*, and four of the best men in *Sallee*, to go to the king of *Morocco* for pledges, and to see the peace confirmed between the king of *England*, and the king of *Morocco*.

August the 21st, we set sail out of *Sallee* road.

The 23d, we came to an anchor in *Saffee* road, in twenty fathom water.

The 19th of *September*, at six o'clock at night, the ambassador came a-board, with all his men, to go for *England* in the *Leopard*.

On the 21st, at four of the clock in the afternoon, we set sail out of *Saffee* road, with the wind at south south-west, little wind, and calm all night.

The 23d day, at eight of the clock in the morning, cape *Canteen* did bear east south-east seven leagues from us.

The 4th of *October*, in the morning at eight of the clock, we founded, and had a hundred and ten fathom of water ; the ground was great red sand, with some small black sand, and some white shells, and other small white pieces, and some round stones.

The 5th day at noon, a north-east and by north way, thirty-one leagues, in degrees forty-nine and forty-nine minutes, the wind at south and south-west. The same

day at two of the clock in the afternoon, which did bear from us at noon north, eight leagues off, and the *Lizard* north-east and by nore northerly, twenty leagues at noon, we sounded fifty-five fathom water off *Scilly*, and did see land upon the deck at two of the clock, the wind at south south-west.

The 6th day in the morning, at nine of the clock, we did lie by the lee of the *Berry*, a mile off the shore to land all our Christians; that day at night, they were all landed at *Torbay*, that we brought from *Sallee*, who were captives.

The 7th day, at seven of the clock at night, we came to an anchor in the *Downs*, nine fathom water.

The 8th day being *Sunday*, in the forenoon, we did set the *Morocco's* ambassador a-shore in the *Downs*; and, at two of the clock in the afternoon, we set sail, the wind at south south-east, and, at five of the clock in the afternoon, we came to an anchor in eight fathom water, in *Margate* road; with very much wind, at south south-east, we rode all night.

The 9th day, at eight in the morning, we set sail out of *Margate* road, the wind at south south-west; and, at one of the clock in the afternoon, we came to an anchor at *Queensborough* in nine fathom water, and there staid for a fair wind to go up to *Chatham*, to deliver his majesty's ship over the chain in safety.

Captain *William Rainsborough*, captain of the *Leopard*, and general of the south squadron of the *Sallee* fleet.

Captain *George Carteret*, captain of the *Antilope*, and vice-admiral.

Captain *Brian Harrison*, captain of the *Hercules*, rear-admiral.

Captain *George Hatch*, captain of the *Mary*.

Captain *Edward Symons*, captain of the *Providence*.

Captain *Thomas White*, captain of the *Expedition*.

Captain *Trunchfield*, captain of the *Mary-Rose*.

And mr. *Board* of *Rotherhithe*, master and commander of the *Roe-buck*.

The *Leopard*, in burthen 600 tons, 36 great guns, and 180 seamen.

The *Antilope*, in burthen 600 tons, 36 great guns, and 180 seamen.

The *Hercules*, in burthen 400 tons, 28 great guns, and 140 seamen.

The *Mary*, in burthen 400 tons, 28 great guns, and 140 seamen.

The *Providence* pinnace, in burthen near upon 300 tons, with 14 great guns, and 100 seamen.

The *Expedition*, in burthen near upon 300 tons, with 14 great guns, and 100 seamen.

The *Mary-Rose*, in burthen near upon 400 tons, with 28 great guns, and 100 seamen.

The *Roe-buck*, in burthen 80 tons, 10 great guns, and 50 seamen.

All these good ships, with the captives, are in safety arrived in *England*; we give God thanks.

And God bless king Charles, and all those that love him.

Hampton-court, the 20th of October, 1637.

This journal and map may be printed.

Ex mandato Sæ. Ræ. Matis.

R. Weekherlin.

A TRUE
A C C O U N T
OF THE
C A P T I V I T Y
OF
T H O M A S P H E L P S,
AT
M A C H I N E S S in *B A R B A R Y.*

A N D

Of his strange Escape, in Company of *Edmund Baxter*, and others ; as also of the Burning two of the greatest Pirate-ships belonging to that Kingdom, in the River of *Mamora*, upon the thirteenth Day of *June*, 1685.

By *T H O M A S P H E L P S.*

The Preface to the Reader.

SINCE my escape from captivity, and worse than *Egyptian* bondage, I have, methinks, enjoyed a happiness with which my former life was never acquainted; now, that, after a storm and terrible tempest, I have, by miracle, put into a safe and quiet harbour, after a most miserable slavery to the most unreasonable and barbarous of men; now, that I enjoy the immunities and freedom of my native country, and the privileges of a subject of *England*, altho' my circumstances otherwise are but indifferent, yet I find I am affected with extraordinary emotions, and singular transports of joy; now I know what liberty is, and can put a value and make a just estimate of that happiness, which before I never well understood; which observation agrees very well with a lesson in *Morals* I remember I have been taught, *viz.* That all happiness here below is only relative, and has a value only put upon it by comparison; riches and abundance have their measures and convenience, from the consideration of the miseries and inconveniencies that attend poverty and want; health can be but slightly esteemed by him, who never was acquainted with pain or sickness; and liberty and freedom are the happiness only valuable by a reflexion on captivity and slavery. They who are unacquainted with, and have no notice of the miseries of the latter, will never put a due value and consideration upon the former; of which general rule the most part of my countrymen, I am sorry to say, are too particular an instance, who of all the nations of the earth are possessors of the greatest liberty, but least sensible of the happiness. Here the government secures every man in the possession and enjoyment of what God's blessing and his own industry has allowed. Here even the poor and needy, the impotent, and those whom the hand of God has touched, have a comfortable subsistence, and plentiful provision against all extremities. Here the industrious mechanic or country farmer, can sit down at his table better provided than many barons in *Germany*, marquisses in *France*, and knights in *Spain*. In a word, slavery is so strange a condition to *England*, that to touch its soil is *ipso facto* manumission, and the generality of the people have but little heard, and less understood the miserable state which the most part of the world is now subject to; so that the great plenty and great liberty of the *English* subjects is no great happiness to them, because they never weigh their condition with what is the lot of other nations. Upon this consideration I have adventured to publish this account of the miseries I underwent, with many others, during our captivity in *Barbary*, and of my escape thence. My design is, Christian reader, to work in thee by this true, tho' plain narrative, some pity towards the sharp sufferings of thy poor brethren at the hands of Infidels; to instruct thee to prize the blessings of that place where thy lot is fallen, and where, having only the benefit of air, thou hast a goodly heritage; and lastly, with me, to magnify the name of God, who in his word commands us, to tell what things he hath done for us, and to shew forth his works with gladness.

A true Account of my being taken, and Sufferings during my Captivity.

UPON the 27th day of *August* 1684, I *Thomas Phelps* set sail from the *Downs*, in a vessel called the *Succefs* of *London*, about forty tons, laden with salt, bound for a place in *Ireland* called the *Ventrey*, where we arrived the 10th day of *September*; I staid there some while, and killed beef, designing for the *Maderas* and *Montferrat*; accordingly on the 20th of *September* I set sail for the *Maderas*; but my design was crossed, and my voyage stopped as follows: Upon the 5th of *October* (being then a hundred leagues westward off the rock of *Lisbon*) we saw a sail to windward of us, which immediately we found to give us chase; we made what sail we could from him, and, night coming on, we had, for about two hours, lost sight of him, but, at the rising of the moon, he got sight of us, and quickly came up with us, hail-

ing us, Whence our ship? We answered from *London*, demanding the like of him, who made answer from *Algier*, and withal commanded us to hoist out our boat, which we refused to do; but we braced our head-sails for him, who immediately sent his boat towards us; when it was got almost by our side, we gave them three shouts, which so surprised them, that they thought it convenient to retire a-board their own ship; we were not a little cheered at their departure, and made from them with all the sail we could make; for we had not one great gun; and as for powder, I believe one single pound was the utmost of our store: in the mean time, whilst he was hoisting in of his boat, I got above two miles from him, which made me think I was clear of him, and withal that the ship must be an *Algerine*, she appearing so great, that, according to the

the stories in *England*, I thought no such ship could belong to *Sallee*: But I found myself within a little while mightily mistaken; for, as soon as his boat was hoisted in, he presently fetched us up again: we had tried his sailing all ways, but found we could not wrong him any way; so seeing him a-stern, and a thing impossible to lose sight of us, I put out a light for him, notwithstanding I was possessed at that time (God knows) with fear enough; but I thought, in the dark, my seeming confidence and resolution might impose upon him, so as to fancy I was of some force; and truly afterwards he confessed to me, that he thought I had six guns a-board, and that I did intend to fight him.

He kept a-stern of me all night, and in the morning he put out *Turkish* colours, which I answered with our *English*; then he came up, and saw I had no boat in sight, for my boat was stowed betwixt decks; he commanded me therefore to brace to my head-sails, and then he sent his boat to demand my pass; a-board her was an ancient *Moor*, who formerly had been a slave in *England*, and spoke good *English*, and who was set at liberty by our late gracious king *Charles II.* He, seeing us in readiness with what arms we had, asked me, if I had a mind to break the peace; he told me I needed not trouble myself to keep them out of our vessel, for none of them could be persuaded to come a-board me.

I brought him my custom-house cockets, for I had no pass: the *Moor* aforesaid carried them to the captain, but soon after returned, and told me that would not satisfy the captain, unless the master himself would come. I made answer, that I would not come; that I had done what I was obliged to by the articles betwixt *England* and *Algiers*. The boat a second time put away for their ship, and, whilst they were hoisting in their boat, I made what sail I could, and was got a mile or more from them again, entertaining better hopes than I was in the night before; but, as soon as the boat was in and stowed, the *Moors* made sail and came up with me again, the captain ordering them to tell me, that, if I refused to come a-board him, he would come a-board me with his ship; with that he ranged up my weather-quarter. I immediately put astays, which put him into some confusion, so that he was forced to put a stays also: He had then no gun, which I could perceive; I saw his ports, and his waist was man-high: as I came about I run under his stern, and bore away right before the wind; he soon came up with me, but not one shot passed all this while; he demand-

ed of me, why I clapped astays for to run a-thwart his halfe; I answered, that I doubted he was not of *Algier*; he swore in *English* to me, that he was, else before this he would have discovered himself; and withal he told me, that, if I did not come a-board, he would straightway sink me, and so he hoisted out his boat. In the mean time I bore away; but his boat coming up made me bring to again and brace a back; his boat then came a-board. I asked this *Moor*, who spoke *English*, what ship of *Algiers* this was; he very readily, without stammering, told me, she was called the *Tageren*, young *Canary* commander; I immediately then went into his boat. So soon as I came a-board, the captain asked me, Why I was so hard of belief? My distrust was such then, that I prayed the captain, now that he had me a-board in his power, to resolve me whether he was a *Sallee-man* or not; he swore to me again, that he was of *Algier*, and that I should not be wronged: He made me sit down, and caused them to set dates and figs before me: a little after the captain told me, that he was acquainted by his men that they saw two *Portugueses* a-board my ship, and that he would have them out, and then I should be gone about my business; I told him I had none such a-board, but he would see those two men; so the two men were sent for; after that he told me there were three more, and them he must have; well, to be short, at last he was suspicious that I was a *Portuguese* also, and, to convince me that I was one, I found my entertainment presently withdrawn: thus did this faithless barbarian serve me, until he had wheedled all my men a-board him except two, and then the valiant *Moors* entered my vessel with abundance of courage, heaving the two remaining *English* over the head of the vessel into the boat.

Thus were we all stripped, the vessel plundered in a moment, which they did resolve to have sunk, because they were too far at sea distant from their own coast; but immediately we saw five sail bearing down upon us, which startled the *Moors*, putting them into a great fright, obliging them to quit my vessel with abundance of beef and three boxes of dry goods a-board, which their fear would not give them leisure to rummage for: in some small time the five vessels discovered us; when they came within two leagues of us, had they bore down afterwards with that resolution that they threatened before, the pirate would never have stood to look them in the face; but alas! like distracted fearful game, every one of the five ships took a several course, and, it being now night, they all escaped.

After that we cruised about thirty leagues to the west of the northern cape, and so to the *Burlings*, but no nearer than twenty leagues to the shore; and therefore I imagine there is more safety for small vessels bound that way, to keep the shore as near as is possible, for I know certainly they never attempt to come near, but endeavour as much as they can to avoid the shore, because our men of war use to careen at *Lisbon*.

I am likewise pretty well satisfied for that small time that I was amongst them (although it was too long for my profit) that no *Sallee-man* will fight a ship of ten guns; which I found true by observation of a countryman from *Bristol*, whilst I was a-board: we came up with him and hailed him, and would have had him put out his boat; but he refused, and withal shewed himself ready in his own defence, upon which we were glad to leave him.

So that, to satisfy all my countrymen who follow my trade, I dare confidently affirm, that if I had a ship of ten guns, and it should be my fortune to encounter any of these *Sallee* rogues (who all go under the notion of *Algerines*, who are now at peace with *England*) I would encourage him to send his boat, by acquainting him that our master would come a-board and shew his pass (which is the thing they aim at) and when the boat was come to my side (any man of reason may judge then whether she were from *Sallee* or *Algier*, but, however, I would commit nothing that should be judged a breach between *England* and *Algier*) I would heave in a grappling and secure the men, all save two, whom I would permit to return a-board and bring me a Christian, or else aver my pass; if they will not do that, I am then satisfied what he is, and think myself obliged to defend myself from slavery; but this I am very confident of, that he will never stay to dispute the case afterward.

About a fortnight after I was taken, we met one *Samuel Crampton*, who came from *Faro*, and whom we soon took without any resistance. The week following we took a small ketch come from *Cales*, laden with sherry and raisins, and bound for *Limerick*, *John Elliot* master.

The number of us Christians, taken a-board the three prizes, was twenty-five, besides twelve which were a-board the pirate, in all thirty-seven; we who were newly taken were kept in irons in the hold.

After the taking of these three vessels, the pirate made all the sail he could for *Sallee*, to save the spring tide which flows at *Sallee* and *Marmora*, south south-west, about thirty leagues: to the northward of *Sallee* we met a *Fleming* who came from *Sallee*, and told our commander that the *English* men of

war were at *Tangier* then, attending captain *Nicholson*, which caused us to bear directly for *Sallee*, and fell in directly with the castle, where were no *English* men of war, according to the advice.

On the bar of *Sallee* there run a great sea, which obliged us to come to an anchor near the bar, where we rid six hours; then were we poor Christians all let loose from our iron shackles, wherein we had been confined twenty days preceding: the captain sent the boat, as near the shore to the south of the bar as possibly he could, to enquire what news; there they were acquainted that they might safely come in the next high water: whilst the boat was gone a-shore, the *Moors*, we observed, fell all fast asleep; the captain also, with his head over the rail, upon the half deck, seemed deeply engaged: this opportunity I thought was very inviting; I made a proposal of it to my fellow slaves, and undertook to do the captain's business myself; the Christians were forward enough to comply with the motion, and eleven of the twelve (which were slaves retained in the ship before our being taken) they also were willing, if the twelfth who was steward in the ship would have consented; but this sneaking varlet proved recreant, and for fear of him the other eleven turned also renegadoes to this heroic and Christian resolution; I had a mind to have dispatched this troubler of our peace out of the way first, but the fear, that his fellow slaves would have severely resented it, restrained my resolution; the slave's name was *William Robinson*, who professed himself a Christian in words, but indeed we found more civility from the *Moors* than him.

At four in the afternoon we weighed anchor, and stood in for the bar; we struck twice going over, but without any damage; it was upon the first day of *November*: after we had helped to moor our ship, at night we were all carried a-shore, and conveyed to our lodging, which was an old stable, but without litter or straw, having nothing save the bare dirty ground for our bed or pillow; the next day we were all carried a-board the ship to unrig her, and get out her ballast, which we did. About four in the afternoon I was sent for a-shore to come to the governor, who passed his sentence on us three masters, that we should go to his house, and there remain until we were sent for by the king; we remained at his house ten days, where our daily employment was to grind the corn for the use of his family. At length there came an order for us, and all the rest of the Christians to be carried to the king, whose ordinary and then residence was

was at *Machaneß*, a place which this present emperor has set his fancy upon, and employs all Christian slaves in building there; it is distant from *Sallee* about seventy miles, and from *Fez* thirty.

In our journey thither, I cannot forget our captain's extraordinary civility, in accommodating us sometimes with borricoes to ride on, so that in two days and a half we arrived thither: the first night we were not brought before our great master, but the following our captain presented us before him, and withal some *Portuguese* plate, which was taken in *mr. Crampton's* vessel; as the captain gave it into his hand, the surly tyrant with a seeming scorn and disdain heaved it against the wall; which was the first action I observed, and did a little discover the temper of my new patron *Muley Ishmael*, emperor of *Morocco* and *Fez*, &c. He ordered us to be sent amongst the rest of our fellow slaves; as we went, we were entertained with the civilities of the place, and welcomed by the joyful acclamations and compliments of the *Moors* kicking and flapping us all along, which appeared very uncouth to me, who was but a stranger; but that night my fellow captives allayed my wonder, by acquainting me, that what had past was nothing; it was only a suitable prologue to all the tragical sufferings that Christians must endure there, whilst they are slaves, which were so dreadful, that I could willingly that very night have ventured my life to endeavour an escape; they painted out to me the tyrannical humour of the emperor, both towards the Christians and natives, in such bloody colours, *viz.* how they had seen him butcher many thousands with his own hands; how that none can be secure in his presence, for that the varying of a look, a small spot in the garment, or any such inconsiderable circumstance, will raise such a caprice in the emperor's noddle, without any other provocation, as to endanger all the heads before him; and it is very rare if the company escape with one or two only beheaded, or lanced through the body,

The second day after my arrival thither, I saw him lance seven and twenty negroes one after another; and every day after until *New-year's-day* (when he parted to *Santa Cruz* with his army) I either saw or heard of his inhuman, but yet, through custom, to him natural barbarities, killing and dragging; but this latter is a piece of respect observed only to minions and favourites, vice-kings and alcalds; yea, his women are not able by all their charms to avoid his fury, but are more the objects of his implacable rage than any other passion: I have been several times in the *West-Indies*,

and have seen and heard of divers inhumanities and cruelties practised there; I have also read in books, and have heard learned men discourse of the *Sicilian* tyrants and *Roman* emperors; but indeed I forget them all, they are not to be named in comparison with this monster of *Afric*, a composition of gore and dust, whom nothing can atone but human sacrifices, and to be in whose court it is much more eligible to be his horse or his mule, than to be his privado or wife of his bosom, from whose greatest kindness my God ever defend me, for his mercies are cruel: yea, even *Hamed Ben Haddu*, who was his ambassador here in *England* three years ago, although he was received and entertained here with extraordinary civilities, and caressed every where by all the endearments of kindness and respect; and, although by his fineness and *Moorish* subtlety he stole into the inclinations of the well-meaning and good-natured *English*, so that he obtained the reputation of ingenuity and candour, yet the dog has returned to his vomit, and by woeful experiment all my country-men, who come under his power, find him a harsh and cruel master, who managed his affairs here with deep dissimulation, and now improves his knowledge of *English* affairs, to the detriment and ruin of all the king's subjects with whom he has to do; if it be his fortune to meet or pass by any of them, his custom is (as all the *English* can attest) to salute them with a devilish curse, to the best of my remembrance expressed thus, *Alli baztebuck*, i. e. *God roast your father*: he is indeed reckoned a great master in the art of dissimulation and flattery, a qualification, which seems very requisite in a courtier of such a barbarous bloody tyrant as his master is.

But to proceed, my fellow Christians in the next place shewed me the staff of their life there, *i. e.* their bread, which was of barley, but black, and withal it stunk, the corn being kept seven years under ground before used; one day's allowance, if sold, would yield nine fluces, which amount to three farthings; flesh is cheap, both mutton and beef, but money is scarce; two pounds and a half of beef are ordinarily sold for a blankil, *i. e.* two pence half-penny, and two pounds of mutton at the same rate; good white bread is also plentiful, half as cheap as in *England*; but what is this to the slaves who have not a farthing, and not a bit is allowed us without money? I am confident there is many a Christian there, who hath not tasted a morsel of flesh in five months time.

The country is a pleasant champaign country, very fruitful, well watered, productive of all sorts of fruit in plenty; we Christians,

Christians, who arrived last, were excused for two days from labour, only we were instructed in our deportments to our negro taskmasters, who afterwards gave us severe chastisement for our mistakes and lapses: our work and daily labour was continually building of houses and walls; the materials and method are very foreign, and will appear strange to my countrymen here; there are boxes of dimensions according to pleasure; these we fill with earth powdered and lime, and gravel well beat together, and tempered with water, and when full, we remove the box according to order, and withdraw the box-planks, and leave this matter to dry; which then will acquire an incredible hardness, and is very lasting, for we have seen walls of some hundred years standing, as we were informed, and all that time has not been able to do them any prejudice.

The king himself (what the reason of his humour may be, I never had the curiosity to ask him) will sometimes vouchsafe to work in the lime and dirt for an hour together, and will bolt out an encouraging word to the slaves then, *viz.* as I remember, *Liferus*, that is, *God send you to your own countries*; but, I judge, he either does not speak from his heart, or else he hopes God will not answer the prayers of such a wicked wretch: with this sort of labour, I made shift to pass away all the winter; and, indeed, without a quibble, I had no other shift or shirt, only the charity of my fellow slaves, who were better provided, accommodated me with a covering from the cold, which else would have endangered my life.

The reader, I suppose, will not think it strange, if I was dissatisfied and very weary of my condition, and therefore I did often rummage all my thoughts, for some expedient to ease me of this accursed way, not of living, but starving and dying daily: my mind did often flatter me with the greatest possibility of liberty by running away; and so confident I was, that I discovered my intentions to several Christians, especially to those of my near acquaintance, who, by no means, could be induced to hear the difficulties and dangers that attended such a resolution: In the mean time, my friends in *England* had taken some care for my ransom, and had given order to mr. *Luddington*, an *English* merchant in *Barbary*, to endeavour my relief, if one-hundred and fifty pounds would effect it, which sum, mr. *Luddington* acquainted me, he was ready to disburse, if I could cut (that is, agree with my patron for my ransom) for six-hundred, or seven-hundred pieces of eight: I proffered the said sum, but it

would not be accepted; upon which I looked upon my condition as desperate; my forlorn and languishing state of life, without any hope of redemption (which only could support our spirits in the midst of such great afflictions, and bondage to those upon whom God and nature seems to have impressed characters of slavery to the rest of mankind) appeared far worse than the terrors of a most cruel death. I set up then my fixed and unalterable resolution to escape, whatever fate attended it, leaving the event to providence; I had more than conjecture, that present death was to be the reward of my endeavours if I were retaken, for, three *Spaniards*, who some two months before were taken, making their escape, the king caused them to be brought before him, and with his own hands proved their butcher, and executioner; which cruel proceedings did wholly dishearten the poor-spirited Christians, and banished all such resolutions quite out of their minds: at length I opened my mind to mr. *Baxter* (who, about a year and a half before, had made an unlucky attempt to run away, but, being brought back, he had the bastinado in such sort, that he could not work for a twelve-month, having irons continually upon his legs) but, notwithstanding, such was his love for Christian liberty, that he freely told me, that he would adventure with any fair opportunity; after I had him thus engaged by his promise, I gave him no rest, until we had pitched upon a day; we also took into our cabal, and share of our fortunes, two *Bristol* men, who were ready at an hour's warning, when we appointed.

There are at *Machanefs*, at present, about eight-hundred Christians of all nations, two-hundred and sixty whereof are *English*, several of which have tendered money for their ransom, some seven-hundred, some five-hundred pieces of eight, some more, some less; but the king still put them off with this, that he would clear none particularly, but that they should go all together.

January the 1st, the king set forward towards *Santa Cruz*, with an army of about sixty-thousand men, designing to quell his nephew, who had made a formidable insurrection against him, in that part of his dominions: we Christians could not inform ourselves of the certain proceedings of these armies, neither did we much care, fight dog, fight bear; but this we learnt, that it will be two or three years before his return, and it is not to be supposed, that any particular Christian will be released until he return; besides, there is no hopes to be laid upon the most solemn

solemn word and protestation of this swarthy infidel *Muley Ishmael*, for, as I have been informed, about four or five years ago, by an agreement with colonel *Kirk*, all the *English* slaves were to be set at liberty at the rate of two-hundred pieces of eight a head, and the bargain was so far struck, that the Christians were got a mile out of town; but the cursed *Jews* (the stench and pest of the nations of the earth, malicious to all mankind, and loathsome and abominable wherever they come; who not only have the blood of the Saviour of the world lying upon their heads, but are accountable for the blood of many thousands of his members which are daily shed) these wicked enemies of Christianity, brought back these poor Christians into the house of bondage thus: They proffered the emperor as much money as the king of *England* tendered for the Christians ransom, if he would lend them, for a while, to build a city for the *Jews*, and then they should be restored to the king: the covetous tyrant soon closed with these advantageous terms, and the Christians were turned over to the

Jews, who employed them three years in building a city; but, when finished, see the just judgment of God! the *Jews* were turned out, and forced to give place to the *Moors*: another remarkable story, concerning the *Jews*, I cannot but insert upon this occasion: About three years ago, mr. *Bowry* of *Bristol* was, with twenty sail more, taken by the *Sallee* men; *Bowry* had a parcel of soap in his ship, which then did belong to the king; *Ben Haddu*, ambassador in *England*, desired to buy this soap of the king, but a *Jew* outbid him, and so had the soap; for which dealing, the ambassador kept a grudge in his mind against the *Jews*, and was revenged on them after this manner, whilst I was there: He informed the king, that the *Jews* had imposed upon him, and couzened him of fifty-thousand pieces of eight, in the matter of the soap, upon which the king clapped up ten of the chief *Jews* in prison, until they should either pay the said sum; or else restore the soap, which it is to be supposed, hath been sold in Christendom two years ago.

An Account of my Escape, Mr. Edmund Baxter's, and others, from Barbary.

AFTER a serious consideration, finding that no proffers for my redemption would be accepted, I committed the conduct of my proceedings to almighty providence, resolving to make an escape in company of three more, *Edmund Baxter*, *Anthony Bayle*, and *James Ingram*.

May the 29th, agreeing with our guardian *Moors* for a blankil, *i. e.* two-pence half-penny a piece, we had the liberty to be excused from work that day; we went therefore to the town of *Machanefs*, and having but a small stock of cash about us, *viz.* nine blankils, we laid it out in bread, and two small bullocks bladders, with a little burdock to carry water in.

About three of the clock in the afternoon, we began our journey, designing to go as far as an old house, called the king's house, distant about three miles from *Machanefs*, resolving to conceal ourselves about that house until night, and promising to ourselves the greater security, because we knew some Christians used commonly to work there; but, proceeding in our journey, we discovered, upon a loaded horse, the *Moor* who lived at that house, which obliged us to quicken our pace, and keep a-head of him; for, if he should come up with us, he would easily discover that we did not belong to the said house; we made haste therefore before him, and, coming near the house,

discovered about twenty *Moors* sitting there; which accident of being hemmed in behind and before, by these our enemies, put us into a great fright, and had, in all likelihood, spoiled our design; in the very entrance, if providence had not presented to our view, on one side of the house, a parcel of lime-kilns, to which, without the *Moors* observation, we intrusted up, where we absconded ourselves, by lying flat upon our bellies: about half an hour after, came two *Moorish* women thither, to gather up some loose wood; we considering it very inconvenient to shew ourselves fearful, lest we should be taken for renegadoes, spoke to them, but they returned us no answer, following their business, and taking us, as we judged, either for *Moors* or Christians employed about the said lime-kilns; so we continued there without any further molestation, until night, when we proceeded on our journey; travelling about eighteen miles that night, we passed by a great many tents, whence the dogs came out and barked at us, and the *Moors* also saw us, but said nothing, mistaking us for their countrymen.

That night we crossed the great river, which runs down to *Mamora*, about eighteen miles distant from *Machanefs*, and, about a mile from the bank of the river, we found a convenient bush, where

we took up our lodging all the day following, without any disturbance: at night we found ourselves obliged to return to the said river, to furnish us with water, the littleness of our vessel, which contained not above a gallon, being a great hindrance in our journey: we continued our progress twelve miles that night, which proved very tiresome, by reason of the weeds and bushes, and the nights were not so long as we wished; just about day-break, we found a convenient bush near to a great valley, where we reposed ourselves; as soon as the day broke clear, we saw abundance of cattle grazing in the bottom, with *Moors*, who looked after them, but, by God's providence, none came near us, so that we lay safe all that day, being the last day of *May*.

At night we set forwards, keeping the woods, where were no *Moorish* inhabitants, only wild beasts, the less savage and formidable, which we often saw, but they never attempted to come near us; we travelled about ten miles that night, and then crossed a river, which supplied us with water, whereof we were in want; on the other side of the river, we observed the footsteps of a great many cattle, which rendered the place, as we thought, unsafe for us; we made therefore a little further progress in the morning, to the top of the hill, where under a large oak we found a bush convenient for our reception that day; but within a little while we were disturbed in our repose, observing the cattle to come grazing up the hill, directly to that bush, with *Moors* at their heels; with all haste therefore we packed up our luggage, and ran a mile further, without being discovered, until we came to a pear-tree, furnished with long grass around it; there we took up our quarters all that day, being the 1st of *June*.

The night following, we intended to proceed, but it pleased God to strike me lame with the gout, so that I was not able to stand: I was forced, therefore, to remain there all that night, and the day ensuing, which was a great hindrance to my companions, and affliction to myself: the readiest expedient to remedy my distemper, which I could think upon, was this: We made a fire in a hole in the ground, and I put my foot into the hole, to draw away the pain; having also a lancet with us, I endeavoured to breathe a vein in my foot, but I could not effect it, for the lancet would not enter; however, I found some ease by the force of the fire: my company, being sensible of the delay which my distemper occasioned, began to be moved, insomuch that they told me, that, if I could not march with them that night,

they must hold themselves obliged to take leave of me, which added a great affliction to my sorrow, insomuch as I was the author and first mover of this escape; that I might not therefore be forsaken by my companions, in compliance to their importunity, I resolved to strain my utmost power.

The 3d of *June* at night, I endeavoured to go, but in great pain, so that we could not proceed above three miles, when I was forced to pray my companions to stay but that night, and I did not question, but, by God's blessing, to be able to travel with them the next; they consented, and so we took up our lodging for the remainder of that night, under another pear-tree.

The 4th of *June*, I kept baking my foot all the day in the ground, till about two in the afternoon; in the mean while, I procured Mr. *Baxter* to make me a wooden leg, which accordingly he did; I persuaded them, then, to travel about three or four miles that afternoon, which would a little ease the labour of the night; they agreed; I travelled about four miles with that leg, and then rested till night on the top of a high hill, whence we saw a great plain valley before us.

At night we shaped our course clear of the tents, and travelled over the edge of the plain, about six miles: we passed by several fields of corn, the *Moors* in the mean time hallowing to frighten the wild beasts from them: crossing of a river that night, we saw and heard several lions; some approached so near that we could almost touch them, but, as soon as we struck fire, which we had prepared for that very purpose, they presently vanished; when the light began to display itself, we took our quarters for the next day, which was *June* the 5th; at night we continued our course, when I was still lame, which was a great hindrance to my company, but we were loth to part; our bread also was almost at an end, the consideration whereof obliged me to strain hard to get eight miles that night: by resting the next day I found myself to be something better, but then, to qualify my joy for this, another companion *Anthony Bayle* began to sink and give over.

June the 6th, we set forward, and measured ten miles that night, when we came to a great swamp; there my pain renewing; I fain would have persuaded them to stay, but by no intreaties could persuade them; so resolving to part, we shared our bread, which came to two half rusks a-piece: I endeavoured to allure my weak wearied brother to abide with me, comforting him with the expectation of gardens,

dens, where we two, more easily than the company of four, might provide for ourselves; he would not stay: being pressed thus with the consideration of being left alone, I resolved to put forward, when it pleased God, that my foot became perfectly whole and clear of the gout: that night we travelled over a high barren hill, where we fancied we heard the fufs and noise of the sea, which encouraged us to mend our pace until we met with a garden, where we gathered about a dozen of small pumpkins, a very comfortable assistance to us, now that our bread was all spent; for some we eat raw, and some we roasted in the ground, whereby we found ourselves considerably refreshed: that night we made no more than eight miles; for, meeting with a great oak which was blown down, we thought it inconvenient to overslip such an advantageous retirement for the next day, which we were the more desirous of, because we heard a great many *Moors*, though we could not see them.

All the next day we lay still, and, with exceeding contentment, we heard the noise of the sea; at night we put on, and came to the shore, where we found whereabouts we then were, *viz.* to the southward of *Mamora*; we directed our course then northward for two miles, when we could discern the castle; but, knowing that we could not go to the northward of the castle, because the great river goes directly up into the country, we turned back about a mile, and finding a convenient bush, we rested there all the next day, hearing and seeing a great many cattle, but none came near us.

June the 8th, we gathered about half a peck of snails, and caught a land-tortoise, which we roasted and eat heartily; that day also, we saw a ship in the offing: when night was come, we made down towards the castle, and, before we were aware, we fell upon a *Moor* making a fire, which forced us to draw back; the *Moor* not discerning us, we fetched then a compass, and by another way came down to the castle; there we found a strong watch, which did wholly discourage our expectations of relief from that place; so we set up our resolutions for *Sallee*, about eighteen or twenty miles to the southward, to see what good could be done there; but, before we parted with *Mamora*, we made bold with a little barley and *Guiney* corn, growing under the castle, of each whereof we gathered about a quarter of a peck, to serve our necessities, and then we betook ourselves to our former night's refuge, the bush; and, after having consulted how to steer our course for *Sallee*, the result

whereof was along the sea-side, we rested all the next day without disturbance.

June the 9th, we travelled along the sea-side, where we saw a great deal of raft-timber; we concluded therefore, seeing the ship in the offing, to make a raft, which accordingly we did, and put off with it, but it would not swim boyart with us all; we came therefore a-shore, and cut all our lashings, leaving it to the mercy of the sea: we travelled five miles towards *Sallee* that night, fearing lest by staying long thereabout we should be discovered, for our footing and trailing of the timber had made such an impression in the sand, as if an hundred men had been there: that night we took up our quarters in a fig-tree, about seven miles short of *Sallee*, where was no inhabitant.

June the 10th at night, we made forward to *Sallee*; in the road we fell upon a parcel of tents, where, though the dogs were ready to seize us, and the *Moors* themselves called to us, we made no answer, and travelled on, without any farther trouble or danger, until we came to *Sallee*; as soon as we came thither, we made towards the gardens, and gathered some pumpkins; and, because night was far spent, we retreated about a mile out of town, to find some place which might secure us from discovery; we pitched upon a bush in a great valley, wherein we resolved to inclose ourselves the day following: about eleven o'clock of that day, we espied a boy with a dog keeping of sheep, but yet not forgetting his game, which was hunting of partridges: he beat the bush wherein we were lodged, and threw in stones, and the dog also did his part, barking and coursing about the bush; but, by miracle, as we thought, we were not espied, though we discovered abundance of fear amongst ourselves; for, if we had been taken notice of, we could not otherwise consult our own safety, than by the death of that poor silly lad.

The 11th day being past, at night we made a descent to the river of *Sallee*, about a mile above the town, where we found a boat, but could not with all our strength launch her: *Anthony Bayle* and I, who were the only swimmers in our company, made over to the south-side of the river, to see what purchase we could make there; we found indeed three boats, but they were all a-ground, so that we could do no good with them; but in searching about the new ships (which five in number are building there) we found two oars, with which we swam over to our comforts, and all together we went down by the river's-side, to the harbour's-mouth; but we could meet with no boat to put
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our oars in : we saw two *Dutch* ships in the river, but they kept a diligent watch, which hindered us from carrying away their boat ; we concluded therefore to bury our oars in the sand at some remarkable place, and so we betook ourselves to find out a sanctuary for the day following : we found a fig-tree full of leaves, in an unfrequented place, as we thought, on the north-side of the river, yet within call of the ships, which then were a building : under the covert of this little tree, though surrounded with enemies and dangers, we resolved to expect the protection of the next day : the reader may possibly judge this an instance of a romantic courage, and an effect rather of rash boldness than prudent consideration : truly, he is in the right, for we ourselves were of the same mind : about the middle of the next day, upon this occasion, a *Moor* who had newly washed his cloaths, directs his course directly to our tree, and there hangs up his *Al bage* to dry, whilst he himself sat down not far off, to louse himself, an't please you : if providence did hinder him from discerning us, I assure you it was not for want of provocation, as we all confess ; and indeed I never in my life was in such a trembling fit, as that lousy rascal put me into.

The 12th day of *June* being past, at night we came down again to the river, to look after a boat, which we had observed was moored in the river, half a mile higher than where we found the oars ; this we, who could swim, found and brought to our consorts ; we paddled her down the river, close by the *Dutchmen*, who saw us, but said nothing ; then we put a-shore, and fetched our oars ; we continued paddling, until we had passed a *Frenchman*, lying at the bar's-mouth, who plainly saw us, but said nothing. So soon as we had left him behind us, we shipped out our oars, and rowing right into the sea, our course by the north-star was west-north-west. When we had rowed four miles or thereabout, we discerned a ship at anchor, which obliged us to alter our course and row northward, until we had passed her, fearing lest she might be a *Sallee* ship ; and we had learned at *Machaness*, that two of them were cruising at that time, and not yet come in ; therefore it was, that in distrust of this ship we altered our course : we rowed about two leagues without the ship, and lay upon our oars ; when day broke up clear, we saw the ship with her sails loose ; I then acquainted my consorts, that in my judgment, if the ship were of *Sallee*, she would make in for the bar at that time, because the tide and sea-breeze were then both favourable, it be-

ing high-water at seven of the clock ; but, if she were an *English* man of war, as we incessantly wished, then we thought the sea-breeze would make her stand off to sea ! Notwithstanding our opinions were various, and we were doubtful what to do, at length I persuaded my consorts to row in and make her hull ; then the ship stood off, and at length saw us ; we pulled a-board, and found her to be the *Lark* frigate, captain *Leighton* commander ; after some examination and discourse about the methods and means of our escape, I propounded to the captain a design which had newly taken strong possession of my fancy ; it was this, that, if he would accommodate me with his boat, and those belonging to the other two men of war, which were in company, I would undertake to pilot them in, and to burn what ships were then at *Mamora*. The captain immediately stood to the northward, and came up with the other two ships, which were the *Bonaventure* and the *Greyhound* ; the admiral was then sick at *Cales*, so, captain *Macdonald* being eldest captain, we went a-board him, and sending for Mr. *Fairborne*, who was then captain under captain *Priestman*, who was sick as above said, they held a council about these propositions which I had made ; at first they seemed impracticable, by reason of many difficulties, but especially of the bar, which is worse than that of *Sallee* ; but, upon second thoughts, considering the forwardness of men, who but that very day had escaped a very heavy slavery, and yet were willing that very night to engage in the action, they concluded it both possible and feasible, and so entertained with approbation what I proposed ; after which I immediately returned with captain *Leighton* a-board the *Lark*, and communicated the result of the council to Mr. *Baxter*, who was heartily pleased with what was undertaken, and willing to go along ; so he was ordered to go in the *Bonaventure's* boat, and was very serviceable, being better acquainted with that bar than I was. Immediately orders were given to shave some deal-boards, and saw some tar-barrels, and make ready with all expedition : by seven at night all things were in readiness, the frigates were riding two leagues from shore, orders were given that the boat in which I was, viz. the *Greyhound's*, should go a-head, commanded by captain *Macdonald*, who behaved himself, indeed, with great courage and resolution, and the rest had orders to follow us ; there were three barges in all, and one yawl : the number of men concerned in the action were forty-two, who all had strict charge, upon pain of death, not to seek after plunder, which was punctually

tually observed. About eight at night we put off from the ships, and betwixt nine and ten we fell a little to the northward of the bar; but, by Mr. *Baxter's* assistance, we quickly righted ourselves, and found the bar. There was a great noise on the shore, all thereabouts having taken the alarm, which did nothing discourage us; we proceeded lustily, without any concernment at their hideous outcries; which when the *Moors* perceived, and that we advanced with undaunted resolutions, they thought it best to fly betimes and secure themselves and their castle; in the mean time we pursued our design towards the ships, a-board which, there being a great many lights, we observed the *Moors* looking over the sides of the first we came to, which was the bigger of the two; they called to us to keep off; we answered them with about twenty grenado-shells, which soon drove them over-board; they had not far, indeed, to escape; for the castle-wall was within a boat's length of the ship, so, without any difficulty, we presently entered; one *Moor* we found a-board, who was presently cut in pieces; another was shot in the head, endeavouring to escape upon the cable; we were not long in taking in our shavings and tar-barrels, and so set her on fire in several places, she being very apt to receive what we designed; for there were several barrels of tar upon the deck, and she was newly tarred as if on purpose: Whilst we were setting her on fire, we heard a noise of some people in the hold; we opened the skuttles, and thereby saved the lives of four Christians, three *Dutch-men*, and one *French*, who told us the ship on fire was admiral and belonged to *Aly-Hackum*, and the other, which we soon after served with the same sauce, had the name of *Plum-mage Cortibe*, which was the very ship, which, in *October* last, took me captive. I cannot deny that I was possessed with an extraordinary satisfaction to see this ship on fire; and I could not but admire the wonderful providence of God, to whom alone vengeance belongeth, in vindicating my cause, and making me an unwitting instrument of revenge, for the injuries I received from the owners of this vessel.

Such was the fierceness of the flames, that we were forced to keep off from the ships sides, whereby we became obnoxious to the shot of the *Moors*, who from the walls of the castle made a great firing upon us, both of small and great guns, but with little or no execution; for our men, by the light of the great fire, having them in perfect view upon the walls, made smart returns upon them,

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firing incessantly upon them; and with that eagerness, that they quite neglected their oars; so that if, the tide had not turned to ebb, we should have run a great risque, our men were so full of joy, whooping and hallowing at the sight of so desirable a bone-fire, that they never minded the dangers they might be subject to; we were therefore forced to tow the *Bonaventure's* yawl, who had lost all her oars. In all this action we had but one man mortally wounded, and two or three more slightly hurt. After we had compleated our business, and absolutely destroyed these ships, we returned out of the river, over the bar, and pulled a-board the frigates; captain *Macdonald* received us kindly, and gratified us with the entertainment of his ship very frankly, a-board which we staid until our arrival at *Cales*, where we went a-shore, designing a passage for *England* with the first opportunity. Captain *Macdonald* gave us certificates of our service in the late action, and then Mr. *Baxter* and I took leave of him; we did not stay long at *Cales*, before we met with an opportunity for *England* a-board captain *Atkins*, who came from *Leghorn* and was bound for *London*, who very willingly granted us passage with him, and gave us civil and welcome entertainment, whom God reward, and all other our benefactors, particularly (tho' to some readers it may seem immaterial, yet, when occasion offers, not to remember, to all good men will appear unthankful, and I had rather be taxed with impertinence than ingratitude) Mr. *Hodges*, who bestowed four pieces of eight in our necessity, God return his charity into his own bosom with blessing and increase, and honest captain *Gutteridge*, who sent a barrel of beef and an hundred weight of bread, lest we should lie too chargeable upon captain *Atkins* in our passage home; who, the 1st day of *July* 1685, set sail from *Cadiz*, and arrived in the *Downs*, the 26th of the same month.

Thus have I given a short and plain account of my captivity and escape, with the circumstances that attended it; and tho' possibly my stile may appear rough and unpolished, which the courteous reader, I hope, will a little excuse, expecting no other from a blunt seaman, acquainted with nothing so much as dangers and storms; yet do I profess, I have penned this narrative with all the sincerity and truth, that becomes a plain-dealing *Englishman*: my design and aim in all (kind countryman and courteous reader) is, to excite with me thy praises to our God, the only

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deliverer, who hath delivered me from a cruel and severe captivity; and withal, to stir up thy grateful resentments for the happiness, peace, and freedom, that thou enjoyest under so excellent and well tempered a government; but most especially to move thy pity for the afflictions of *Joseph*, to excite thy compassionate regard to those poor country-men, now languishing

in misery and irons, to endeavour their releasement, according to thy power; at least, by importuning heaven, that during their captivity God would support them with his grace, to bear patiently their afflictions, and to resist all temptations until, in his good appointed time, he vouchsafe them a happy deliverance. *Amen.*

A T R U E

A TRUE
RELATION
OF THE
INHUMAN and UNPARALLELED ACTIONS,
AND
BARBAROUS MURDERS,
OF
NEGROES or MOORS:

Committed on three *Englishmen* in old *Calabar* in *Guiney*.

OF

The wonderful Deliverance of the fourth Person, after he had endured horrid Cruelties and Sufferings : Who lately arrived in *England*, and is now in his Majesty's Fleet.

Together with

A short but true Account of the CUSTOMS, MANNERS, and GROWTH of the COUNTRY, which is very pleasant.

A true Relation of the inhuman and unparalleled Actions, and barbarous Murders, of Negroes and Moors, committed on three Englishmen in old Calabar in Guiney, &c.

AMONG the variety of cruelties and murders, which history and experience daily inform us of, this, which I now intend to relate; is none of the least. And the story you shall have *verbatim*, from one of the sufferers own mouth; who arrived lately in the *Downs*, and is now in his majesty's fleet.

In June 1668, the *Peach-tree* of *London*, a small vessel, of the burthen of about sixty tons, *Edward Dixon* master, came into the *Downs*, bound for *Guiney*, intending there to take in negroes, and to transport them to the *Barbadoes*, and from thence to come for *London*, where *John Watts*, the son of *John Watts*, of *Eltham*, in the County of *Kent*, surgeon, shipped himself, with the consent of *Richard Watts*, public notary of *Deal*; little dreading that he, being not above eighteen years old, should meet with such a calamitous accident. The ship had not been long in the *Downs*, but, a fair gale presenting, they suddenly hoisted sail, God's providence seeming to fill their sails with prosperous success: the first place they touched at was the gold coast, where they staid not long, but sailed to old *Calabar*, in the bay of *Guiney*. They entered a river called the *Cross* river into *Paratt* island. After they had taken in their negroes, and ready to sail, their anchor being a-peek, the master calls up the boatswain, and three men more, whereof the relater was one, and commands them to look out the copper bars that were left, and carry them on shore, to try if they could sell them: the boatswain, with his small company, desired that they might have arms with them, not believing the report of some, that informed them they were a harmless and innocent people: they took with them three musquets and a pistol, and so rowed towards the shore; but, not far from it, unhappily our match fell into the water, and, the ship being fallen down from that narrow part of the river, nearer the sea, quite out of sight, we were consulting what would be safest for us to do: we were not willing to precipitate our own ruin, and we were also ashamed to return to our ship, before we had dispatched what we were commanded to: at length, the boatswain commanded the relater, *John Watts*, on shore, to the first

house, to light our match, which we recovered out of the water, after it was extinct; which he readily obeyed: but, before he was twenty rods from the water-side, he was seized on by two blacks, or rather tawny-moors, and by them hauled above half a mile up into the country, thrown with great violence upon his belly, and so compelled to lie till they stripped him; and, more company coming to them, they were so eager for his poor canvas apparel, that some they tore off, others they cut off, and with that several pieces of his flesh, to his intolerable pain: with these rags they made little children's aprons, to cover their privities, linnen and woollen being very scarce there. The boatswain, seeing this *John Watts* was thus carried away, was resolved, with his other two companions, to have him again, or else to venture all their lives for him: they arm themselves; but, whilst they were consulting what to do, whether to venture on shore, or not, of a sudden they were beset with about a dozen men in several canoes; but they valiantly maintained their boat about the space of three hours, for, after two of their three musquets were discharged, they defended themselves with their oars and boat-hooks. The boatswain received a mortal wound in his groin, and fell down in the boat; the other two adventured in the river, endeavouring, by swimming, to escape the merciless hands of cruel Infidels; but the negroes, with their swift canoes, soon overtook them, and brought them on shore, to the place where the relater was. The negroes took the boatswain out of the ship's boat; and, instead of endeavouring at all to preserve life, which remained in him, immediately they robbed him of it; one of them, with a keen weapon, cutting off his head, before his companions faces; and then they prepared for their rare banquet, while he was yet reeking in his blood: they in a barbarous manner cut off pieces of flesh from off his buttocks, thighs, arms, and shoulders, broiled them on the coals, and, with a great deal of impatience, eagerly eat it before our faces, to our great astonishment. About fourteen days after, one of the company fell sick, and, instead of being physicians to cure him, they were his butchers to murder him. They served him as they did the boatswain, cut off his head, broiled and eat up his flesh, and rejoiced

rejoiced exceedingly at this rich banquet. About ten days after, the third fell sick, whom they served in the same manner. This was no small cause of sorrow to the relater: the thoughts of their inhuman and barbarous actions sometimes surrounded him with fears and sorrows, hourly expecting to taste of the said cruelty. Death did not seem so terrible to him, as the violent manner of it; being left now alone in a strange country, destitute of friends or acquaintance, or any thing that might keep up his spirits: die he would fain, but not by the hand of Infidels, and barbarous monsters. But the great God, that is most compassionate in the greatest extremities, had pity on him; and, notwithstanding the alteration of the climate, the want of cloaths, and the strangeness of his food, which was only herbs, he continued in good health, and had time enough to lament this direful providence. The natives, who were daily expecting another banquet, met with a disappointment: either their customs, or the overruling power of God, would not suffer them to destroy him, he continuing still in health. Therefore they resolve to sell him: his *Araunia*, or master, was pretty free to discourse him, which the relater was capable of, being about three years before in the *West-Indies*, where he had learned the *Tata* language, which is easily attained, being comprehended in a very few words, and all the negroes speak it. He began to discourse his master, to know the reason of their cruelty, who told him, that he should rest himself contented, who, if he were not sick, should not have his head cut off. In the boat, which in the beginning they took with them, was a musquet saved of the three, which was not discharged; which his master, some time after he had been with him, brought to him, to know the use of it: he endeavoured, as much as he could, to make him apprehend the use of it, but still they professed their ignorance: but they commanded and threatened him to shew the use of it. The fear of his master's displeasure, and their inhumanity, caused him to shoot it off; but the negroes, which expected some delightful thing, were frustrated; and, at the sudden noise and flash of fire, which they very much dread, ran from him, and were greatly affrighted; but quickly after, hearing no more of that noise, they came up to him again, and commanded him to do the like: he told them he had not powder, which was the cause of the noise; but this would not satisfy these barbarians. He not being able to answer their expectation, they concluded he was not willing;

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they proceed to threaten him, and were about to murder him, had not his master rescued him. Upon discourse after with this *Arauna*, or master, he began to understand the reason of their barbarous dealing with him and his friends, he telling him, that naturally the people were civil and simply honest, but, if provoked, full of revenge; and that this cruelty was occasioned by some unhandsome action of carrying a native away without their leave, about a year before; they resolving, if any came a-shore, they should never go off alive. He had not been above seven weeks in the country, but his master presented him to his king, whose name was *E-fn-me*, king of the *Buckamoors*, who immediately gave him to his daughter, whose name was *Om-jab*; and, when the king went abroad, he attended him also as his page, throughout the whole circuit of his dominions, which was not above twelve miles, yet boasting extremely of his power and strength, but glorying exceedingly that he had a white to attend him, whom he employed to carry his bow and arrows at several places remote from the sea side; the people would run away from him for fear, others would fall down, and seem to worship him, and use those actions, as they do to their god. Their progress was never so long, but they could return home at night, but never without a handsome load of a cup of the creature. During all the time of the relater's servitude there, he never knew him go abroad and come home sober: They drink of the best palm-wine, and another sort of strong liquor, called *Pen-rore*. The relater quickly knew how to humour this profound prince; and, if any of the natives abused him, upon his complaint, he had redress; as once, by striving with a negroe, his arm was broke, which by providence, more than skill, was set again. After some months, the king of *Ca-la-nanch*, whose name was *E-fn-man-cha*, hearing of this beautiful white, courted his neighbour prince, that he would sell him to him; at length they struck a bargain, and the relater was sold for a cow and a goat: this king was a very sober and moderate person, free from the treacheries and mischiefs that the other was subject unto; and he would often discourse the relater, and ask him of his king and country, and if his kingdoms and dominions were as big as his, which were not above 25 miles in length, and 15 in breadth. He told him as much as his understanding and years made him capable of, keeping still in the bounds of modesty, and yet relating as much as possible, to the honour and dignity of his

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his sovereign ; first, informing him of the greatness of one of his kingdoms, the several shires and counties it contained, with the number of its cities, towns, and castles, and the strength of each ; the infinite inhabitants, and valour of his subjects. One of these kingdoms was enough to amaze sufficiently this petty governor, that he need not to mention any more of his majesty's glory and dignity. It put him into such a profound consternation, that he resolved to find out some way to tender his respects to this mighty prince ; and no way could he find so convenient, as to tell the relater, that, if he could find but a passage, he would let him go to *England*, to tell his majesty of the great favour and respect he had for him. This did not a little rejoice our *Englishman*. Withal the king told him, that he would send him a present, which should be two cabereets or goats, which they value at a very high rate, the king having not above sixteen or eighteen. He tells the king, that the king of *England* had many thousands of his subjects, that were under the degree of gentlemen, which had a thousand sheep a-piece, the flesh of which they valued at a much higher rate than goats. Though our *Englishman* lived very handsomely with this *E-fn-man-cha*, king of the *Ca-la-nanch*, yet his desires and his hopes were still for his native country : at length he obtained a promise from his king, that the first *English* ship that came into the road should have liberty to release or purchase him ; this very much rejoiced his heart : now he thought every day a year, till he could hear of, or see some *English* ship arrive. Many times when he was alone, his heart would be oppressed with sighs and sobbings, when he thought of his relations, and the comfortable society they had together, that it should be his unhappy fate to be captivated amongst barbarous Infidels. Oftentimes did he walk down to the sea-side, sometimes with hopes, sometimes with fear, earnestly expecting the wind of God's providence to blow in some *English* ship thither : his often recourse to the sea-side was observed by one *Ja-ga* a wizard, and the chiefest in three or four kingdoms thereabouts ; they are persons that the natives give very much credit to, and on any difficult occasion run to them for satisfaction. The famous *Delphian* oracle was never had in greater adoration, than the prophetic speeches of these *Moorish* wizards. Though they have infinite numbers of them in every place, yet this *Ja-ga* had the most renown amongst them ; and one day he comes to him, and very kindly asked him, Why he so often frequented that place ? He told him, to

see if he could discover any *English* vessel to come in there ; but he, being not unacquainted with his great fame, asked him when he did believe there would one come in ; not that he was willing to give credit to any of their divinations, but supposing that he thereby should please him and answer his expectation. *Ja-ga* immediately told him, that the fifteenth day after an *English* ship should come into the road. Then he asked him whether that ship should carry him away ? To this he answered doubtfully ; but told him that he should be offered to the master of the ship, and, if they could not agree, but that he should come to shore again, he should not be sold, and that in a very short time after he should die for grief. These fifteen days seemed very long and tedious ; many a look did he cast on the sea with an aking heart : the fourteenth day he went to the highest hill there-about, but to no purpose, for he could discover no ship : next morning he went again two or three times, but saw none : about two or three hours after came running in to *E-fn-man-cha* some of the *Moors*, and told him there was a canoe coming, so they called our ships, at which our *Englishman* heartily rejoiced, hoping then to be released forthwith, yet durst not shew his joy for fear of punishment, or of death ; for, though he lived better now than with his first master, yet his service was far worse than the slaves in *Turkey*, and their diet worse than dogs meat ; therefore had he cause enough of inward joy ; the ship came immediately in, and he hies away presently to *Ja-ga*, to know if it were an *English* ship, who resolved him it was ; it happened to be the *St. Maloe's* merchant, captain *Royden* commander, who hastened to dispatch his business, took in his negroes, and was ready to sail, and our *Englishman* heard never a word what should become of him, the king never offering to sell him ; this put him on a resolution to endeavour to make an escape, and to that end had prepared a piece of timber which he had drawn near the water-side, on which he intended to paddle to the ship which then lay about a league from the shore. Just by the sea-side, as he was about to launch his little floating stick, he espied a great alligator, which will devour a man at a mouthful ; this made him alter his resolution, and resolve rather to live with inhuman Infidels, than to throw himself into so imminent a danger, which would have been little less than self-murder. But the next day, which I may call a day of jubile, almighty God opened the heart of the king to let the poor *Englishman* go : he sent him in a canoe, placed between a
negroe's

negroe's legs, with some others to guide this small vessel, for fear he should leap over-board, and swim to the ship. At a distance from the ship he hailed her in the *English* tongue, which was no small cause of admiration to those on board to hear an *English* tongue out of their canoes: the negroes gave him leave to stand up and shew himself to the captain, to whom he gave an account how four were left there, and only he preserved. It was a pretty while before they could strike a bargain, though the captain was resolved not to leave him behind. Several times the negroes paddled away with their canoe, resolving not to part with him; but, what with his intreaties and promises, he persuaded them to the ship again, and they delivered him on board for forty-five copper and, iron bars, each copper bar being about the bigness of a youth's little finger, the iron bars a little bigger. Now were his joys compleated, he thought himself as it were caught up into the third heaven; he could hardly persuade himself but it was a dream or vision, and that he did not really see *English* faces, or embrace *English* bodies. It was some time before he could throw himself at the captain's feet, and acknowledge his infinite cause of joy in himself, and thankfulness to him for his deliverance from such a severe captivity; that he that lately was a slave to Infidels, that worship they know not what, should now see the faces of Christians, and join with them in worshiping the true God; and to him first he offered up the sacrifice of hearty thanksgiving, that had sent his angel to redeem him from so cruel a bondage. When he came on board, his hair was very long, and his skin tawny, (*Mulatto* like;) having gone naked all the time he was there, and frequently anointing himself with palm oil, he looked like a tawny-moor; but immediately the seamen a-board with Christian-like hearts appalled him. The master commanded to hoise sail, and having a fair wind, they sailed to *Barbadoes*, where captain *Royden* was to tarry for some time; but the relater, earnestly desiring to go to his native country, and his relations, got passage to the *Downs* in the *Catharine* of *London*, captain *South* commander, which through God's goodness in a few weeks arrived in the *Downs*, where the relater was put on shore, to his uncle's, Mr. *Richard Watts* of *Deal*, great joy and satisfaction, who took this relation from his own mouth.

Having shewed you how he was captivated, and some part of his trials and troubles, and also his deliverance and freedom; we will now speak of the people, and of their country, as it was taken from

his own mouth, which is no more than others have spoken formerly who have been in the same country.

The people are very careless, idle, sluggish, given wholly to ease; going stark naked (only some of the chiefest having a little apron to cover their nakedness) not exercising themselves either in work or play; free from having any tillage whatsoever, (a small part only for tobacco, for their own use, excepted) having no thought for to-morrow. Their stature and bigness are not near so big as our *English*.

Their language is called the *Tata* language: it is contained in very few words, only so much as barely discovers their intentions; and is in part understood of all negroes.

The country seems to be very fertile, overgrown with wood: sugar canes naturally grow there. He has been in most parts of the *West-Indies*, yet he says, he never saw bigger nor more juicy than is there: the people lie secure as they think, but indeed lie very open, and are a prey to a handful of men. There are many bears (which are very good meat) which they often eat of, when they take pains to catch them. They have also hogs, beeves, deer and buffeloes; divers sorts of good eating fowls, as cocks and hens, parrots, parakeets, &c. roots and several sorts of herbs; also palm-wine, which they have by cutting the top of a tree, then issues forth the wine as sap of wood when 'tis burning. There is also very good fish; there is plenty of many things; they only want laborious persons to catch provisions (for all are wild) and to cut down the woods: *John Watts*, being much in the *West-Indies*, and understanding the way to make sugar, invited them to learn, having such excellent juicy canes. But idleness would not hearken to so reasonable a request.

Their provisions are ebung, a root like a turnip, and as good and hearty as a potato, yams, plantains, palm-oil, water and palm-wine for drink: their flesh is elephants, wild boars, fows and pigs, deer, monkeys, baboons, dogs, &c. their fish is sea-cows and bulls, alligators, albecores, the cat-fish, &c.

Bows, arrows, and swords, they make of a piece of iron they steal from the *English*, and beat out with stones, which they neatly engrave: also they have a lance, which is tipped at the end with a piece of iron, and cut and engraved with flints, as they do their swords: very few of them have either lance or sword; many of them have swords of iron-wood, so called there. Their bow is about four feet long; their arrows about two feet and a quarter; their lance

lance is about five feet long. These are the weapons they fight with, and with them they do much mischief.

Of their
houses.

Their houses are bigger or less, according to the family and number of wives every man enjoys (for every one hath liberty to have as many wives as he pleases; the ordinary men have two, three, or four; but the rich men and the king have many wives) set on scratches or posts covered with the leaves of a *Membo* (alias a palm-wine) tree: the going in is very low (not above three feet high) and within it is not six feet high: in this room is their fire kept day and night, their lodgings joining to this room: every wife hath her several house or lodging for herself and children, but all make use of this common fire, which is only for dressing of victuals; they have no occasion for a fire for any other use.

Of their
habit.

The king, and some great men, have clouts as big as a sheet of large paper, to cover their nakedness: so likewise the king's wives, and great men's wives, have a pilch or clout; but, for the common people, they go stark naked, and are no more ashamed than brute beasts.

Of their
god.

They have no particular place of worship, neither do they congregate themselves, nor are there ministers, or in the least a talk of their god (but of fear of being beat by him) but, like beasts, rise out of their little lodgings; eat, drink, and take their pleasures, and at night sleep again. He hath oftentimes heard them say, their god (which is the devil) oftentimes appears to them in the likeness of a man, about two feet and a half high, as black as they are, whom they call *Ajab*, (which is very strange, that the devil should give himself such a name, which is compounded of *A* and *Jab*, which is one of the names of God, as in *Exodus*: *Jab* is my name, so *Ajab*, being joined together, is as much as if the devil should call himself without God, or against God: but for that the learned will tell you at ease, that with much study cannot be resolved by my pen.) When any of them are sick, they go to the picture of their *Ajab*, and speak to it; then suddenly after he appears, as at other times: for, when he appears in a human shape, he hath many copper bars about his loins, legs, neck, and arms, as the chief of them go with; then all presently worship him: then presently they kill dogs, goats, or chickens (but most commonly dogs) according as he commands, cutting off their heads, throwing the blood on the sick person, burning the bodies, and burying the heads and legs for a sacrifice to *Ajab*. If he recover, he takes three or four chick-

ens and other things, and hangs them up alive by the legs over where he was sick, until they are dead; and, when they are dead, he hangs them without his house, at the top of a high pole, who that night are eaten up by the buzzards, and other wild-fowl. If the sick man recover not, and if he be rich, they take several of his slaves before his face and behead them, and throw their blood on their master. These poor creatures think it a great honour, that they may lose their lives for the recovery of their master's health.

If ordinary people be sick and like to die, they cut off their heads, and keep them above-ground five days. But, if a rich man be sick, they cut not off his head, but let him die naturally: and, when five days are expired, they bury him with his copper bars about his neck, waist, arms, and legs, as they usually go, burying with him every sort of that household-stuff they have, as a stool, an earthen pot, a calabash, a goard, &c. and with him some of his servants heads, sometimes three or four, sometimes ten or twelve; and this is a credit for the master, and an honour to the servant. Into the grave are killed and thrown in several goats, chickens, and other provisions, according to the number of the persons therein; for their *Ajab* persuades them they go into a far country, where there are all necessaries and all riches, and that this provision is to eat by the way for the gentleman and his men that are buried: but, when once they come there, they shall have all whatever they desire.

He knows not whether the king be hereditary or elective: this he observed in both kingdoms, that every morning the young maidens of the town where the king lives, wait for the king's rising at his house or palace, which is larger and handsomer than any of theirs, because he hath more wives: when he comes out, they keep continual bowing with their heads and bodies to him, for the space of eight or ten minutes, saying, *Aa, eera*, and clap their hands; which words, *Aa* is, *How do you*, and *eera* is, *thanks for his health*; he all the time saying, *Aa*, or, *How do you*. The whole people are as serviceable to their king, as we are to our sovereign.

The slaves, they sell to the *English*, are prisoners taken in war: the kings war much against one another. They have no holds, castles, nor prisons; but for keeping those they have taken, until the next ship come in, with withies they fasten them to a pole, that they cannot untie themselves, and get home. They are also persuaded, that they go to help that king to fight

fight against his enemy, and that they shall live idly, and eat good victuals, drink good liquor, and have cloaths, and that the king will give them great rewards: but, if half were performed that is promised, they would be more ready to go, than we to fetch them.

How Ajah uses them. He oftentimes heard them cry out in the night, making a very great screeching noise, and lamentable cry, three or four hours together; and that is when they do not please *Ajah*, or he takes an occasion against them, for he keeps them as slaves. Next day they bemoan themselves to themselves; for, if they complain one to another, then he beats and pinches them worse than before. They told him oftentimes, that *Ajah* appears to them in several shapes, and very oftentimes affrights them, he comes so ugly; but most times he comes in their own shape, with copper bars, as aforesaid.

Their birth. There is no more compassion, nor care taken on them, or for them that are big with child, than there is in *England* for their sows, cows, sheep, &c. (no nor so much;) and, when delivered, they take as little care of their children; for, as soon as they are born, their mother fetches water, and with her hand puts it in their nostrils, till they are almost strangled; then they take them up by the heels, their head downwards, for the water to run away; then they lay them on the ground, where, after they have cried their fill, they fall asleep: this is all they have the first four and twenty hours. If they be poor women, they tie their children at their backs, and go to work.

Their marriages. If a man and a maid agree, and resolve to be betrothed, for it is certainly reported, widows there never marry, they go before several persons, one whereof is the king, or a great man, and cut each other's wrist with a flint stone, and suck each other's blood; and this is their marriage, and that knot there with them that cannot be broken.

If a woman be taken in whoredom, ^{Of a} they carry her to an ant's-nest, which ^{wh re.} there is bigger than a bushel, and hangs in trees in a bunch like bees: under the ants they tie her fast with withies, and with a pole shake down the nest on her; where they keep her about half an hour, in which time she is almost stung to death: then they carry her to a fire, and heat her back, and also cut at least ten gashes in it, that she may be known: then for the next fault her husband sells her.

If a wife scold with any of her neigh- ^{A scold.} bours, or with her husband's other wives, and she be abusive; especially if she strikes, and he sees it, or have good evidence; he takes the scold, and cuts a cross in her shoulder, about four inches long; and, if she commits the like fault, he sells her. Thus they take occasion to sell their wives, children, and servants.

Though they generally are thieves ^{A thief.} themselves when they come into our ships, yet they are severer against thieves in their own country, by blows, and, for the second fault, sell them.

If any be wounded, they knock the ^{Wounds.} wound, and cut round about it, and that is all the remedy.

The rains come every full moon, which ^{Rain.} they call a year, for the moon is their governor for almost every thing; but once in three or four moons it happens, that so much water comes from the hills, that it comes close to their towns, and oftentimes does mischief.

A canoe is their boat, which is the body ^{A canoe.} of a tree, which they cut hollow, somewhat like unto one of our hog-troughs.

They are very subject to their own ^{Dressing of victuals.} humour, and will not be taught; he would have shewed them how to dress their victuals, but they would not learn, saying, as for flesh, if it were little more than hot through, it were enough: so also they eat their herbs and fish: as for salt, he never saw any there.



ETHIOPIA

The South West Part of
AFRICA
Containing Congo, Ango-
la, Benguela, Monomo-
tapa, Caffers, Terra de
Natal &c.
By
Herman Moll Geographer.

60 120 180 240 300
Miles of Great Britain

AN SEA

ISL. ST. HELENA

to Britain



SOUTHERN OCEAN

Cap. of Good Hope

5 10 15 20 25 Deg. East 25 from London

A
R E P O R T
O F T H E
K I N G D O M of C O N G O,

A
R E G I O N in A F R I C A,
A N D
Of the Countries that border round about the same.

Wherein is also shewed,

- I. That the torrid and frigid Zones are not only habitable, but inhabited, and very temperate, contrary to the Opinion of the old Philosophers.
- II. That the black Colour, which is in the Skin of the *Ethiopians* and *Negroes*, &c. proceedeth not from the Sun.
- III. That the River *Nile* springeth not out of the Mountains of the Moon, as hath been formerly believed; together with the true Cause of the Rising and Increase thereof.
- IV. And a Description of divers Plants, Fishes, and Beasts, that are to be found in those Countries,

Drawn out of the Writings and Discourses of *Odoardo Lopez*, a
Portuguese, by *Philippo Pigafetta*.

Translated out of Italian by ABRAHAM HARTWELL.

To the most gracious and reverend Father in God, J O H N, by the Providence of God, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of all England, and one of the Lords of her Majesty's most honourable Privy-council.

MOST reverend father, my singular good and gracious lord : in all humble duty I do offer to your grace this poor and slender present, *in auspiciū nascentis anni*, which, I do most heartily pray, may be as happy and prosperous, both for your health and quiet government, as, thanks be to God, your latter years have been. It is a description of a certain region or kingdom in *Africa*, called *Congo*, whose name is, as yet, scarce known to our quarters of *Europe* ; neither is there any great or solemn mention made of it in any books, that have been published of that third part of the old world. And, because this treatise doth comprehend not only the nature and disposition of *Moci-Conghi*, who are the natural inhabitants and people of *Congo*, together with all the commodities and traffic of that country, very fit and pleasant to be read, but also the religion which they professed, and by what means it pleased God to draw them from Paganism to Christianity : I thought good thus to make known to my countrymen of *England*, to the end it might be a precedent for such valiant *English*, as do earnestly thirst and desire to atchieve the conquest of rude and barbarous nations, that they do not attempt those actions for commodity of gold and silver, and for other transitory or worldly respects, but that they would first seek the kingdom of God, and the salvation of many thousand souls, which the common enemy of mankind still detains in ignorance ; and then all other things shall be put into their mouths abundantly, as may be seen by the *Portuguese*, in this narration. Written it was by one *Philippo Pigafetta*, an *Italian*, and a very good mathematician, from the mouth of one *Lopez*, a *Portuguese*, together with two maps ; the one particular of *Congo*, the other general of all *Africa*, and especially the western coast, from thirty-four degrees beyond the equinoctial northwards, down along to the cape of *Good-Hope* in the south, and so upwards again on the eastern coast by the great island of *Madagascar*, otherwise called the isle of *St. Laurence*, till you come to the isle of *Socotora*, and then to the *Red-Sea*, and from *Egypt* into the inland southward to the empire of *Prester-John*. I beseech your grace to accept of this my poor travel, and I will not cease to pray to almighty God, according to my duty, that he will multiply many good years upon you, under the happy government of our most gracious and sovereign lady queen *Elisabeth* ; whereunto the church of *England* is bound to say, *Amen*. From your grace's house at *Lambeth*, the 1st of *January*, 1597.

Your grace's most humble servant at commandment,

ABRAHAM HARTWELL.

The Translator to the Reader.

I Find it true, that *Sophocles* writeth to his whip-bearer *Ajax*, Πόνος πόνον πόνον Φέρει· 'Labor labori laborem adfert : ' that is to say, *Labour doth breed labour upon labour*. For, after that the translation of the book, containing the wars between the *Turks* and *Persians*, written by *John-Thomas Minadoi*, was published, divers of my friends have earnestly moved me to be still doing somewhat, and to help our *English* nation, that they might know and understand many things, which are common in other languages, but utterly concealed from this poor island. I have answered some of these my friends, to their satisfaction, and told them, that the weakness of my body would not suffer me to sit long : that the hours of my leisure were not many, unless I would undutifully defraud those, to whom I am most beholden and obliged, of that duty and attendance which I owe unto them : and lastly, that I had no great pleasure to learn or inform myself of the state of other nations, because I do not, as yet, sufficiently know the state of my own country. Whereof, I am verily persuaded, I may justly avouch that which *Ulysses* protested of his *Ithaca*, Οὐδε ἔγωγε Ἦς γαίης δύναμαι γλυκερώτερον αλλοῖδεσθαι· 'Than which poor country can I never see a sweeter.' Among others that made these motions unto me, one there was, who, being a curious and diligent searcher and ob-
Mr. R. Hackluyt.
 server of foreign adventures and adventurers, as by his good pains appeareth, came un-
 to me to the house of a grave and learned prelate in *Suffolk*, where I lay in my return
 out of *Norfolk*, and there made the like request to me, and I the like answer to him. But
Mr. H. Castleton.
 it would not satisfy him ; for he said it was an answer answerless, and it should not serve
 my turn ; and presently presented me with this *Portuguese* pilgrim, lately come to him
out

out of the kingdom of *Congo*, and apparelled in an *Italian* vesture: intreating me very earnestly, that I would take him with me, and make him *English*; for he could report many pleasant matters that he saw in his pilgrimage, which are, indeed, uncouth, and almost incredible to this part of *Europe*. When I saw there was no remedy, I yielded, and even, as the poet saith *, ἐκὼν ἀέκοντι γε θυμῷ, I brought him away with me. But, within two hours conference, I found him nibbling at two most honourable gentlemen of *England*, whom in plain terms he called pirates: so that I had much ado to hold my hands from rending of him into many more pieces than his cousin *Lopez* the doctor was quartered. Yet δεύτεραι φροοντίδες, my second wits, staid me, and advised me, that I should peruse all his report, before I proceeded to execution; which indeed I did. And, because I saw that, in all the rest of his behaviour, he contained himself very well and honestly, and that he used this lewd speech, not altogether *ex animo*, but rather *ex vitio gentis*; of the now-inveterate hatred, which the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* bear against our nation, I was so bold as to pardon him, and so taught him to speak the *English* tongue. In which language, if you vouchsafe to hear him, he will tell you many notable observations of divers countries and people inhabiting in *Africa*, whose names have scarce been mentioned in *England*. As, namely, the kingdom of *Congo*, with all the provinces thereof, the kingdom of *Angola*, the kingdom of *Loango*, the kingdom of the *Anzichi*, the kingdom of *Matama*, the kingdom of *Buttua*, the kingdom of *Sofala*, the kingdom of *Mozambique*, the kingdom of *Quiloa*, the kingdom of *Mombaza*, the kingdom of *Melinde*, with the three great empires of *Monomotapa*, of *Moenemugi*, and of *Prete-Gianni*. He will tell you the several rites and customs, the climates and temperatures, the commodities and traffics of all these kingdoms. He will tell you the sundry kinds of cattle, fishes, and fowls, strange beasts, and monstrous serpents, that are to be found therein; for *Africa* was always noted to be a fruitful mother of such fearful and terrible creatures. He will tell you of great lakes, that deserve the name of seas; and huge mountains of divers sorts, as, for example, mountains scorched with heat, mountains of snow proceeding from cold, mountains of the sun, mountains of the moon, mountains of chrystal, mountains of iron, mountains of silver, and mountains of gold. And lastly, he will tell you the original spring of the *Nile*, and the true cause of the yearly increase thereof. In any of these points, if his mouth shall happen to run over, as, I hope, much it doth not, you must needs bear with him, for he will challenge the privilege of the *English* proverb, *A traveller may lye by authority*; and the old *Greek* allusion, Πᾶς ἀλήτης οὐκ ἀληθής. ‘Every pilgrim is not a sooth-sayer.’

But, to leave this long allegory, which indeed is meant of this book, and to come seriously and briefly to certain faults, that some readers may, perhaps, find therein, I will do my best endeavour to satisfy them in such objections as may be made. And, first, they will except, possibly, against the method of the author, because he keepeth no continued order in this report, but leapeth from one matter to another, without any coherence, like *Marrot’s* poem, called *Du Cocq a l’ Afne*, and so maketh a hodge-podge of it. But herein *Pigafetta* is not greatly to be blamed, who, gathering this report out of the tumultuary papers of *Lopez*, and from his unpremeditated speeches, uttered by mouth at several times, could not so well reduce it into so exact a form and method, as curious wits do require. He is rather to be commended, that, having so rude and undigested a chaos to work upon, he could frame so handsome a little world of it as this is. If haply it be further urged, that the translator should have taken pains to cast him in a new mould, and to make his members hang proportionably one upon another: I must answer, that I neither do, nor ever did like of that kind of course. I was always of this opinion, and therein I do still dwell, that authors should be published in the same order, in the same terms, and in the same stile which they themselves used. For how know I, what moved them to observe this order or that order, and to make choice of one word rather than of another? Perhaps, the reason of their so doing might prove to be so strong as I doubt it would not easily be overthrown. And, touching stile, some are so scrupulous and so nice, that they cannot abide to have old *Stile*. and ancient writers to be published in *Latin*, unless they imitate one of the *Triumviri* of the *Latin* tongue, *Cicero*, *Cesar*, or *Sallust*. If all men should be of that humour, we should be bereaved both of singular divinity, and ancient history, which have been written by men of no great learning, as monks and friars, whom, though they were very simple and mean, yet it pleased God, in the times of ignorance, to use as means to preserve unto us those monuments of antiquity. And therefore I could wish, that they might be published in their own stile, and, as it were, in *puris naturalibus*, yea, though they write false *Latin*, as some of them do. On the other side, some of our

* *Homer.*

critics are so critical, and so audacious, that, when they publish any of the foresaid *Triumviri*, or any other classical author, they will transpose, and omit, and foist into the text many words and many conceits, whereof the author never dreamed, as *Eustatbius* and *Servius* have done upon *Homer* and *Virgil*. But, if, indeed, some enthusiasm have come upon our critics, that hath revealed unto them, *tanquam ex antro Trophonii*, the certainty of the authors writing and meaning to be such as they have confidently set down, let me be bold to intreat them, that they would muster their conceits in the margin, if the margin will hold them, as I doubt it will not in this hypercritical world; or else that they would reject them, as some of them have done, to the latter end of their publications, under the title of *Corrections*, *Castigations*, *Emendations*, *Animadversions*, *Variae Lectiones*, or such like, *Ut suo quisque utantur judicio & sensu abundet*. That every man may use his own judgment, and abound in his own sense. But *Maledicta glossa quæ corrumpit textum*: Cursed be that gloss that corrupteth the text. And sorry I am, that some of our later divines have erred in this point, even in translating the holy scripture.

Another exception may be taken against the paradoxes, that are maintained in this treatise, as, namely, contrary to the opinion of the old world, and of the ancient philosophers, ‘That the torrid and frigid zones are both habitable and inhabited.’ But hereunto, if the author’s reasons, here alledged, do not sufficiently answer, I refer them, that will not yield therein, to the excellent treatise of *Josephus a Costa*, de *Natura novi Orbis*, printed this last year, and composed by him in the year 1584, in which *theological* and *philosophical* work, he hath, at large, both by good reasons, and also by his own experience, proved his position to be true. And therefore I protest unto you, it was one of the chief motives, which moved me to translate this report, to the end it might be more publicly known, that it was not the single fancy of one man, touching the temperature of these two zones, but likewise of divers others that, by their own travel, have tried the certainty thereof; among whom, this *Lopez* was one, who delivered this relation in the year 1588, being four years after the treatise made by *Josephus a Costa*. And I do not doubt, but that, within few years, you shall have it confirmed by many others that are and have been travellers, who have not, as yet, published their knowledge and trials in this behalf. In the mean time, we do great injury to them that have been already so desirous to acquaint us with their labours, and to have us know as much as they know themselves upon their credit and honesty; when, instead of shewing ourselves thankful to them for the same, we scoff and deride them, and confidently swear that they are lyars, and opposite to all ancient philosophers. But, in a word, I will answer herein with an argument, which *Aristotle* uses *, *Εἴπερ ἐστὶν ἐν βροτοῖς ψευδολογεῖν πιθανόν· νομίζειν χρηγὲ καὶ τευαντίον, ἅπας ἀληθῆ πολλὰ συμβάλλειν βροτοῖς. ἰ. ε.* Siquidem in usu est hominibus mentiri id quod credibile: existimare oportet & contrarium, incredibilia multa hominibus contingere vera: which, for the better understanding, I must paraphrase in *English*: ‘If it be an usual thing among men, that, when a thing is reported, which is very credible and like to be true, yet afterwards it falleth out to be a downright lye: then must we needs think on the contrary, that many reports, or things which are incredible, do, in the end, fall out to be true.’ In which case, as credulity leaneth a little to foolery, so incredulity smelleth somewhat of atheism.

Another paradox is, ‘That the heat of the sun is not the cause of whiteness or blackness in the skins of men.’ This negative position he may safely defend against all philosophers, by virtue of the reasons that he hath vouched in this report, which indeed do utterly overthrow their affirmative. But, because neither any ancient writer, before this age, nor he himself, hath ever been able to declare the true cause of these colours in human bodies, he very honestly and modestly leaves it undecided, and refers it to some secret of nature, which, hitherto, hath been known to God alone, and never, as yet, revealed to man. And therefore I do wish, that some sound natural philosopher, such as *Fernelius*, that wrote *de abditis Rerum Causis*, or as *Levinus Lemnius de occultis Naturæ Miraculis*, or as *Franciscus Valesius de Sacra Philosophia*, would enter into the closet of contemplation, to find out the true natural cause thereof. In the mean while, I hold still, with my author, in the negative.

The third paradox, touching the *Amazons* mentioned in this book, I do not see, why it should be counted a paradox to believe, that there is such a nation, considering how many authors, both *Greek* and *Latin*, both historiographers and cosmographers, both divine and profane, have acknowledged that nation, and the country wherein it inhabited. But our new writers say, that, a little after king *Alexander’s* death, it was utter-

* *Rhetoric*, Lib. II.

ly overthrown and quite extinguished. What, *usque ad unam*? Not one of them left alive? Certainly, that depopulation must needs proceed, either from the peculiar visitation of God Almighty's own hand, or else it was the strangest slaughter that ever was heard of, that, of a whole nation, so populous as that was, there should not remain some few, that escaped. But yet suppose that some *Hyppobile*, or *Penthesilea*, or *Thalestris*, or some such other, wisely conveyed herself away, *cum Diis Penatibus*, *cum matre*, & *cum filia*, and, being guided by some happy *Venus*, arrived in a far remote region, and there observed the customs and fashions of their own native country: Might not these three, together with some other women that were desirous of rule and government, and allured by them to be of their society: Might not they, I say, in process of time, for it is a long time since *Alexander* died, breed a new nation of *Amazons*, though we never heard, in what climate they remained? Yea, it may be, for any thing that I know, this latter generation might grow again to be so populous, that they could send forth colonies from them into other places, and so plant themselves in divers countries; for I hear that there are of them about *Guiana*; and, here in this report, I read, that some of them serve in the wars of the king of *Monomotapa*; and I hope that, in good time, some good *Guianian* will make good proof to our *England*, that there are, at this day, both *Amazons* and headless men. And thus much for the paradoxes.

The last exception, which may be made against this book, is the discourse of the conversion of the kingdom of *Congo* to Christianity, which is amplified, and set out with such miracles and superstitious vanities, as if it had been plotted of purpose for the glory and advancement of the pope and his adherents: wherein, because it doth concern matter of religion, I will deal more warily and seriously to satisfy my reader. True it is, that the inhabitants of *Congo* were all Pagans and Heathens, until they entertained traffic with the *Portuguese*: among whom, one *Romish* priest became a means to confer with a nobleman of *Congo* concerning Christianity, who, taking a liking thereto, as being a man of good inclination and disposition, was very desirous to be further instructed. The priest, being wise, took opportunity to make way for his countrymen's traffic, and also for planting of the Christian faith in that region, in hopes, perhaps, of being preferred and advanced in the new established church, as commonly our travelling priests use to do; who, wanting maintenance, or being upon some occasion discontented at home, leap over seas into foreign parts, not for the desire which they have to gain Christian souls, or to preach the gospel, but to procure to themselves either dignities or wealth. But I do not say that this priest was such a one; for I neither have reason nor authority so to affirm: for he sent over into *Portugal* for some others to help him, who, being arrived at *Congo*, laboured so much, that, in time, the king and his people consented to become Christians. Then did the *Portuguese* priests bestir themselves nimbly, in baptising the king, the queen, the lords, and the commons. They built churches, erected altars, set up crosses, and at last brought in a bishop. And all this was done, I must needs confess, with the utmost pomp and solemnity, after the *Romish* manner; which, indeed, is so plausible, as to be able to allure any simple man, or woman, even with the very sight thereof. Yet will I not deny, but that these priests had a good intention; and, for my part, I do believe that they were in *bona fide*, because they converted a great part of the people, not to Popery, but to Christianity, the true foundation of all religion. And this action, which tendeth to the glory of God, and may be a notable example to the world, of doing the like, shall it be concealed and not committed to memory, because it was performed by Popish priests, and Popish means? God forbid. *St. Paul* makes mention * of divers that preached *Christ*, some of envy and strife, and not purely, and some of love and good will. What then? Yet *Christ* is preached, whether it be under pretence, or sincerely, and therein do I rejoice. So these men are not to be regarded, whether they preached *Christ* for vain glory, and for maintenance of Popery, or from a sincere mind: but certain it is, that *Christ* was preached by them, and therein ought we to rejoice. In * *Mark* and in † *Luke*, *St. John* saith to *Christ*, Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name; and we forbid him, because he followeth not with us. Forbid him not, saith *Christ*, for he that is not against us, is for us. If we see a *Turk*, or a *Jew*, or a *Papist*, upon what pretence soever, seek to draw any to *Christ*, or to drive the devil of ignorance out of any, let him alone, forbid him not, mislike him not; for, in that point, he is not against us, nay, perhaps, he may become one of us. In the book of *Numbers* ‖, word was brought to *Moses*, that *Eldad* and *Medad* prophesied in the camp. And *Joshua* said, My lord *Moses*, forbid them. But *Moses* said, Enviest thou for my sake? Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets. And are we angry, or shall we find fault, that

* *Philip*. i. 15, 18. † *Mark* ix. 38, 39. ‡ *Luke* ix. 49, 50. ‖ *Numb*. xi. 27, 28, 29.

the *Portuguese* priests, being *Papists*, should be reported to have converted the realm of *Congo* to the profession of the Christian religion? Shall we envy them in their well-doing? I, for my part, do earnestly wish with all my heart, that not only *Papists* and *Protestants*, but also all sectaries, and *Prester-John's* men, would join all together, both by word and good example of life, to convert the *Turks*, the *Jews*, the *Pagans*, and the *Infidels* that know not God, but live still in darkness, and in the shadow of death. What a singular commendation would it be unto us, if it might be left on record, that we were the first converters of such a nation, and such a people, and first brought them to the knowledge of God, and the true profession of his glorious gospel?

Thus I have, gentle reader, laboured to satisfy such scruples, as may arise in thy mind concerning this treatise: which if it shall breed either profit or delight unto thee, I shall rejoice to myself: If not, I shall be sorry that I have employed my precious time so idly.

Farewel in Christ,

Abraham Hartwell.

A Report of the Kingdom of Congo, a Region of Africa. Gathered by Philippo Pigafetta, out of the Discourses of Mr. Edward Lopez, a Portuguese.

C H A P. I.

The Journey by Sea from Lisbon to the Kingdom of Congo.

Anno Dom.
1578.

IN the year one-thousand five-hundred threescore and eighteenth, when don *Sebastian*, king of *Portugal*, embarked himself for the conquest of the kingdom of *Morocco*, *Edward Lopez*, born at *Beneventum*, a place twenty-four miles distant from *Lisbon*, near the south shore of the river *Tagus*, sailed in the month of *April*, towards the haven of *Loanda*, situated in the kingdom of *Congo*, in a ship called *St. Anthony*, belonging to an uncle of his, and charged with divers merchandises for that kingdom: and it was accompanied with a * *patache*, which is a small vessel, whereunto the ship continually yielded good guard, and ministered great relief, conducting and guiding the same with lights in the night-time, to the end it should not lose the way, which itself did keep. He arrived at the island of *Madera*, belonging to the king of *Portugal*, distant from *Lisbon* about six-hundred miles, where he remained fifteen days, to furnish himself with fresh victuals and wine; which in great abundance groweth in that island, yea, and, in my opinion, the best in the world; whereof they carry great store a-broad into divers countries, and especially into *England*. He provided there also sundry other confections and conserves of sugar, which in that island are made and wrought both in great quantity, and also of singular excellency. From this island they departed, leaving all the *Canaries* belonging to *Castile*, and took haven at one of the islands of *cape de Verde*, called *St. Anthony*, with-

out having any sight thereof before they were come upon it; and from thence to another island, called *St. James*, which commandeth all the rest, and hath a bishop and a chaplain in it, that rule and govern them; and here they provided themselves again with victuals.

I do not think it fit, in this place, to tell you the number of the *Canary* islands, which, indeed, are many; nor to make any mention of the islands of *cape de Verde*, nor yet to set down the history and discourse of their situations, because I make haste to the kingdom of *Congo*, and the ship staid here but only for passage, and especially for that there doth not want good store of reports and histories, which in a particular manner make relation of these countries: only this I will say, that these islands of *cape de Verde* were established by *Ptolemy*, in the tables of his geography, to be the beginning of the west, together with the cape or promontory which he terms *Cornu ultimum*, or the islands *Macarrie* or *Blessed*, which we commonly call *Fortunate*. In these islands of *cape de Verde*, the *Portuguese* often arrive, and in those countries traffic with sundry merchandises, as, little balls of divers coloured glass, and such other things, wherein those people do greatly delight; *Holland* cloth, caps, knives, and coloured clothes: in exchange whereof, they bring back again slaves, wax, honey, with other kinds of food, and cotton-cloth of sundry colours. Moreover, right over-against them, within the land,

The island
of *Madera*.

Isle of *St. James*.

The
islands of
cape de Verde.

The *Canaries*.
Isle of *St. Anthony*.

* A brigantine or pinnace.

are the countries and rivers of *Guiney*, cape *de Verde*, and *Sierra Leona*; that is to say, the mountain *Leona*, which is vastly great and very famous.

From the foresaid island of *St. James*, they directed their fore-deck towards *Brazil*, for so they must do to gain the wind, and took such harbours as were convenient for the seasons that reign in those places, to arrive at the end of their voyage. There are two ways, whereby they sail from the isle of *St. James* to *Loanda*, a haven in the kingdom of *Congo*; the one is by the coast of *Africa*, the other is by the main ocean, still enlarging their course with the north wind, which very much rules there in those months, and, for the most part, is called north, even by the *Portuguese* themselves, the *Castilians*, the *French*, and by all the people of the north sea. And so, turning their fore-ship to the south, and south-east, they hold on forward till they be near the cape of *Good-hope*, leaving behind them the kingdom of *Angola*, for by that way they must afterwards return: and then they come to the altitude of between 27 and 29 degrees beyond the equinoctial, quite opposite to our pole; which south pole, in this writing, shall be called the antarctic, that is to say, contrary to the arctic, which is our north pole, and so the antarctic is opposite thereunto towards the south.

In that altitude, then, of the contrary pole, the sailors use to meet with certain winds that they call general, which blow there almost all our summer, and are termed by them *North-east*, and *North-easts* in the plural number; and by us *Italians*, *Li venti dal Græco*, that is to say, the winds between the north-east and the east in the spring-time: which, perhaps, the *Venetians*, in their proper speech, call *Levantiere*, that is to say, easterly; and the *Greek* and *Latins* term them *Etesii*, that is to say, such winds as every year do ordinarily blow in their certain and accustomed seasons.

And thus, sailing even to 19 degrees of the antarctic, with the north-wind, there falleth out an admirable effect: For divers sailors, perceiving the first general winds, when they blow, straight turn their sails about, and set their fore-ship directly on the way to *Angola*, very often fail and are deceived. But better it is for him, that desireth to arrive at his wished haven, to go much farther, and to expect a brisk wind, and after return backward: wherein it is to be noted for a most memorable accident, that the winds blow very strong from the north, even unto 29 degrees beyond the equinoctial, and then they meet

with other winds, which, being more fierce and furious than they are, drive them back again; and this is usual and seasonable there, for six months in the year.

Now the ship, called *St. Anthony* holding on its forementioned course, met with the said general winds, and turned their prow and sails, by north and by north-west on the right hand towards the kingdom of *Congo*: and, sailing onwards closely with the half ship, they came, in twelve days and twelve nights, to the island of *St. Helena*, not looking for the same, nor thinking of it. This island was so called, because on the feast-day of *St. Helena*, which falleth upon the third day of *May*, it was by the *Portuguese* first descried: and, as it is very small, so is it, as it were, singular by itself; for, being situate in the height of sixteen degrees towards the antarctic, it containeth in compass nine miles about, and is far distant from the firm land. As you sail by sea, it may be discovered thirty miles off, through certain hills: and it is a great miracle of nature, that, in so unmeasurable an ocean, being all alone and so little as it is, it should arise, as it were, out of a most tempestuous and deep sea, and yet yield a very safe harbour, and most abundant store of relief and victuals, for ships that are distressed, and ready to perish for thirst, which come out of the *Indies*.

The woods of *St. Helena* are very thick and full of ebony trees, whereof the mariners do build their boats. In the barks of these trees you may see written the names of an infinite number of sailors, which, passing by that island, leave their names cut and carved in the said barks, the letters whereof grow greater and greater, as the bodies of the trees wax greater in bigness. The soil, even of itself, bringeth forth very excellent fruits. For there groweth the vine, which was indeed at the first brought thither by the *Portuguese*, and especially in the harbours and walks that are about the little church, and in the lodgings that are here for such as sail thither. You shall see there also huge wild woods of oranges, citrons, lemons, and other such fruit-trees, that, all the year long, do carry flowers and fruits, both ripe and unripe. And likewise pomegranates, great and sweet, and of an indifferent good taste, with kernels great and red, and full of pleasant juice, and the stones within them very small: they are ripe at all seasons of the year, as the oranges are; and figs very great both in quantity and abundance: which natural gift and property (of being ripe all the year long) *Homer* * noted to be in divers fruits of the isle of *Corfu*.

The commodities of *St. Helena*. Wood.

Vine-trees.

Fruits.

* *Odyss. H.*

Two ways from *St. James* to *Loanda*. The first way.

The antarctic is the south pole.

Viſtuals.

Over all the country they take goats, and wild kids, that are very good to eat, and boars and other four-footed beaſts, and partridges, and wild hens, and pigeons, and other kinds of fowls, both great and ſmall. All which beaſts and fowls are ſo ſecure and tame, that they fear not a man, becauſe they do not know in what danger they are to be killed; ſo that the inhabitants take of them daily, and powder them with ſalt, that is congealed on the banks of the iſlands in certain caves and holes of the rocks, that are naturally made hollow and eaten by the waves of the ſea; and the fleſh thereof, being thus preſerved, they give to the ſailors that arrive at the iſland.

Soil.

The earth is as it were crumbled like aſhes, of colour red, very fat and fruitful beyond meaſure; and ſo ſoft, that, if you tread on it with your foot, it will ſink like ſand, and the very trees will ſhake with the force of a man. And therefore it needeth no labour or tillage: for, when it raineth, the fruits do preſently ſpring up out of the old ſeed. It beareth roots of radiſh as big as a man's leg, and very good to eat. There grow alſo coleworts, parſley, and lettuce, goords, chicke-peaſe, *French* beans, and other kinds of pulſe, naturally; which, being ripe, fall into the fruitful ground, and multiply of themſelves, and ſpring again without any tilling. Every ſhip, that comes thither, brings with it ſome fruit or garden herb, which, being planted, taketh root preſently; and bountiful nature yieldeth a courteous reward and uſury, by reſerving the fruit thereof for the ſailors, when the ſhip returneth again.

Roots and herbs.

Rivers.

There are certain little rivers in this iſland, that run in divers parts of it, whoſe water is good and wholeſome, and wherein are ſundry ſafe places for ſhips to ride in, as if they were havens; but the principal of them is in a place, where they have erected a little church, wherein are kept the ornaments of the altar, the prieſts veſtments, and other neceſſaries for maſs; and, when ſhips paſs that way, the religious perſons go down unto them to celebrate divine ſervice.

There is alſo in the ſame place a little cottage, wherein, for the moſt part, ſome *Portugueſe* do remain, ſometimes three, ſometimes two, yea, and ſometimes but one alone; being left there, either by reaſon of ſome infirmity, or for ſome offence committed, or elſe even voluntarily, becauſe they deſire, by this means, to lead the life of an hermit in that wilderneſs, and ſo to do penance for their ſins.

Fiſh.

Moreover, in the ſame place there is ſo great abundance of fiſh, as if the ſea were

very near unto them; ſo that you need only caſt your hooks into the water, and you will preſently draw them out again laden with fiſh.

I once demanded the queſtion, what reaſon there was, why the *Portugueſe* never made any account, nor had any care to fortify this iſland, conſidering it was ſo fit and neceſſary for ſailors, and founded there, as it were, by the providence of God, for the relief of the *Portugueſe* which paſs that way; as *Granata* doth largely diſcourſe upon the creed, firſt written by him in *Spaniſh*, and ſince tranſlated by myſelf into *Italian*: but answer was made unto me, that there was no need ſo to do; for that the iſland ſerveth to no purpoſe for a voyage into the *Indies*, becauſe there is another way for that paſſage, and it is alſo a very hard matter to find it out; but, in returning from thence it lieth full in the way, and is very eaſily deſcried; ſo that it would not quit the coſt to beſtow money and time in maintaining ſoldiers therein, without any profit, ſeeing no other veſſels come thither, but thoſe of the *Portugueſe*. And when I replied, that the *Engliſh* had now twice entered into thoſe ſeas; once under the conduct of *Drake*, and ſecondly, this year 1588, under another pirate, being alſo an *Engliſhman*, and more valiant than he, called *Cavendiſh*, who is returned home full of great riches: it was answered, that, nevertheleſs, it could not poſſibly be brought to paſs to fortify the ſame, in a ſea ſo far off, and ſeeing that all the proviſion for building there muſt, of neceſſity, be brought out of *Europe*.

To be ſhort, beſides all theſe natural good gifts above rehearſed, the climate is temperate, the air pure, clean, and wholeſome, and the winds which blow there are very pleaſant; ſo that ſick perſons, and ſuch as were half dead with the diſeaſes of the ſea, arriving at this iſland, have been preſently healed, and recovered their former ſtrength, through the benignity of this country.

From the iſland of *St. Helena*, they made ſail with the ſame weather, and ſo, within the ſpace of ſeventeen days, came to the haven of *Loanda*, which is in the province of *Congo*, the winds being ſomewhat calmer than they were before. This is a very ſure, and a great haven, ſo called from an iſland of the ſame name, whereof we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

I told you before, there were two courſes of ſailing from the iſlands of cape *de Verde* to *Loanda*; the one of them now declared, which, being never uſed afterwards, was firſt attempted and performed by the ſame ſhip wherein ſignior *Odoardo* went, being guided by *Franceſco Martinez*, the king's pilot,

Why the iſland of *St. Helena* is not fortified.

This ſlanderous term uſed here by this *Portugueſe* cannot impeach the credit of theſe two honourable gentlemen.

The climate.

The port of *Loanda*.

The ſecond courſe of ſailing to *Loanda*. The iſle of *St. Thomas*.

pilot, a man very greatly experienced in those seas, and the first that ever conducted a vessel by that way; the other is achieved, by passing along the coast of the firm land.

From the island of *St. James*, they come to cape *dos Palmas*, and from thence direct themselves to the island of *St. Thomas*, which lieth under the equinoctial; so called, because it was discovered upon that day, wherein the feast of that apostle is used to be celebrated. It is distant from the firm land one-hundred and eighty miles, right against the river called *Gaban*, which is so termed, because it is, in shape, very like to that kind of vesture that is called a *gaban* or a cloke.

The haven of *St. Thomas*. The haven thereof is foreclosed with an island that raiseth itself in the channel of the river, whereunto the *Portuguese* sail with small barques from *St. Thomas's* island, bringing thither such things as usually they bring to the coast of *Guiney*, and from thence carrying back with them ivory, wax, and honey, oil of palm, and black-moor slaves. Near to the island of *St. Thomas*, towards the north, lies another island, called the isle of the prince, distant from the firm land an hundred and five miles, being of the same condition and traffic that the island of *St. Thomas* is, although, in circuit, somewhat less. This island of *St. Thomas* is, in fashion, almost round, and in breadth contains sixty miles, and in compass, one-hundred and eighty, very rich and of great traffic, discovered at the first and conquered by the *Portuguese*, when they began the conquest of the *Indies*. It hath divers havens, but the principal and chief of all, whereinto the vessels arriving there withdraw themselves, is in the place where the city stands.

Sugar. This island produces an infinite deal of sugar, and almost all kind of victuals. Churches. In the city there are some churches, and a bishop, with many clerks, and one chaplain or priest: there is also a castle, with a garison and artillery in it, which beat upon the haven, being a very great and safe port, where many ships may ride. But a very strange and admirable thing it is, that, when the *Portuguese* did first come thither, there was no sugar planted there, but they brought it thither from other countries, as they did ginger also, which took root, and grew in a most abundant manner. The soil, indeed, is moist, and, as it were, appropriated to foster the sugar-cane, which, without any other watering, multiplies of itself, and fructifies infinitely; the reason whereof is, because the dew falleth there, like rain, and moisteneth the earth.

There are in this island above seventy houses or presses for making of sugar, and every press hath many cottages about it, as if it were a village, and there may be about some three-hundred persons that are appointed for that kind of work: they do, every year, load about forty great ships with sugar. True it is, indeed, that, not long ago, the worms, as it were a plague to that land, devoured the roots of of the canes, and destroyed the fruits of their sugar, in such sort, as now, of the forty ships, they do not load above five or six vessels with that merchandise; and thereupon it comes to pass, that sugar is grown so dear in those countries.

The island of *St. Thomas* holdeth traffic with the people that dwell in the firm land, which usually resort to the mouths or entries of their rivers: The first whereof (to begin withal) is named the river *Fernando di Poo*, that is to say, of *Fernando Pouldre*, who first discovered the same, and lies in five degrees towards our pole. Right against the mouth of it, riseth an island of the same name, lying thirty and six miles distant from it. The second river is called *Bora*, that is to say, *R. Bora*. The third, *La Riviera del Campo*: *La Riviera del Campo*. the fourth, *di San Benedetto*, and the fifth, that of *Angra*, which in the mouth of it hath an island called *di Corisco*, that is to say, *R. de San Benedetto*. *Thunder*. All these traffic the same merchandises, which we mentioned before. *The isle of Corisco*.

But to return to the voyage of *St. Thomas*: departing from thence towards the south, we found the cape of *Lupo Gonzale*, which stands in the altitude of one degree beyond the equinoctial, towards the pole antarctic, a hundred and five miles distant from the aforesaid isle; and from thence they sail with land winds, creeping still all along the coast, and every day casting anchor in some safe place, either behind some point, or else in some haven, until they come to the mouth of the greatest river in *Congo*, called, in their tongue *Zaire*, *Zaire*, the which signifieth, in *Latin*, *Sapio*, in *English*, *I know*; from whence, if you will go through to the haven of *Loanda*, you must sail the length of an hundred and fourscore miles.

These are the two voyages by sea, used from the island of *St. James*, which is one of those islands, that, before we told you, were the islands of cape *de Verde*, and was, but a little while ago, first begun to be frequented.

And it is now time to treat of the kingdom of *Congo*, and all the conditions thereof.

C H A P. II.

Of the Temperature of the Kingdom of Congo, and whether it be very cold or very hot? Whether the Men be white or black? Whether they are more or less black, they that dwell in the Hills, or those that dwell in the Plains? Of the Winds, Rains, and Snows in those quarters, and of what Feature and Resemblance the Men of that Country are.

The situa-
tion of
Congo.

THE kingdom of Congo, in the middle part thereof, is distant from the equinoctial towards the pole antarctic, just where the city called Congo doth lie, seven degrees and two thirds; so that it stands under the region which ancient writers thought to be uninhabitable, and called *Zona Torrida*, that is to say, a cincture or girdle of the earth, which is burnt by the heat of the sun, wherein they are altogether deceived; for the habitation there is exceeding good, the air, beyond all credit, temperate, and the winter nothing so rough, but is rather like autumn in the region of *Rome*. The people use no furs, nor change of apparel, and come not near the fire; neither is the cold, in the tops of the mountains, greater than that which is in the plains: but, generally, in winter-time the air is hotter than it is in summer, by reason of their continual rains, and especially about two hours before and after noon, so that it can hardly be endured.

The tem-
perature
of the
kingdom.

The com-
plexion of
the people.

The men are black, and so are the women, and some of them also somewhat inclining to the colour of the wild olive; their hair is black and curled, and some also red. The stature of the men is of an indifferent bigness, and, excepting their blackness, they are very like to the *Portuguese*; the apples of their eyes are of divers colours, black, and of the colour of the sea; their lips are not thick, as the *Nubians* and other negroes are: and so likewise their countenances are some fat, some lean, and some between both, as in our countries there are, and not as the negroes of *Nubia* and *Guiney*, which are very deformed. Their nights and days do not greatly differ; for, in all the whole year, you cannot discern the difference between them to be more than a quarter of an hour.

Small dif-
ference
between
their days
and nights
Their win-
ter and
summer.

The winter, in this country, to speak at large, begins at the same time with our spring here; that is to say, when the sun entereth into the northern signs, in the month of *March*: and, at the same time that we have our winter, when the sun entereth into the southern signs, in the month of *September*, then their summer begins. In their winter, it raineth five months almost continually; that is to say, in *April*, *May*, *June*, *July*, and *August*. Of fair days they have but a few, because the rain falls so greatly, and the drops of it are so large, that it is a wonder to behold.

These waters do marvellously supple the ground, which is then very dry, by reason of the heat of the summer past, wherein it never rains, for the space of six months together; and, after the ground is full and, as it were, ingorged with water, then do the rivers swell beyond all credit, and are so replenished with troubled waters, that all the country is surrounded by them.

The winds, which blow in these moons through all this region, are the very same that *Cæsar* calls by a Greek word, *Etesii*; that is, *ordinary every year*: whereby are meant those winds that, in the card, are noted from the north to the west, and from the north to the north-east. These winds do drive the clouds to the huge and high mountains, whereupon they rush with very great violence; and, being there staid, of their own nature, they are afterwards melted into water; so that, when it is going to rain, you shall see the clouds standing, as it were, upon the tops of their highest hills.

The winds
in this
country in
winter-
time.

And hence arises the increasing and augmentation of the rivers that spring in *Ethiopia*, and especially of the *Nile* and others, that discharge themselves into the east and west ocean: and in the kingdom of *Congo* and *Guiney*, through which runneth the river *Niger*, so called by the ancient writers, and by the new termed *Senega*, you shall see the said river increase, at the very same time that the *Nile* doth; but, indeed, it carries its waters towards the west, directly against the islands of cape *de Verde*, whereas the *Nile* runs by the isle of *Meroe* in *Egypt*, towards the north, refreshing and watering all those regions that are full of scorching heats, wildernesses, and desarts. Now, forasmuch as, in the regions of *Congo* and *Ethiopia*, it is always wont to rain every year, at a certain set time, the swelling and overflowing of the rivers, there, is of no great consideration, nor any strange accident to make account of.

The cause
of the in-
crease of
the *Nile*,
and other
rivers in
Ethiopia.

But, in the countries that are far distant and very dry, as in *Egypt*, where it never rains, except in *Alexandria* and the territories thereof, it is accounted a marvellous matter to see, every year, so great a quantity of thick troubled water come upon them, from places so remote, at a certain set time, without missing; which water quickens

The river
Niger or
Senega
runs west-
ward, the
Nile runs
north-
ward.

quickens the ground, and ministers food both to man and beast. On this account, the antients sacrificed to that river, calling it *αγαθὸς δαίμων*, the good God, as *Ptolemy* notes in his fourth book; yea, and some of our Christians, at this very day, hold it for a miracle; so that, without these waters, they should perish for hunger, because their lives depend upon this increase of the water, as *St. Chrysostome* affirms.

Thus, these winds, called by *Cæsar* *Etesii*, and by the *Portuguese* *Generali*, blow with us in summer, but with them in winter, and carry the clouds unto the tops of those huge mountains, which cause them to melt into rain; and, so it falls out that, by reason of these rains, their winter, as is said before, is nothing so cold, because the waters do ingender a certain kind of warmth in those hot regions. This, then, is the cause of the increase of the *Nile*, and other rivers in that climate, whereof the antients made so great doubt, and invented so many fables and errors.

But in their summer, which is our winter, there blow other winds that are diametrically opposite to the former, noted in the card, from the south to the south-east, which, out of all question, must be cold, because they breathe from the contrary pole antarctic, and cool all those countries, even for all the world, as our winds, in summer, cool our countries. And whereas, there with them, these winds render the air very fair and clear; so they never come unto us, but they bring with them great store of rain: and this comes to pass by a certain natural disposition of the earth, which is governed by the heavens and the climates thereof, and by the sovereign providence of God, who hath parted the heaven, and the course of the sun and of the other planets,

in such sort, that every country, upon the face of the earth, enjoys the vertue of their lights, both in heat, and in cold, and also in all other seasons of the year, by a most singular measure and proportion. And certainly, if the breath of these winds did not refresh and cool these countries of *Ethiopia* and *Congo*, and other places adjacent, it were not possible for them to endure the heat, considering that, even in the night-time, they are constrained to hang two coverings over them, to keep away the heat. The same cooling and refreshing, by winds, is common also to the inhabitants of the isle of *Candy*, the islands in the *Archipelago*, *Cyprus*, *Asia* the less, *Soria*, and of *Egypt*, who live, as it were, with this refreshing of the foresaid winds of the north-west, and of the west; so that they may well be called, as they are in *Greek*, *Zephyri quasi ζωφόροι*, breeders of life.

Let it be also remembered, that, in the mountains of *Ethiopia*, *Congo*, and the regions adjacent, there falls no snow, neither is there any at all in the very tops of them, except towards the cape of *Good-Hope*, and certain other hills, which the *Portuguese* call, *Sierra Nevada*, that is to say, the *Snowy mountains*; neither is there any ice or snow to be found in all the country of *Congo*, which would be better esteemed there than gold, to mingle with their drinks: so that the rivers there do not swell and increase by melting of snow, but because the rain falls out of the clouds, for five whole moons together, namely, in *April*, *May*, *June*, *July*, and *August*; the first rain sometimes beginning on the fifteenth day, and sometimes after that time. And this is the cause, why the new waters of the *Nile*, which are so greatly desired and expected by the inhabitants there, do arrive sooner or later in *Egypt*.

No snow
nor ice in
Ethiopia
or *Congo*.

Their
winds in
summer-
time.

C H A P. III.

Whether the Children, which are begotten by Portuguese, being of a white Skin, and born in those countries by the women of Congo, be black or white, or tawny like a wild Olive, whom the Portuguese call Mulatti.

The true
cause of
white and
black in
the bodies
of the in-
habitants.
of these
countries.

AL L the antient writers have certainly believed, that the cause of the black colour in men is from the heat of the sun; for by experience it is found, that, the nearer we approach to the countries of the south, the browner and blacker are the inhabitants therein; and contrariwise, the farther you go towards the north, the whiter will you find the men, as the *French*, *Dutch*, *English*, and others. Nevertheless, it is as certain a thing as may be, that, under the equinoctial, there are people which are born almost all

white, as in the kingdom of *Melinde* and *Mombaza* situated under the equinoctial, and in the isle of *St. Thomas*, which lies also under the same climate, and was at first inhabited by the *Portuguese*, though afterwards disinhabited; and, for the space of a hundred years and upwards, their children were continually white, yea and every day still became whiter and whiter. In like manner, the children of the *Portuguese*, which are born of the women of *Congo*, incline somewhat towards white; so that signior *Odoardo* was of opinion,

that the black colour did not spring from the heat of the sun, but from the nature of the seed; being induced thereunto by the reasons mentioned before; and, surely, this his opinion is confirmed by the testimony of *Ptolemy*, who, in his description

of the innermost parts of *Lybia*, makes mention of white *Ethiopians*, whom he calls in his language, *Λευκαῖθίονες*, that is to say, white *Moors*; and, in another place also, of white elephants, which are in the same country.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Circuit of the Kingdom of Congo, and of the Borders and Confines thereof; and, first, of the western Coast.

THE kingdom of *Congo* is distinguished by four borders: the first border is of the west, which is watered with the ocean; the second of the north, the third of the east, and the last is towards the south.

The western border of *Congo*. The bay of *Cowus*. And, to begin with the border lying upon the sea, the first part of it is in the bay, called *Seno delle Vacche*, and is situated in the height of thirteen degrees upon the antarctic side, and stretcheth all along the coast unto four degrees and a half on the north side, near unto the equinoctial; which space contains six-hundred and thirty miles. This *Seno delle Vacche* is a haven but of a moderate bigness, and yet a good one, and able to receive any ship that arrives. It is called *Seno delle Vacche*, that is to say, the bay of *Cows*, because, thereabouts, there are pasturing very many herds of that kind of cattle: the country is plain, and abounds with all manner of victuals; and there you may find some kind of metals to be publicly sold, especially silver, and it is subject to the king of *Angola*.

The river *Bengleli*. A little more forward lies the river *Bengleli*, where a certain lord, subject to the king of *Angola*, doth chiefly command; and, about the said river, is a great compass of country, much like to the former.

The river *Songa*. A little further, runs the river *Songa*, so called by the *Portuguese*, wherein you may sail twenty-five miles upwards in a country also like to the former. Then

The *Coanza*. follows the river *Coanza*, which issues out of a little lake, fed by a certain river that flows out of a great lake, being the principal spring or head of the *Nile*, whereof, in the other part of this discourse, we shall have occasion to write. *Coanza*, at the mouth of it, is two miles broad, and you may sail with small barques upwards against the stream, about one-hundred miles, but it hath no haven. It is here to be noted, that all the country, which we have now described, was wont to be subject to the king of *Congo*; but, a while ago, the governor of that country is become the absolute lord thereof, and professeth himself to be a friend to the king of *Congo*, but not his vassal; and yet some-

times he sendeth the king some present, in manner of a tribute.

Beyond the river *Coanza*, is the haven of *Loanda*, lying in ten degrees, made, as it is said, by a certain island, called *Loanda*, which signifies in that language, *Bald* or *Shaven*, because it is a country without any hills, and very low; for, indeed, it scarce raiseth itself above the sea. This island was framed of the sand and dirt of the sea, and of the river *Coanza*, whose waves meeting together, and the filthy matter sinking down there to the bottom, in process of time, it grew to be an island. It may be about twenty miles long, and one mile broad, at the most, and in some places but only a bow-shot; but it is a marvellous thing, that, in such a sandy ground, if you shall dig to the depth of two or three hands-breadth, you will find sweet water, the best in all those countries; wherein also there is a very strange effect, that, when the ocean ebbeth, this water becomes somewhat salt, but, when it floweth to the top, it is extremely sweet: a thing that falleth out also in the island of *Cadis* in *Spain*, according to the report and testimony of *Strabo*.

This island is the mine of all the money which the king of *Congo* spends, and all the neighbouring people; for upon the shores you may see certain women, that use to dive and duck into the sea, two yards deep and more, and fill their baskets with sand, and afterwards divide the gravel from certain small shell-fishes that are among it, which are called *Lumache*: and, when these *Lumache* are severed by themselves, then do they pick out the males from the females; which they may easily do, because the female is finer than the male, and greatly esteemed for its colour, which is very neat, bright, and pleasant to the sight.

These *lumache* breed, in all the shores of the kingdom of *Congo*; but the best of all are those of *Loanda*, because they look very fine, and are of a bright colour, some gray or ash-coloured, and some of other colours not so precious: and here you must note, that gold and silver and metal are not of any estimation, nor in use

use of money in these countries, but only these lumache; so that, neither with gold nor silver, in mass or in coin, you can buy any thing there, but, with these lumache, you may buy both gold and silver, or any thing else.

In this island there are seven or eight towns, called, in that country language, *Libata*, the principal whereof is *Spirito santo*; and therein dwells the governor, who is sent from *Congo*, to minister justice, and to gather the treasure of the monies of the lumache. Here are also goats, sheep, and boars in great numbers, which, being tame at the first, afterwards become wild, and live in the woods. Here grows also a tree, called *Enzanda*, which is a great one, always green, and endued with a singular quality; for, from the boughs of it that sprout upwards, there hang down certain threads, as it were, which, creeping into the earth, take root, and from the roots do rise other trees; and so they multiply; and, within the outmost bark thereof, there grows a certain kind of pill like fine linnen, which, being beaten and cleansed, they spread out in length and breadth, and therewith they cloath their men and women, that are of the basest sort.

In this island they have certain vessels, made of the bodies of palm-trees, joined together and framed after the manner of our boats, with a prow and a stern, wherein they pass from place to place, both with oars and sails: in these boats they use to fish about the rivers, which are, indeed, exceeding full of fish, and sometimes also they go over to the firm land.

In that part of this island, which is towards the main land, in certain low places there grow certain trees, which, when the water of the ocean ebbereth, discover themselves; and, at the feet thereof, you may find certain other shell-fishes cleaving as fast to the trees as may be, having within them a great fish as big as a man's hand, and very good meat. The people of the country know them very well, and call them *Ambiziamatare*, that is to say, the fish of the rock. The shells of these fishes they use to burn, and thereof make very good lime to build withal; and, being like the cork or bark of the tree which is called *Manghi*, they dress their ox-hides with them, to make their shoe-soles the stronger.

To be brief, this island brings forth neither corn nor wine, but there is great store of victuals brought thither from all part adjacent; to fetch away these lumache; for, as in all other places, all things may be had for money of metal, so all things here are to be had for lumache.

It may here be noted, that, not only in this kingdom of *Congo*; but also in its neighbour *Ethiopia* and in *Africa*, and in the kingdoms of *China*, and certain others of the *Indies*; they use money of other matter than of metal; that is to say, neither gold nor silver, nor copper, nor any other mixture tempered of these: For, in *Ethiopia*, their money is pepper: and, in the kingdom of *Tombutto*, which is about the river *Niger*, otherwise called *Senega*, their money is cockles or shell-fish; and, among the *Azanaghi*, their monies are porcellette, and, in the kingdom of *Bengala* likewise, they use porcellette and metal together. In *China*, they have certain shell-fishes, called also porcellette, which they use for their money; and, in other places, paper stamped with the king's seal, and the barks of the tree called *Gelsomora*: whereby it appeareth, that the money, which is paid for every thing, is not metal, all the world over, as it is in *Europe*, and in many and sundry other countries of the earth.

This island, in the straitest part of it, is very near to the firm land, and the people oftentimes swim over the channel there. In this streight there arise out of the ocean certain islettes, which shew themselves forth from the water, when it ebbereth, and are covered again, when it flows. And in those islettes you may see great trees, and most excellent shell-fishes cleaving fast to the bodies of them, such as I told you of before.

Near to this island, towards the outward coast to the sea, there swim an innumerable sort of whales, that look black, and, fighting one with another, kill themselves; which, afterwards being by the waves cast up upon the shore, as big as a middling merchant-ship, the negroes go forth with their boats to fetch them, and to take the oil out of them; which, being mingled with pitch, they use to trim their vessels. Upon the ridges or backs of these creatures, there grow many shell-fishes, made like snails, cockles, and whelks: whereof, signior *Odoardo* affirmed, that he had seen great store. He was also of opinion, that amber does not come from these fishes; for, over all the coast of *Congo*, where there is an infinite number of them, you will not find either ambergriz, or any other amber, black or white in any place; and yet, if it should proceed from these creatures, there must have been, of necessity, great store of it found upon these shores.

The principal haven of this island hath its entrance towards the north, and on that side it is half a mile broad, and of a very great depth. Upon the firm land,

Spirito santo.

The tree *Enzanda.*

Their boats.

Shell-fishes.

Ambiziamatare.

What kind of money is used in sundry countries.

Certain islettes.

Great store of whales.

Amber comes not from the whales.

The haven of Loanda.

directly

directly over-against the island, is a town called *Villa di San Paulo*, or *St. Paul's* village, altogether inhabited by *Portuguese*, and their wives, which they brought with them out of *Spain*; and yet it is not fortified.

Store of fish.

All this channel is very full of fish, especially of sardines and of anchovies; whereof there is so great store, that, in the winter-time, they will, of themselves, leap up to land. Other kinds of most excellent fishes there are, as soles, sturgeons, and barbels, and all manner of dainty fish; and great crabs in strange abundance, and all very wholesome, so that the greatest part of the people, that dwell about the banks there, do live upon them.

The river Bengo.

Into this channel runs the river, called *Bengo*, which is a very great one, and navigable upwards of twenty-five miles. This river, and that of *Coanza*, whereof I told you before, make the isle of *Loanda*, because, when their waters meet together, they leave their sand and filth behind them, and so increase the island.

The river Dande.

There runs also into it another great river, called *Dande*, which will receive vessels of an hundred tons; and then another river called *Lembe*, which neither hath a haven, nor do any ships enter into it. Very near unto this, there is also another

The river Lembe.

The river Ozone.

river, called *Ozone*, which issues out of the same lake, whence the *Nile* likewise springs, and it hath an haven. Next to

The river Loze.

The river Ambriz.

Ozone, there is another called *Loze*, without any haven; and then another great one with a haven, called *Ambriz*, which runs within four leagues near to the royal

The river Lelunda.

city of *Congo*. Last of all is the river *Lelunda*, which signifies a *Trout-fish*, and watereth the roots of that great hill, whereon the palace of *Congo* stands, called by the

The Oteiro of Congo.

Portuguese the *Oteiro*. This river *Lelunda* springs out of the same lake, from whence *Coanza* issues, and takes into it, by the way, another river, that comes from the great lake; and, when it doth not rain, then you may pass over *Lelunda* on foot, because it hath so little store of water in it.

The river Zaire.

Next unto this is the *Zaire*, a huge river and large, and, indeed, the greatest in all the kingdom of *Congo*: The original of this river comes out of three lakes; one is the great lake from whence the *Nile* springs, the second is the little lake above-mentioned, and the third is the second great lake which the *Nile* ingendereth. And, certainly, when you consider the abundance of water that is in this river, you will say, that there was no need to have any fewer or lesser springs, to make so huge a stream as this carries; for, in the

very mouth of it, which is the only entrance into it, the river is twenty-eight miles broad; and, when it is in the height of its increase, it runs fresh water forty or fifty miles into the sea, and sometimes eighty; so that the passengers refresh themselves with it, and, by the troublesomeness of the water, they know the place where they are. It is navigable upwards with great barques about twenty-five miles, until you come to a certain freight between the rocks, where it falls with such a horrible noise, that it may be heard almost eight miles; and this place is called, by the *Portuguese*, *Cachivera*, that is to say, a *Fall*, or a *Cataract*, like to the *Cataracts* of the *Nile*. Between the mouth of this river, and the fall thereof, there are divers great islands well inhabited, with towns and lords obedient to the king of *Congo*, which sometimes, for the great enmity that is among them, war one against another in certain boats, hollowed out of a stock of a tree, which is of an unmeasurable bigness; and these boats they call *Lungo*. The greatest boats, that they have, are made of a certain tree, called *Licondo*; which is so great, that six men cannot compass it with their arms, and, in length, of proportion answerable to the thickness, so that one of them will carry about two-hundred persons. They row these boats with their oars, which are not tied to any loops, but they hold them at liberty in their hands, and move the water therewith, at pleasure. Every man hath his oar and his bow, and, when they fight together, they lay down their oar, and take their bow; neither do they use any other rudders to turn and govern their boats, but only their oars.

The first of these islands, which is but a little one, is called the island of *Horses*; because there are bred and brought up in it great numbers of those creatures that the *Greeks* call *hippopotami*, that is to say, water-horses. In a certain village within this island do the *Portuguese* dwell, having withdrawn themselves thither, for their better security: they have their vessels to transport them over the water to the firm land, upon the south bank of the river; which land is called the haven of *Pinda*, where many ships do ride, that arrive therein.

In this river there are living divers kinds of creatures, and in particular, mighty great crocodiles, which the country people there call *Caiman*; and water-horses above-named; and another kind of creature, that hath, as it were, two hands, and a tail like a target, which is called *ambize angulo*, that is to say, a hog-fish, because it is as fat as a hog. The flesh of it is very good, and thereof they make lard, and so keep it

it; neither hath it the savour or taste of a fish, although it be a fish. It never goes out from the fresh water, but feeds upon the grafs that grows on the banks, and hath a mouth like the muzzle of an ox. There are some of these fishes, that weigh five-hundred pounds a-piece. The fishermen use to take them in their little boats, by marking the places where they feed, and then, with their hooks and forks, striking and wounding them; they draw them dead out of the water, and, when they have cut them in pieces, carry them to the king: for whosoever does not so, incurs the penalty of death; and so do they likewise that take the trout, tench, and another fish, called *Cacongo*, which is shaped after the likeness of a salmon, except that it is not red; but, indeed, it is so fat that it quenches the fire, whilst it is roasted or broiled. Other fishes also there are, called *Fishes Royal*, which are carried to the king upon very severe and rigorous punishments, by open proclamation to be inflicted on such as shall do the contrary; besides other kind of fishes that are taken in this river, the names whereof we think it superfluous here to recite.

Cacongo,
a fish like
a salmon.

Beyond this river of Congo, there comes down another river, which the Portuguese called *La Baia de las Almadias*, that is to say, *The gulf of Barques*; because a great

La Baia de las Almadias.

store of them is made there, by reason of the abundance of woods and trees that grow thereabouts, which are fit for that use, and wherewith all the countries round about furnish themselves. At the mouth of this bay, there are three islands; one great isle in the middle of the channel, which make a convenient haven for small vessels; and two other less, but none of them inhabited.

A little higher runs another stream, not very great, which is called *De las Barreras* ^{de las Barreras Rosas.} *Rosas*, that is, of the red Clay-pits, because it flows from certain hilly rocks whose earth is dyed with a red colour; where also there is a very high mountain, called by the Portuguese, *La Sierra Complida*, that is to say, *The long Mountain*.

And yet, going up a little further, there are two gulfs of the sea, in the likeness of a pair of spectacles, wherein is a good haven, called *La Baia d' Alvaro Gonzales*, that is, *The gulf of Alvaro Gonzales*. Beyond all these are certain hills and shores, not worth the remembrance, until you come to the promontory, that is called by the Portuguese, *Capo de Caterina*, that is, *Catherine's cape*, which is the border of the kingdom of Congo towards the equinoctial, and is distant from the equinoctial line two degrees and a half, which is one hundred and fifty Italian miles.

Baia d' Alvaro Gonzales.

Capo de Caterina.

CHAP. V.

Of the North Coast of the Kingdom of Congo, and the Confines thereof.

NOW from *Capo de Caterino*, on the north side, begins another border or coast of the kingdom of Congo, which eastward stretches itself to the place where the river *Vumba* joins with the river *Zaire*, containing the space of six-hundred miles and more. Beyond this coast of Congo, towards the north, and under the equinoctial line, upon the sea-shore, and about two-hundred miles within land, comprehending, in that reckoning, the foresaid gulf of *Lope Gonzales*, the people, called the *Bramas*, do inhabit in a country, that is now called the kingdom of *Loango*, and the king thereof *Mani-Loango*, that is to say, the king of *Loango*. The country hath great abundance of elephants, whose teeth they exchange for iron, whereof they make their arrow-heads, knives, and such other instruments. In this country also, they weave certain cloth of the leaves of palm-trees, in sundry sorts; as we shall tell you in some other place of this narration.

The king of *Loango* is in amity with the king of Congo, and the report is, that, in times past, he was his vassal. This people are circumcised after the manner of the

The *Bramas*.

Their armour.

Empachas.

Hebrews, as also the rest of the nations in those countries use to be: they traffic together one with another, and sometimes make war against their neighbours, being altogether of the same nature, whereof the people of Congo are. Their armour are long targets, which cover almost all their bodies, made of very hard and thick hides of a certain beast, called *Empachas*, somewhat less than an ox, with horns like the horns of a goat: this creature is also bred in Germany, and called a *Dante*: the hides thereof are transported out of these countries, and the kingdom of Congo, into Portugal, and from thence into Flanders, where they are dressed, and then they make jerkins of them, as good as breast-plates and corslets, which they call jackets of *Dante*. Their weapons offensive are darts with long and large heads of iron, like partisans, or like the antient Roman *Pilum* or *Javelin*; the staves whereof are of proportionable length to cast, having in the midst of them a certain piece of wood, which they take in their hands, and so with greater force and violence discharge their darts; they carry also certain daggers,

The people *Loango* circumcised.

daggers, which are, in shape, much like to the heads of their darts.

The country of *Anzigues*.

Beyond the kingdom of *Loango*, are the people called *Anzigues*; of whom we shall deliver unto you a history, which, in truth, is very strange, and almost incredible, for the beastly and cruel custom they use in eating man's flesh, yea and that of the nearest kinsfolks they have: this country towards the sea, on the west, borders upon the people of *Ambus*; towards the north, upon other nations of *Africa*, and the wilderness of *Nubia*; towards the east, upon the second great lake, from whence the river of *Congo* springs, in that part which is called *Anzicana*; and, from the kingdom of *Congo*, it is divided by the river *Zaire*, wherein there are many islands, as is before related, scattered from the lake downwards, and some of them belonging to the dominion of the *Anzigues*, by which river also they traffic with the people of *Congo*.

Sanders.

In this kingdom of the *Anzigues*, there are many mines of copper, and great quantities of sanders, both red and grey: the red is called *Tavilla*, and the grey, which is the better esteemed, is called *Chibongo*, whereof they make a powder of very sweet smell, and divers medicines. They also mingle it with the oil of palm-tree, and so, anointing all their bodies over with it, they preserve themselves in health: but the *Portuguese* use it tempered with vinegar, which they lay upon their pulses, and so heal the *French* pocks, which they call, in that language, *Cbitangas*.

Medicines for the *French* pox.

For the head-ach.

Some affirm, that this grey sanders is the very *Lignum Aquilæ*, that grows in *India*; and signior *Odoardo* affirmed, that the *Portuguese* have proved it for the head-ach, by laying it on the coals, and taking the smoke of it; the pith and innermost part of the tree is the best, but the outward part is of no estimation.

They make great store of linnen of the palm-tree, of sundry sorts and colours, and much cloth of silk, whereof we will farther discourse hereafter. The people are subject to a king, who hath other princes under him: they are very active and warlike, ready to take arms, and fight on foot. Their weapons are different from those of all other people round about them: for their bows are small and short, made of wood, and wrapped about with serpents skins of divers colours, and so smoothly wrought, that you would think them to be all one with the wood: and this they do, to make the bow stronger, and also to hold it the faster: their strings are of little wooden twigs, like reeds, not hollow within, but sound and pliable, and very dainty, such as the cava-

Their bows.

liers of *Portugal* carry in their hands, to beat their palms with: they are of an ash colour, and of a lion tawny, somewhat tending to black; they grow in the country of the *Anzigues*, and the kingdom of *Bengal*, through which the river *Ganges* runs; and their arrows are short and slender, and of a very hard wood, which they carry on their bow-hand. They are so quick in shooting, that, holding twenty-eight shafts or more in their bow-hand, they will shoot and discharge them all, before the first arrow light on the ground; yea, and sometimes there have been seen divers stout archers, that have killed birds, as they fly in the air.

Their arrows.

Other weapons also they make, as, axes and hatchets, which they use and frame after a strange manner; for the handle is shorter, by half, than the iron, and, at the lowest end of it, there is a pommel, for the faster holding of it in the hand, and all covered over with the foresaid skin of a serpent. In the uppermost end of it, is the iron very bright and shining, fastened to the wood with plates of copper, in the manner of two nails, as long as the handle: it hath two edges, the one whereof cuts like a hatchet, and makes a wound after the fashion of a semicircle; the other is a hammer. When they fight with their enemies, or defend themselves from their arrows, they are so exercised with a wonderful speed and nimbleness to manage their weapons, that, whirling them round about, as it were, in a circle, they keep all that compass of the air which is before them; so that, when the enemy shoots, and the arrow begins to fall, it lights upon the hatchet; being so swiftly and vehemently whirled about, that it breaks the force of the arrow, and so it is repulsed: then do they hang the hatchet upon their shoulders, and begin to shoot themselves. They have also certain short daggers, with sheaths of the serpents skins, made like knives with a haft unto them, which they use to wear a-cross: their girdles are of divers sorts, but the men of war have their girdles of elephants skin, three fingers broad; and, because they are at first two fingers thick, and very hard to handle handsomely, by the heat of the fire, they bow them round, and so, with certain buttons, tie them a-cross about them.

Their weapons.

The men are very active and nimble, and leap up and down the mountains, like goats; courageous they are and contemn death; men of great simplicity, loyalty, and fidelity, whom the *Portuguese* trust more than any other: Signior *Odoardo* was induced to say, that, if these *Anzichi* would become Christians (being of so great fidelity, sincerity, and simplicity, that they offer

The nature of the *Anzichi*.

offer themselves to death, for the glory of the world, and to please their lords even give their own flesh to be devoured) then would they, with a far better heart and courage, endure martyrdom, for the name of our Redeemer *Jesus Christ*, and would honourably maintain our faith and religion, with their good testimony and example, against the *Gentiles*.

Their merchandise.

Moreover, the said signior *Odoardo* likewise affirms, that there was no conversing with them, because they were a savage and beastly people, except only that they come and traffic at *Congo*, bringing thither with them slaves, both of their own nation, and of *Nubia*, whereupon they border, and linnen-cloth, whereof we will tell you hereafter, and elephants teeth: in exchange of which commodities, they carry home with them salt, and these *Lumache*, which they use instead of money and coin; and another greater kind of *Lumache*, that come from the island of *St. Thomas*, which they use for necklaces to make them fine and gallant withal. Other merchandises also they carry back with them, which are brought out of *Portugal*, as, silks, linnen, glasses, and the like.

The *Anzichi* are circumcised and marked in their faces.

They use to circumcise themselves; and another foolish custom they have, both men and women, as well of the nobility, as of the commonalty, even from their childhood, to mark their faces with sundry slashes made with a knife, as in its proper place shall be further shewed.

A shambles of man's flesh.

They keep a shambles of man's flesh, as they do, in these countries, for beef and other victuals; for their enemies, whom they take in the wars, they eat, and also their slaves, if they can have a good market, they sell; or, if they cannot, they deliver them to the butchers to be cut in pieces, and so sold, to be roasted or boiled. And, that which is a marvellous history to report, some of them, being weary of their lives, and others of them, even for valour and courage, and to shew themselves stout and venturous, thinking it to be a great honour unto them, if they run into voluntary death, thereby to shew that

they have a special contempt of this life, will offer themselves to the butchery, as faithful subjects to their princes; for whose sakes, that they may seem desirous to do them notable service, they not only deliver themselves to be devoured by them, but also their slaves, when they are fat and well fed, they kill and eat them. True it is, that many nations there are, that feed upon man's flesh, as, in the *East Indies*, and *Brasil*, and other places; but that is only the flesh of their adversaries and enemies, for to eat the flesh of their own friends, subjects, and kinsfolks, is without example in any place of the world, excepting only in this nation of the *Anzichi*.

A strange beastly custom.

The ordinary apparel of these people is thus: The common sort go naked, from the girdle upwards, and without any thing upon their heads, having their hair trussed up and curled. The noblemen are apparelled in silks and other cloth, and wear upon their heads blue, red, and black colours, and hats and hoods of *Portugal* velvet, and other kinds of caps usual in that country; and, indeed, they are all desirous to have their apparel as handsome and neat, as their ability will suffer them. The women are all covered from top to toe, after the manner of *Africa*; the poorer sort of them gird themselves close, from the girdle downwards. The noble women, and such as are wealthy, wear certain mantles, which they throw over their heads, but keep their faces open and at liberty; and shoes they have on their feet, but the poor go barefoot. They go very quick and lightsome, their stature is comely, and their conditions fair and commendable.

Their apparel.

Their language is altogether different from the language of *Congo*; and yet the *Anzichi* will learn the language of *Congo*, very soon and easily, because it is the plainer tongue; but the people of *Congo* very hardly learn the language of the *Anzichi*: and, when I once demanded, what their religion was, it was told me, they were *Gentiles*; and that was all that I could learn of them.

Their language.

CHAP. VI.

Of the east Coast of the Kingdom of Congo, and the Confines thereof.

The eastern border of Congo.

THE east coast of the kingdom of *Congo* begins, as we have told you, at the meeting of the rivers *Vumba* and *Zaire*; and so, with a line drawn towards the south in equal distance from the river *Nile*, which lies on the left-hand, it takes up a great mountain, which is very high, and not inhabited on the tops thereof, called the mountain of *Chrystal*, because there

The mountain of Chrystal.

are in it great quantities of chrystal, both of the mountain and of the cliff, and of all sorts: and then, passing on further, it includes the hills that are called *Sierras de Sol*, that is to say, the hills of the *Sun*, because they are exceeding high; and yet it never snows upon them, neither do they bear any thing, but are very bare and without any trees. On the left-hand there arise

The mountains of the Sun.

The
mountains
of *Sal-ni-*
trum.

rise other hills, called the hills of *Sal-ni-trum*, or *Salt-petre*, because there is in them great store of that mineral; and, so cutting over the river *Berbela*, that comes out of the first lake, there ends the ancient bound of the kingdom of *Congo* on the east.

Thus, then, the east coast of this kingdom is derived from the meeting of the two aforesaid rivers *Vumba* and *Zaire*, until you come to the lake *Achelunda*, and to the country of *Malemba*, containing the space of six-hundred miles. From this line, which is drawn, in the eastern coast of *Congo*, to the river *Nile*, and to the two lakes, whereof mention shall be made in a convenient place, there is the space of one-hundred and fifty miles of ground, well inhabited, and good store of hills, which yield fundry metals, with much linnen and cloth of the palm-tree.

The art of
making
silks in
this east-
ern coast.

And, seeing we are now come to this point, it will be very necessary to declare unto you the marvellous art which the people of this country, and other places adjacent, use in making cloths of fundry sorts, as, velvets rough and smooth, cloth of tissue, sattins, taffaties, damasks, farcenets, and such like, not of any filken stuff; for they have no knowledge of silk-worms at all, although some of their apparel be made of silk that is brought thither from other countries: but they weave their cloths before named of the leaves of palm-trees, which tree they always keep under, and low to the ground, every year cutting and watering them, to the end they may grow small and tender against the new spring. Out of these leaves, cleansed and purged, after their manner, they draw forth their threads, which are all very fine and dainty, and of one evenness, except that those, which are longest, are best esteemed; for of those they weave their greatest pieces. These stuffs they work of divers fashions, as some, with a nap upon

them, like velvet, on both sides, and other cloth called damasks, branched with leaves, and such other things, and the brocades, which are called high and low, and are far more precious than ours are. This kind of cloth, no man may wear except the king, and those to whom he is pleased to grant this favour. The greatest pieces are of these brocades; for they contain, in length, four or five spans, and, in breadth, three or four, and are called *Incorimbass*, by the name of the country where it grows, which is about the river *Vumba*. The velvets are called *Enzackas* of the same bigness, and the damasks *Infulas*, *Rasi Maricas*, *Zendadi Tangas*, and *Ormesini Engombos*. Of the lighter sort of these stuffs, they have greater pieces, wrought by the *Anzichi*, which are six spans long, and five broad, wherewith every man may apparel himself, according to his ability; which are, besides, very thick and sound to keep out the water, and yet very light to wear. The *Portuguese* have lately begun to use them for tents and booths, which marvellously resist both water and wind.

This coast, then, shuts up the kingdom of *Congo*, which lies westward of it; and from this coast, with a line of equal distance somewhat more to the east, runs the river *Nile*, about one-hundred and fifty miles, containing within it a country that The River
Nile.
abounds with all the commodities above rehearsed, possessed by fundry mighty lords, some subject to *Prete Gianni*, and some to the mighty king *Moënemugi*. In all this country, there was nothing worth noting, except that, from the *Nile*, towards the west, the people traffic with the kingdom of *Congo*, and the rivers of that sea; and, from thence towards the east, they go through the kingdoms of *Moënemugi*, even to the sea of *Mombaza* and *Mozambiche*.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Confines of the Kingdom of Congo towards the South.

The
southern
coast.
The
mountain
of *silver*.

THE eastern coast, as is before set down, ends in the mountain called *Sierras de Plata*, that is, the mountains of *Silver*; and there begins the fourth and last border of the kingdom of *Congo* towards the south, that is to say, from the aforesaid mountains to the bay of *Cows* on the west, containing, in length, the space of four-hundred and fifty miles. And this southern line parts the kingdom of *Angola* in the middle, and leaves, on the left-hand of it, the aforesaid mountains of *Silver*; and, further beyond them towards the

south, the kingdom of *Matama*, which is a great kingdom, very mighty, absolute of itself, sometimes in amity, and sometimes at utter enmity with the kingdom of *Angola*.

The king of *Matama* is, in religion, a *Gentile*, and his kingdom stretches towards the south, to the river *Bravagal*, and near to the mountains commonly called the *Mountains of the Moon*; and, towards the east, it borders on the western banks of the river *Bagamidri*, and so crosses over the river *Coari*. The king
of *Matama*.

This

This country abounds in vaults of chry-
stal and other metals, and all manner of
viſuals, and good air; and, although the
people thereof and their neighbour bor-
derers traffic together, yet the king of
Matama and the king of *Angola* often-
times war one againſt the other, as we
told you before: and this river *Bagamidri*,
divides the kingdom of *Matapa* from the
kingdom of *Monomata*, which is towards
the eaſt, whereof *John de Barros* doth
moſt largely diſcourſe, in the firſt chapter
of his tenth book.

The king
of Angola.

Towards the ſea coaſt, there are divers
lords, that take upon them the title of
kings, but, indeed, they are of very baſe
and ſlender eſtate; neither are there any
ports or havens of any account or name,
in the rivers there. And now, forasmuch
as we have oftentimes made mention of
the kingdom of *Angola*, this will be a very
convenient place for us to treat thereof;
becauſe it hath been formerly ſaid, that
the king of *Angola* was, in times paſt, but
a governor and deputy under the king of
Congo; although, ſince that time, he is be-
come a good Chriſtian, and hath made
himſelf a free and an abſolute prince,
having uſurped all that quarter to his own
jurisdiction, which before he had in regi-
men and government under another; and
ſo, in proceſs of time, he conquered other
countries adjacent, inſomuch that he is
now grown to be a great and rich prince,
and in power little inferior to the king of
Congo himſelf, and therefore either pays
tribute, or refuſes to pay tribute unto him,
even at his own good pleaſure.

John the
ſecond
king of
Portugal
firſt
brought
Chriſtiani-
ty into
Congo.

It came to paſs, that don *Giovanni* the
ſecond, king of *Portugal*, planted the
Chriſtian religion in the kingdom of *Congo*,
and thereupon the king of *Congo* became a
Chriſtian. After which time, the lord of
Angola was always in amity with, and, as
it were, a vaſſal to the fore-named king of
Congo; and the people of both countries
did traffic together one with another, and
the lord of *Angola* did, every year, ſend
ſome preſents to the king of *Congo*: and,
by licence from the king of *Congo*, there
was a great trade between the *Portugueſe*
and the people of *Angola* at the haven of
Loando, where they bought ſlaves, and
exchanged them for other merchandiſes,
and ſo tranſported all to the iſle of *St. Tho-
mas*, whereby the traffic here was united
with the traffic of *St. Thomas*; ſo that the
ſhips uſed firſt to arrive at that iſland, and
then afterwards paſſed over to *Loando*.

Paulo Diaz
the firſt
discoverer
of this
traffic.

When this trade began, in proceſs of time,
to increaſe, they diſpatched their ſhips
from *Liſbon* to *Angola*, of themſelves, and
ſent with them a governor, called *Paulo
Diaz* of *Novais*, to whom this buſineſs

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did, as it were, of right belong, in regard
of the good deſerts of his anceſtors, who
firſt diſcovered this traffic. To this *Paulo
Diaz* did don *Sebaſtian*, king of *Portugal*,
grant leave and authority to conquer for
the ſpace of thirty-three leagues upwards
along the coaſt, beginning at the river of
Coanza towards the ſouth, and within the
land alſo, whatſoever he could get, to-
wards all his charges, for him and his heirs:
with him there went many other ſhips
that opened and found out a great trade
with *Angola*, which, notwithstanding, was
directed to the foreſaid port of *Loanda*,
where the ſaid ſhips did ſtill diſcharge
themſelves; and ſo, by little and little,
he entered into the firm land, and made
himſelf a houſe in a certain village called
Anzelle, within a mile near to the river
Coanza, becauſe it was the more commo-
dious and nigher to the traffic of *Angola*.

Don Seba-
ſtian king
of Portu-
gal.

Paulo Diaz
builds a
houſe in
Anzelle.

When the trade here began thus to in-
creaſe, and merchandiſes were freely car-
ried by the *Portugueſe*, and the people of
Congo, to *Cabazo*, a place belonging to
the lord of *Angola*, and diſtant from the
ſea one-hundred and fifty miles, there to
ſell and barter them, it pleaſed his lord-
ſhip to give out order, that all the mer-
chants ſhould be ſlain, and all their goods
confiſcated, alledging for his defence, that
they were come hither as ſpies, and to
take poſſeſſion of his eſtate; but, in truth,
it is thought, that he did it only to gain all
that wealth to himſelf, conſidering, that
they were a people who did not deal in the
habit of warriors, but of merchants. And
this fell out, in the ſame year that the
king don *Sebaſtian* was diſcomfited in *Bar-
bary*.

The au-
thor calls
him Lord,
becauſe he
was then
but a petty
king.

When *Paulo Diaz* was informed of this
courſe, he put himſelf in arms againſt the
king of *Angola*; and, with ſuch a troop of
Portugueſe as he could gather together in
that country, and with two gallies and
other veſſels, which he kept in the river
Coanza, he went forwards on both ſides
of the river, conquering, and by force ſub-
dued many lords, and made them his
friends and ſubjects. But, the king of *An-
gola* perceiving, that his vaſſals had yield-
ed to the obedience of *Paulo Diaz*, and
that, with all prosperous ſucceſs, he had
gained much land upon him, he aſſembled
a great army to go againſt him, and ſo
utterly to deſtroy him; whereupon *Paulo
Diaz* requested the king of *Congo*, that he
would ſuccour him with ſome help to de-
fend himſelf with; who preſently ſent to
him, for aid, an army of ſixty-thouſand
men, under the conduct of his couſin, don
Sebaſtian Manibamba, and another cap-
tain, with one-hundred and twenty *Portu-
gueſe* ſoldiers, that were all of his own
pay,

Paulo Diaz
in arms a-
gainſt the
king of
Angola.

Paulo Diaz
demands
ſuccours
of the king
of Congo.

pay, for the atchieving of this enterprife. This army was to join *Paulo Diaz*, and so all together to war against the king of *Angola*; but arriving at the shore, where they were to pass over the river *Bengo* within twelve miles of *Loanda*, and where they should have met with barques to carry the forces to the other shore, partly because the said barques had slackened their coming, and partly because much time would have been spent in transporting so many men, the whole army took their way quite over the river, and so, proceeding forwards, they met with the people of the king of *Angola*, that were ready to stop the soldiers of *Congo* from entering their country.

The military order of the people of *Congo*.

The military order of the *Moci-Conghi* (for so we term the natives of the kingdom of *Congo*, as we call the *Spaniards* those that are naturally born in *Spain*) and the military order of the people of *Angola*, is almost all one: for both of them do usually fight on foot, and divide their army into several troops, fitting themselves according to the situation of the field wherein they incamp, and advancing their ensigns and banners, in such sort as is before related.

How the soldiers understand the pleasure of their general.

The removes of their army are guided and directed by several certain sounds and noises that proceed from the captain-general, who goes in the midst of the army, and there signifies what is to be put in execution; that is to say, either that they shall join battle, retire, advance forward, turn to the right and left, or perform any other warlike action: for, by these several sounds distinctly delivered from one to another, they all understand the commands of their captain, as we here, among us, know the pleasure of our general by the sundry strokes of the drum, and the captains sounds of the trumpet.

Three kinds of instruments used in their wars.

Three principal sounds they have, which they use in war: one is uttered aloud, by great rattles fastened in certain wooden cases hollowed out of a tree, and covered with leather, which they strike with little handles of ivory. Another is made by a kind of instrument, fashioned like a pyramid turned upward; for the lower end of it is sharp, and ends, as it were, in a point, and the upper end waxes broader, like the bottom of a triangle, in such sort that beneath they are narrow and like an angle, and large and wide above. This instrument is made of thin plates of iron, which are hollow and empty within, and very like a bell turned upside down: they make them ring, by striking them with wooden wands; and oftentimes they also crack them, to the end that the sound should be more harsh, horrible and war-

like: The third instrument is framed of elephants teeth, some great, and some small, hollow within, and blown at a certain hole which they make on the side of it, in manner of a fife, and not aloft like a pipe. These are tempered by them in such sort, that they yield as warlike and harmonious music as the cornet doth; and so pleasant and jocund a noise, that it moves and stirs up their courage, and makes them not to care for any danger whatsoever. Now, of these three several sorts of warlike instruments, there are some bigger and some less; for the captain-general carries always with him the greater sort, to the end that by them he may give signification to the whole camp, what they shall do. The particular bands and troops of the army have, in like manner, their smaller sort; and every captain, in his respective regiment, hath also one of the smallest, which they strike with their hands. Hence it comes to pass, that, when they hear the sound of the general rattle, or cornet, or the other third kind of instrument, every part of the army presently answers in the same note, signifying thereby, that they have well understood the good pleasure of the captain; and consequently, the under captains do the like. Neither do they use these instruments and sounds universally, but also, when they are in fight and in skirmish, the valiant and courageous soldiers go before the rest, and, with these kind of bells, which they strike with their wooden wands, they dance, and encourage their fellows, and by the note signify unto them, in what danger they are, and what weapons they have met with.

The military apparel of the better sort, and of the lords of *Moci-Conghi*, is this: On their heads they carry a cap, which is garnished with sundry plumes, feathers of the ostridge, peacock, cock, and of other kinds of birds, which make them to seem men of greater stature than they are, and terrible to look upon. From the girdle upwards, they are all naked, and have hanging about them from their necks, both on the right and left side, even as low as both their flanks, certain chains of iron, with rings upon them, as big as a man's little finger, which they use for a certain military pomp and bravery. From the girdle downwards, they have breeches of linnen, or trousers, which are covered with cloth, and reach down to their heels; but then they are folded again upwards, and tucked under their girdle. Upon their girdle, which, as we told you, is made of exquisite and curious work, they fasten certain bells, very like to the instruments before named, which, in

The use of these instruments.

The military apparel of the better sort.

in moving of themselves, and in fighting with their enemies, ring and make a noise, and inspire them with courage, whilst they are in combat with their adversaries; and upon their legs they have likewise their buskins, after the *Portuguese* fashion. Their armour we have already declared, that is to say, bow and arrows, sword, dagger, and target; but yet with this caveat, that whosoever wears a bow, wears also a dagger, but no target; for those two weapons may not be worn together, but sword and target they may lawfully wear both at once.

Their weapons.

The military apparel of the meaner sort.

The common soldiers go all naked, from the girdle upwards, and have the rest of their bodies armed with bow and arrows, and daggers. These are they that first offer the skirmish, going out before the rest of the army, as it were, feverally and disorderly provoking to fight; and, receiving the shot from a far distance, they turn and wind this way and that way, and nimbly leap from one side to another, to the end they may avoid the lighting of their enemies arrows. Besides these, there are also quick and gallant young men that run out before the rest, which, with the ringing of their bells, as is said before, are, as it were, comforters of their fellows; and, when they have fought so much, that the captain thinks them to be even weary, then he calls them back, with the sound of one of those instruments above-mentioned; so that, perceiving the medley to wax hot, they turn about and retire, and others succeed in their places; which course is still observed, until both the armies do, indeed, join all their main forces together, and so fight it out.

The issue of the battle.

In the place above described, there were sundry encounters on both sides; and, in the first battles the people of *Congo* remained conquerors; but, at length, when they had several times fought together, with great loss to each of the parties, and victuals began now to fail, and consequently men fell sick and died, the camp of the king of *Congo* was dissolved, and every man returned to his own home.

P. Diaz at Luiola.

In the mean while, *Paulo Diaz*, though he could not join his forces with the army of his friends that came to succour him, set himself forwards, and, passing over the river, staid at *Luiola*, because it was a place very strong, and fit to resist the king of *Angola*. The situation of *Luiola* is this: The two rivers *Coanza* and *Luiola* join together, about one-hundred and five miles from the sea-shore, and, a little above the said joining together, separate themselves, for the space of an *harquebuz-*

shot; so that they make, as it were, an island between them. In this island, at the meeting of the two rivers, there rises a hill, which *Paulo Diaz* surpris'd and fortified, for his better safety: and, whereas, in times past, there were never any inhabitants therein, it is now become a pretty country, inhabited by the *Portuguese*.

From this place, thus surpris'd by *Paulo Diaz*, and called *Luiola*, you may sail along the river, with certain small vessels, even to the sea, and go by land, without any danger, for the space of one-hundred and five miles. Near unto it are the hills, called the hills of *Cabambe*, producing infinite store of silver; which the said *Diaz* doth every day, by little and little, endeavour to conquer. These hills are the grand quarrel between him and the people of *Angola*: for knowing that the *Portuguese* do greatly esteem them, in regard of the silver-pits which are there in great abundance, they use all the force and skill they can, to keep the *Portuguese* from them. They fight also with them in divers other places; for the *Portuguese*, passing over the river *Coanza*, continually make inroads into the countries that are subject to the king of *Angola*.

The hills of Cabambe.

The weapons of these people are bows six handfuls long, with strings made of the barks of trees; and wooden arrows, less than a man's little finger, and six handfuls long. They have iron heads made like a hook, and birds feathers in the tops of them; and of these arrows they use to carry, to the number of six or seven, upon their bow-hand, without any quiver at all. Their daggers are fashioned with a haft, after the manner of a knife, which they wear at their girdle, on their left side, and hold them aloft in their hands, when they fight with them. By their military actions and proceedings, you may observe their great skill and good order, in the matter of war: for, in several battles that were between them and the *Portuguese*, it was plainly seen, how they could choose their advantages against their enemies; as, by assaulting them in the night-time; and in rainy weather, to the end that their *harquebusses* and guns should not take fire; and also by dividing their forces into many troops, to trouble them the more. The king does not use to go to the war, in his own person, but sends his captains, in his stead. The people are likewise accustomed to fly and run away in all haste, as soon as they see their captain slain; neither can they be persuaded to stay, by any reason or argument, but presently quit the field. They are all footmen, neither have they any

The weapons of the people of Angola.

Their military actions.

any horses at all ; and, therefore, the captains, if they dislike going on foot, cause themselves to be carried on the shoulders of their slaves, after one of the three manners, which we will describe hereafter. This nation goes out to war, in number almost infinite, and very confusedly : they leave no man at home, that is fit to carry a weapon, and make no preparation of victuals necessary for the camp, but such, as, perhaps, have any, convey it with them upon the shoulders of their servants ; and yet they have sundry sorts of creatures, that might be managed, and serve their turns, to draw and to carry, as, in the second part of this treatise, I shall make appear. Hence it comes to pass, that, when they come into any country, with their whole army, all their food is quickly consumed, and then, having nothing left to feed upon, they dissolve their host, even in the greatest necessity of prosecuting their enterprise, and so are forced, by hunger, to return into their own countries.

They are given to divination by birds.

They are greatly given to divination by birds : if a bird chance to fly on their left-hand, or cry in such a manner, as, those who pretend to understand the same say, foreshews ill luck and adversity, or that they may proceed no further forwards, they will presently turn back and repair home ; which custom was also formerly used by the ancient *Romans*, and is, at this day, observed by sundry other *Pagans*.

Why so small a number, as *Paulo Diaz* had with him, was able to resist so vast an army of the King of *Angola*.

Now if it should seem strange to any man, that so few *Portuguese* soldiers, as *Paulo Diaz* retains there with him, and others of the *Portuguese* nation, who traffic into the realm, and relieve him with succours, being in number but three-hundred at the most, accounting their slaves, and also the malecontents, the rebels and fugitives of *Angola*, which daily resort unto him, and amount not, in all, to fifteen-thousand men, should be able to make so gallant a resistance against that innumerable rabble of negroes, subject to the king of *Angola*, which are gathered there together, as it is said, to the number of a million of souls : I answer, that great reason may be alledged for the same. For the army of the negroes is intirely naked, and utterly destitute of all provision and furniture for armour of defence ; and, as for their weapons of offence, they consist only of bows and daggers, as I told you before. But our few *Portuguese*, that are there, are well lapped in jackets, that are stuffed and basted with cotton, and stitched and quilted very soundly ; which keep their arms very safe, and their bodies downwards, as low as their knees : their

heads also are armed with caps, made of the same stuff, which resist the shot of the arrow, and the stroke of the dagger : besides, they are girt with long swords, and some horsemen there are among them, that carry spears for their weapons. Now you must understand, that one man, on horseback, is of more worth than a hundred negroes, because the horsemen do greatly affright them ; and especially of those, that discharge guns and pieces of artillery against them, they stand continually in an extreme bodily fear ; so that these few, being well armed, and dexterously and artificially ordered, must needs overcome the others, though they be very many in number.

This kingdom of *Angola* is full of people, beyond all credit ; for every man takes as many wives as he pleases, and so they multiply infinitely : but they do not use this custom, in the kingdom of *Congo*, where they live after the manner of the Christians. Accordingly, signior *Odoardo* did affirm and believe, that the kingdom of *Angola* had a million of fighting men, by reason that every man, taking to him as many wives as he would, begot many children ; and likewise, because every man willingly goes to the wars, in the service of his prince.

This kingdom also is very rich in mines of silver, and most excellent copper ; and, for other kinds of metal, there is more in this kingdom than in any other country in the world whatsoever. Fruitful it is, in all kinds of food, and sundry sorts of cattle, and especially great herds of kine. True it is, that this people love dogs-flesh better than any other meat ; and, for that purpose, they feed and fatten them, and then kill them, and sell them in their open shambles. It is constantly affirmed, that a great dog, accustomed to the bull, was sold by exchange for twenty-two slaves, which, after the rate of ten ducats a poll, were worth, in all, two-hundred ducats ; in so high esteem and account do they hold that creature.

The money, used in *Angola*, is much different from the *Lumache* of *Congo* ; for they of *Angola* use beads of glass, such as are made in *Venice*, as big as a nut, and some of lesser quantity, and of divers and sundry colours and fashions. These do the people of *Angola* make, not only to use them for money, but also for an ornament of their men and women, to wear about their necks and their arms, which are called, in their tongue, *Anzolos* ; but, when they are threaded upon a string, like a pair of beads, they call them *Mizanga*.

The

The king of *Angola* is, by religion, a *Gentile*, and worships idols; and so do all the people in his kingdom. Indeed, he hath greatly desired to become a Christian, after the example of the king of *Congo*; but, because there hath not been as yet any possibility to send priests to him, that might illuminate and instruct him, he remains still in darkness. The foresaid *fig-nior Odoardo* told me, that, in his time, the king of *Angola* sent an ambassador to the king of *Congo*, requesting that he would send him some religious persons to inform him in the Christian religion; but the king of *Congo* had not any there that he could spare, and, therefore, could send him none. At this day, both these kings traffic together, and are in amity one with another, the king of *Angola* having now cleared and discharged himself, for the injuries and slaughters that were committed upon those of *Congo*, and upon the *Portuguese* at *Cabazo*.

hardly understand one another.

We have already observed, that the bay of *Cows* divides the kingdom of *Angola* in the midst, and, hitherto, we have only treated of the one half thereof: now we will describe the second part of it, which lies from the said bay of *Cows* towards the south. From this bay, then, to the black cape, called *Capo Negro*, by the coast of the ocean, they reckon two hundred and twenty miles of such country and soil as the former is, and possessed by many lords that are subject to the king of *Angola*. From *Capo Negro* there runs a line towards the east, through the midst of the mountains, that are called *Monti Fred-di*, that is to say, the *Cold Mountains*; which also, in some particular parts of them, that are higher than the rest, towards the equinoctial, are termed, by the *Portuguese*, *Monti Nevosi*, or *Snowy Mountains*, and so end at the roots of other mountains, that are called the *Mountains of Chrystal*. (Out of these *Snowy Mountains* spring the waters of the *Lake Dumbea Zocche*) This foresaid line from the mountain of *Chrystal* draws onwards towards the north, through the mountains of *Silver*, till you come to *Malemba*, where we told you the kingdom of *Congo* was divided, and parted the river of *Coari* in the midst; and this is the country possessed by the king of *Angola*, whereof I have no more to say, than is already set down, neither of the qualities of his person, nor of his court.

The rest of the kingdom of *Angola* described. *Capo Negro*. 1. The black cape.

Monti Fred-di, i. e. the cold mountains.

The mountains of *Chrystal*.

The language of the people of *Angola*.

The language of the people of *Angola* is all one with that of the people of *Congo*, because, as we told you before, they are both but one kingdom. The only difference between them is, as commonly it is between two nations that border one upon another, as for example between the *Portuguese* and the *Castilians*, or rather between the *Venetians* and the *Calabrians*, who pronouncing their words in a different manner, and uttering them in several sorts, although it be all one speech, yet do they very

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Circuit of the Kingdom of Congo possessed by the King that now is, according to the four Borders above described.

Beginning, therefore, at the river *Coanza*, and drawing towards the equinoctial three-hundred and seventy-five miles, you will find the river that they call *Las Barreras Vermellias*, or the *Red Pits*; which are, indeed, the ragged ruins of certain rocks worn by the sea, and, when they fall down, shew themselves to be of a red colour. From thence, by a direct line upon the north, that which the king possesses is four-hundred and fifty miles; and then the said line, dividing itself towards the south, passes by the hills of *Chrystal* (not those that, we told you before, did belong to *Angola*, but others that are called by the same name) and so, by the mountains of *Salnitro*, traversing the river *Verbela* at the roots of the mountains of *Silver*, it ends at the lake *Aquelunda*, which is the space of five-hundred miles. The fourth line runs along the river *Coanza*, which issues out of the said lake, and contains

V O L. II.

three-hundred and sixty miles; so that the whole realm, now possessed by don *Alvaro*, the king of *Congo*, is, in compass, one thousand six-hundred and eighty-five miles. But the breadth thereof begins at the mouth of the river *Zaire*, where the point is, which, in the *Portuguese* speech, is called *Padraon*, and so, cutting the kingdom of *Congo* in the middle, and crossing over the mountains of the *Sun*, and the mountains of *Chrystal*, there it ends, containing the space of six-hundred miles, and, within one hundred and fifty miles, near to the river *Nile*. Very true it is, indeed, that, in former days, the predecessors of this prince reigned over many other adjacent countries, which, in process of time, they have lost; and, although they be now under the government of others, yet the kings of *Congo* still retain the titles of those regions; as, for example, don *Alvaro*, king of *Congo*, *Abundos*, *Matama*, *Quizama*,

The south 360. The king's domain of *Congo* contains, in compass, 1685 miles.

In breadth 600 miles.

The title, or stile of the king of *Congo*.

The west contains 375 miles.

The north 450.

The east 500.

Quizama, Angola, Cacongo, the seven kingdoms of Congere Amolaza, and of the Pan-

gelungos, and lord of the river Zaire, Anziquos, Anziquana, and of Loango.

C H A P. IX.

The six Provinces of the Kingdom of Congo, and first of the Province of Bamba.

The first province is Bamba, and the description of it. Sebastian, chief governor of Bamba, and those that rule under him.

THIS kingdom is divided into six provinces, that is to say, *Bamba*, *Songo*, *Sundi*, *Pango*, *Batta*, and *Pemba*. The province of *Bamba*, which is the greatest and richest, is governed by don *Sebastian-Mani-Bamba*, cousin to the king don *Alvaro*, last deceased; and it is situated upon the sea-coast, from the river *Ambrize*, until you come to the river *Coanza* towards the south. This don *Sebastian* hath under his dominion many princes and lords, and the names of the greatest of them are these: don *Antonio Mani-Bamba*, who is lieutenant and brother to don *Sebastian*, and *Mani-Lemba* another; *Mani-Danda*, *Mani-Bengo*, and *Mani-Loanda*, who is governor of the island of *Loanda*; *Mani-Corimba*, *Mani-Coanza*, and *Mani-Cazzanzi*. All these govern all the sea-coast, but within land; for that part which belongs to *Angola*, there are another people, called the *Ambundos*, who, dwelling on the borders of *Angola*, are subject to the said *Mani-Bamba*, and they are these: *Angazi*, *Cbingbengo*, *Motollo*, *Chabonda*, and many others of baser condition.

Note, that this word *Mani* signifies a prince or a lord, and the rest of the word *Mani*, what it signifies. is the name of the country and lordship, where the lord rules. As for example, *Mani-Bamba* signifies the lord of the country of *Bamba*, and *Mani-Corimba* the lord of the country of *Corimba*, which is a part of *Camba*, and so likewise of the rest.

The confines of Bamba.

The country of Quizama.

This province of *Bamba* borders upon *Angola*, on the south, and upon the east of it towards the lake *Achelunda* lies the country of *Quizama*, which is governed like a commonwealth, and is divided among a number of lords, who indeed, living at their own liberty, do neither obey the king of *Congo*, nor the king of *Angola*. And, to be short, these lords of *Quizama*, after they had a long time quarrelled with *Paulo Diaz*, yet at last they became his subjects, because they would avoid the yoke of the king of *Angola*; and, by their good aid and assistance, doth *Paulo Diaz* greatly help himself against the said king of *Angola*.

Bamba the principal province of all *Congo*.

Now the aforefaid country of *Bamba*, as we have observed before, is the principal province of all the realm of *Congo*, and indeed the very key, and the buckler and the sword, and the defence thereof, and, as it were, the frontier which opposes it-

self against all their enemies: for it resists all the revolts and rebellions of those quarters, and hath very valiant people in it, that are always ready to fight, so that they continually keep their adversaries of *Angola* in great awe: and, if it happens at any time, that their king stands in need, they are always at his command to annoy the other countries. When *Bamba* need requires, he may have in camp four hundred-thousand men of war; and yet that number is but only the sixth part of the whole kingdom, though indeed it be the better part, and the stronger. The principal city of this province lies in the plain which is between the river *Loze* and *Ambrize*, and is called *Panza*, which is a common name for every town. There dwells the lord of the province, and it is distant from the sea a hundred miles. In this signiory also do the hills begin, where the mines of silver and other metals are found, and so stretch out towards the kingdom of *Angola*. It is very rich: for, upon the coast of the sea there, they have great store of the *Lumache*, which are used for money over all the kingdom of *Congo*: besides, there is also a greater traffic and market for slaves, that are brought out of *Angola*, than in any place else: for there are yearly bought by the *Portuguese* above five-thousand negroes, which afterwards they convey away with them, and sell them into divers parts of the world.

The people of this province are in arms the most valiant of all the kingdom of *Congo*: they go armed like the *Sclavonians*, with long and large swords, that are brought them out of *Portugal*. There are among them very mighty men, that will cleave a slave in the midst at one blow, and cut off the head of a bull at one stroke, with one of those swords. And, what is more, and will, perhaps, seem incredible, one of these valiant men did bear upon his arm a certain vessel of wine, which was the fourth part of a butt, and might weigh about three-hundred twenty-five pounds, until it was clean emptied. Moreover, they carry bow and arrows, whereat they are very quick and nimble, and withal their long targets made of the *Dante's* skin, which we took notice of before, when we made mention of the *Anzichi*.

The

Certain
creatures
in Bamba
province.
Elephants.

An ele-
phant's foot
four spans
broad.
You may
find hereby
what the
bigness of
the whole
elephant
was, if you
will use the
art of pro-
portion, as
Pythagoras
did by
the foot of
Hercules.
Aul. Gel-
lius, lib. i.
cap. 10.
The ele-
phant li-
veth 150
years.
An ele-
phant's
tooth of
200
weight.

Certain
hairs in the
elephant's
tail very
precious.

The creatures, found in this province, are first the elephants which breed over all the kingdom of Congo, but principally in the country of Bamba, because it abounds in woods, pastures, and waters, more than any of the rest, by reason of the many rivers that run through it; and, therefore, the country is, as it were, appropriated to nourish and breed such a kind of beast, as is, indeed, of an unreasonable bigness: for signior Odoardo told me, that he had oftentimes taken the measure of an elephant's foot in the dust, and one of them was in plain diameter four spans broad: whereby, if you frame the whole circle of the foot accordingly, you may, by proportion, find out the bigness of the whole body of the beast. This foot they call *Malo-Manzao*, that is to say, the foot of an elephant: and, if in Portugal, Italy, and Germany, there have been seen, in our times, any of these creatures that were far lesser in respect of the aforesaid bulk, you must understand that they were but young, and brought into those countries in their tender age, on purpose to make them tame. But, in these quarters, they say, that the elephants live an hundred and fifty years, and that until the middle of their age they continue still growing: and, to confirm this truth, he added, that he had seen and weighed divers of their teeth (which are not of horn, as some think) and their weight amounted to two-hundred pounds a-piece, after the rate of twelve ounces to every pound. In the language of Congo, the elephant's tooth is called, *Mene-Manzao*, that is to say, the tooth of an elephant: and their young ones are called *Moana-Manzao*, that is, a young elephant. Their ears are larger than the greatest targets that the Turks use to wear, in length six spans, in shape like an egg, and towards their shoulders they grow to be narrower and sharper. With their ears, their trunk, and their tail, they beat away the flies that trouble them: yea, and some have left it in writing, that, where they cannot reach with their trunk, their ears, or their tail, they will gather their skin together, and so nip the poor flies to death between the wrinkles.

They have in their tail certain hairs or bristles, as big as rushes or broom-sprigs, of a shining black colour; the older they be, the fairer and stronger they are, and of great price among them; for the people of that country greatly esteem them, because the noblemen and women of the kingdom of Angola, and of the Ambundi, their neighbours, use to adorn and bedeck their necks with them, and therefore love them; for that they are, indeed, very fair

and rare, and grow upon so goodly a beast. They are very strong, and like a twined cord; so that, if a man strive to break them asunder, with both his hands, he cannot, with all his force and strength, crack them, but rather spoils his hands with them. And, for the cause lately rehearsed, many there are, who, waiting for the elephants, when they ascend some steep and narrow way, come behind them, and with very sharp knives cut off their tails, the poor beast being not able in those straits to turn back to revenge itself, nor with his trunk to reach his enemy: and this they do, only to have those hairs, which they sell for two or three slaves a-piece. Other light and courageous persons there are, that, trusting much to their swiftness in running, lie in wait, and set upon the poor beasts behind, whilst they are feeding, and at one blow attempt to cut off their tails, and so endeavour to save themselves by running away in a round: for the greatness of the beast is such, as forward it is very swift, because it makes very large strides, though indeed but slow, and in the plain is far quicker than any lusty horse: but in turning round it loses much time, and so the huntsman escapes in safety. And therefore many have been surprised and slain by the elephants, that have sought to escape from them by running away straight forward.

Our ancestors, not being well informed in these matters, have left in writing, that the elephants could not lie down upon the ground, but that they used to lean themselves against a tree; which being before weakened or sawed asunder by the hunters, both the elephants and the tree fell down to the earth, and so were taken. But signior Odoardo affirmed upon his credit, that they lay down upon the ground, that they kneeled upon their knees, and that they would with both their fore-feet leap on the trees to feed on the leaves, and stoop down to drink of the waters, that were in their caves; and that they had their joints as other creatures have, except that in some parts they do somewhat differ from others: as, for example, from the hooves of their fore-feet, up to their shoulders, you cannot perceive that they have any more than two joints. In their feeding, they use to shake and root up the great trees with the force of their shoulders, and strength of their backs: but the smaller trees they take between their teeth, and so bow and pluck them down, that they may feed upon the leaves of them: insomuch as sometimes they break their teeth with so doing: and this is the cause why you shall find divers of them in the fields that have lost their teeth. They chew their meat with

An error
of ancient
writers.

The man-
ner of the
elephant's
feeding.

with their short teeth, which are not seen as their long tusks are, and they carry it to their mouth by their long snout or trunk, which is to them instead of an arm and a hand. The tip of their trunk is fashioned and divided into little flits, and, as it were, fingers, wherewith they will take up very small things, as, nuts, straws, and berries, and so reach them to their mouth, as I *Philippo Pigafetta* have seen myself at *Lisbon*.

The she-
elephant.

The females of these creatures bear their brood in their womb for the space of two years and no more : and forasmuch as the young elephant cannot so quickly be brought up (for it grows very slowly) the milk is kept from it, and so it waxes apt to feed itself : and therefore mother nature hath provided that the elephants are not great with young, but from seven years to seven years.

The ele-
phant's
skin.

Their skin is hard beyond all credit ; for, being four fingers thick, it cannot be pierced, no not with the shot of an harquebuz. Signior *Odoardo* reported, that, with a little gun which is called a patteraroe, one of them was struck, without making any wound ; but, indeed, he was grievously bruised, so that he ran away from that place all in a rage, the space of three days journey, and there died, after he had slain certain slaves that he met by the way.

The man-
ner of
taking the
elephants.

The people of that country have not skill to tame these beasts, whereby they might reap great commodity and profit, for carrying their stuff from place to place, and for divers good uses ; but yet they take them, by digging certain deep trenches in the places where they use to pasture ; which trenches are very narrow at the bottom, and broad above, to the end the beast may not help himself, and leap out when he is fallen into them. These trenches they cover with sods of earth, grass, and leaves, because the beast should not see their train, but, passing over them, remain there intrenched. Whereupon the gentleman before named told me, that he had seen, with his own eyes, a very strange and admirable thing in *Coanza*, namely, that a young elephant, following his dam, fell down, by chance, into one of these pits ; and, after that she could not, with all her skill and strength, draw him out of it, she buried him therein, and covered him with earth, branches, and boughs, insomuch that she filled the pit up to the top, to the end that the hunters should not enjoy her calf, choosing rather to kill it herself, than to leave it to the mercy of the cruel huntsmen. This loving and kind mother, not fearing the people (that stood round about her, and

A strange
effect of
nature.

shouted against her, threatening her with sundry weapons, uttering strange clamours and noises to affright her, and casting many fires at her) but, assuring herself in her own strong and valiant nature, laboured and toiled from morning until night, that she might draw her calf out of the pit ; and, when she found that it was not possible for her to achieve what she desired, then she covered it in the manner as we have related.

The elephant is a very gentle beast, and trusts greatly in his natural strength : he fears nothing, nor hurts any man that doth not trouble him, and haunts near to men's houses without doing them any harm at all. If he espy men that go in his walk, he will not meddle with them, unless they seek to molest him, excepting that sometimes, perhaps, he will gently hoist them upwards into the air, whom he meets withal in his way ; and that is all the hurt he will do unto them. The elephants greatly delight in water ; and, if a man be desirous to see them, his best way is to lie somewhere near the rivers and lakes, where they use to haunt about noon-tide, to drink to refresh themselves, and to bathe their bodies in the water ; for there they will stand up to their bellies, and all the rest of their body, that is above the water, they wash all over with the water that they snuff up into their snout for that purpose ; and, because there are so many foords and pastures, as is said, in the kingdom of *Congo*, therefore is there very great store of these creatures in that country : for signior *Odoardo* affirmed, that in the way between *Cazanze* and *Loanda*, in a little grassy valley, he had seen about one-hundred of them in a company, old and young that followed their dams, and these were the first young ones that ever he saw till that day ; and here you must understand, that they use to go together in herds, as kine and camels, and other such-like gentle creatures do, and not alone like lions and other such wild beasts. Now the reason, why this country abounds so in ivory, is easy to be given ; for, so many elephants being bred in that region, they made no account of that commodity in times past ; but, only after the *Portuguese* began to traffic with those countries, it grew in estimation, and having gathered together in so many ages an infinite quantity thereof, which they found in their fields, they have sold them till this day at a very good pennyworth.

It is not known, whether there be, in *Rhinoceros* that country, any other beast so big as an elephant, nor whether there breed therein any rhinoceros, which is a creature as big, indeed, as the elephant, and in *India* is called

called a *Bada*; but yet there are brought into the country of the *Anzichi* some of the horns that grow upon their noses, that are both of great value and estimation, and used for the cure of several diseases; so that it is very credible and likely, that there are some of them to be found in those quarters.

Lions.

Tygers.

There are in the region of the *Anzichi* lions also, like those that breed in other parts of the world, but they do not haunt the region of *Bamba*; but in *Bamba* there are very great store of tygers, which are of the very same shape that those in *Florence* are, which signior *Odoardo* saw there, and testified to be very tygers indeed. He told me also of a notable custom which they have; and that is, that they will not set upon any men that are white, but only such as are black: and it has been found, that, when the white and the black have slept together in the night-time, they have slain the black to devour them, and spared the white. When they are hungry, they will be so bold as to carry cattle even out of the yards that are about the houses without any fear at all, when they cannot find any victuals abroad in the fields; they are very dangerous and hurtful to all kinds of creatures whatsoever, and in that language they are called *Engoi*; they are as fierce and cruel beasts as the lion, and roar as the lion doth. They are also altogether like the lion, except only in the colour of their hair; for the tyger is spotted, but the lion is all of one colour. They take and kill these tygers after divers manners; for, besides that which has been before spoken, they poison them with sublimite or some other venom, mingled with flesh which is laid for them; or else they tie young goats at certain lines made like snares, and fastened about the stock of a tree, so, that when the beast comes to the prey, the engine opens itself, and, the more the beast strives with it, the more it is intangled, and so at last is hanged therein. Another way they have to kill them is, with arrows, javelins, and harquebusses; it is a creature very hurtful, both to the negroes themselves, and also to their flocks of sheep and herds of cattle. Notwithstanding signior *Odoardo* told me, that he had gotten one of them, that was fifteen days old, and he brought it up with goats milk, which, being afterwards grown bigger, would follow him like a dog; and, although it were very tame, yet it would not willingly suffer any other to touch it besides his master; he would also roar mightily, and, when he was angry, his eyes would look very terribly and fearfully: but, in process of time, this tyger

The manner of taking the tame tygers.

A tame tyger.

killed a dog, belonging to the house, and also a *Zebra*, that were very dear to their master; and thereupon, perceiving how perilous a beast it was, he slew it with an harquebuz-shot. He reported moreover, that the mustachoes of the tyger are held in that region to be mortal poison; for, being given in meats, it procureth a man to die, as it were in a madness: and therefore the king punishes all those that bring him a tyger's skin without the mustachoes.

There breedeth likewise in this country another creature, which they call a *Zebra*,^{The Zebra.} commonly found also in certain provinces of *Barbary* and *Africa*: which, although it be altogether made like a great mule, yet is not a mule indeed, for it beareth young ones. It hath a most singular skin, and peculiar from all other creatures: for, from the ridge of the chine down towards the belly, it is streaked with rows of three colours, black, white, and brown bay, about the breadth of three fingers a-piece, and so meet again together in a circle, every row, with its own colour: so that the neck, the head, and the mane, which is not great, the ears, and all the legs, are so interchanged with these colours, and in such a manner and order, as, without all fail, if the first streak begin with white, then followeth the second with black, and in the third place the bay; and so another course beginning in white endeth still in bay: and this rule is generally and infallibly observed over all the body. The tail is like the tail of a mule, of a morel colour, but yet it is well coloured, and hath a glistering gloss: the feet like the feet of a mule, and so are the hooves. But, touching the rest of her carriage and qualities, she is very lusty, and pleasant as a horse; and especially in going, and, in running, she is so light and so swift, that it is admirable: insomuch as, in *Portugal* and in *Castile* also, it is commonly used, as it were, for a proverb, *As swift as a Zebra*, when they would signify an exceeding quickness. These creatures are all wild, they breed every year, and are there in such abundance that they are innumerable. If they were made tame, they would serve to run and draw for the wars, and for many other uses, as well as the best horses. So that mother nature seems to have sufficiently provided in every country for the commodity and necessity of man, with divers sorts of creatures, of nourishment, and temperature of air, to the end he should want nothing. And therefore, they having no horses at all in the whole kingdom of *Congo*, nor any skill to use their oxen to the yoke, or to the pack-saddle, that they might either be drawn or carried, nor to tame their

The man-
ner of the
carrying of
the *Moci-
Conghi*.

Zebra's with bridle and saddle, or any other way to take the benefit of their beasts, that might transport them from place to place, even very necessity hath taught them to use men instead of labouring cattle; for, either they lay themselves all along in certain litters, as it were, or else set themselves upright, with covers over them to keep them from the sun, and so they cause themselves to be carried to and fro, by their slaves, or by other men, who, for wages, are always ready at post-houses, for that purpose. They, that mean to journey with speed, take with them many slaves, and, when the first number are weary, then the second number undertake the burden, and so successively change one after another, as the *Tartarians* and *Persians* use to do with their horses: and these men, being thus accustomed to these labours, and so often changing, will go as fast as any postilion gallops. Of all which fashions of carrying or going in journies, we have set down the pictures; as also of the *Zebra*, of the apparel both of the men and women, of the soldiers, and of the military instruments or cornets.

The
Dante.

There are also to be found in this country certain other four-footed beasts, somewhat less than oxen, of a red colour, with horns like goats-horns, which are very smooth and glistering, and inclining to black; whereof they make divers pretty things, as they do likewise of the buff's horns. Their heads and hairs are like those of oxen, and their skins are of great estimation; and therefore they are carried to *Portugal*, and from thence into *Germany*, to be dressed, and then they are called *Dante's*. The king of *Congo* is very desirous to have some men that have skill to cleanse and dress them, and to make them fit for use, to the end he might employ them for armour of defence: and yet those nations do already use them for shields and targets, and find that they will resist the blow of a weapon, and especially the shot of an arrow. They kill them with harquebusses and with arrows; but, if they chance to espy the huntsman, they will set upon him, and, being by nature very fierce and courageous, they will so knock and thump him with their feet and their muzzle, because they cannot do him any harm with their horns, that they will leave him either half or quite dead. There is also an infinite number of wild buffis, that go wandering about the desarts in the kingdoms of the *Anzichi*, and wild asses likewise, which the *Greeks* call *Onagri*.

Wild
buffs.

Wild
asses.

*Empalan-
ga*.

There are, besides these, other beasts, called *Empalanga*, which are in bigness

and shape like an ox, except that they hold their neck and head aloft, and have their horns broad and crooked, three hand-breadths long, divided into knots, and sharp at the ends, whereof they might make very fair cornets to sound withal; and though they live in the forests, yet are they not noisome nor hurtful. The skins of their necks are used for shoe-soles, and their flesh for meat. They might likewise be brought to draw the plough, and do good service in any other labour, and tilling of the ground. Moreover, they feed great heards of kine, and tame oxen, tame hogs, and wild boars, flocks of sheep and goats. Signior *Odoardo* affirmed, that the goats and the sheep bring forth two, three, and four lambs or kids at a time, and two when they are fewest, and never one alone at any time. And, because their pasture is so fat, they all suck, and milk their own dams; which he proved himself to be true in his own house, where he had very great store of that cattle. Other fruitful cattle.

There are wolves also which love the Wolves. oil of palms beyond all measure, and have a great scent; a property that *Virgil* attributeth to dogs, *Odora Canum vis*, The smelling scent dogs. They will smell this oil afar off, and steal it in the night-time out of their houses of straw, and sometimes from those that carry it by the way, while the poor souls rest themselves and sleep. The oil, as shall be told you, is made of the palm-tree; it is thick and hard like butter. And it is a marvel to see, how these wolves take a bottle that is full of this liquor between their teeth, and so cast it on their shoulders, and run away with it, as our wolves here do with a sheep. There are very great store of foxes, that steal hens as our foxes do. And Foxes. further, in this country of *Bamba*, there is an innumerable quantity of hunting game, as stags, fallow-deer, roe-bucks, and gazelles, whereof he affirmeth that he had game. Hunting seen exceeding great herds, as also of conies and hares, because there were no hunters to kill them.

In the region of *Pemba*, there are many wild civet-cats, which the *Portuguese* call *Algazia*, and some of these the people of that country had made tame, that they might enjoy their civet, in the smell whereof they do greatly delight. But this was before the *Portuguese* did traffic with those countries. And in *Manibatta* there are caught many fables, with very white hairs, and exceeding fine, called *Incire*: but no man may wear these skins, unless the prince permit him so to do: for it is held in great estimation, and every fable is worth a slave. Towards the *An-* In *Pemba* civet-cats. In *Batta*, fables.

In *Anzichi*, martens.

Anzichi, they catch martens also, where-with they apparel themselves, as in due place we will note unto you.

In *Sogno*, apes and monkies.

Apes, monkies, and such other kinds of beasts, small and great of all sorts, there are many in this region of *Songo*, that lieth upon the river *Zaire*. Some of them are very pleasant and gamefome, and make good pastime, and are used by the lords there for their recreation, and to shew them sport: for although they be unreasonable creatures, yet will they notably counterfeit the countenances, the fashions, and the actions of men. In every one of these regions abovenamed, there are some of the aforesaid creatures, in some places more, and in some fewer.

Adders and snakes of a huge bulk.

Of adders, and snakes, in these countries, there breedeth a certain kind, that in respect of our country, is very strange, and of an excessive greatness. For you may find some that are twenty-five spans long, and five spans broad: and the belly and the mouth so large, that they can swallow and receive into their belly a whole stag, or any other creature of that bigness; and it is called *water-adder*. It will go forth of the water up to the land to prey for its victuals, and then return into the rivers again, and so it liveth in both the elements. It will get itself up upon the boughs and branches of trees, and there watch the cattle that feed thereabouts, which, when they come near unto it, presently it will fall upon them, and wind itself in many twines about them, and clap its tail on their hinder parts; and it straineth and biteth them in so many holes, that at last it killeth them. And then it draweth them into some wood, or other solitary place, where it devoureth them at pleasure, skin, horns, hooves and all. Now it falleth out, that when it is thus full, and, as it were, great with so monstrous a meal, it becometh almost drunk, and very sleepy, so that any child may kill it. And in this sort will it remain full and satisfied for the space of five or six days together, and then return again to prey. The adders change their skins in their ordinary seasons, yea, and sometimes after they have eaten so monstrously, the said sloughs, when they are found, are gathered up and reserved for a shew of so unmeasurable a creature. These adders are also greatly esteemed by the *Pagan* negroes, for they use to roast them, and eat them for meat, and make more account of them, than they do of hens, or any such delicate flesh. They find great store of them, when they have oc-

casion to burn their thick woods; for there they have them lying on the ground, roasted with the fire.

Besides these there are vipers also, well known unto that people; which vipers are so venomous, that such as are bitten by them die, within the space of twenty-four hours: but the negroes are acquainted with certain herbs, that will heal their wounds.

There are also certain other creatures, which being as big as rams, have wings like dragons, with long tails, and long chaps, and divers rows of teeth, and feed upon raw flesh. Their colour is blue and green, their skin painted like scales, and they have two feet, but no more: the *Pagan* negroes use to worship them as gods, and at this day you may see divers of them, that are kept for a marvel. And because they are very rare, the chief lords there curiously preserve them, and suffer the people to worship them; which tendeth greatly to their profit, by reason of the gifts and oblations, which the people offer unto them.

There are here also to be found chameleons, which have four feet, and breed upon the rocks, and live of the wind and the air, of the bigness and likeness of an este, with a sharp head, and tail like a saw. They are for the most part of the colour of the sky, but somewhat more dusky and greenish; and if you stand to look a while upon them, you shall see them change themselves into divers colours; they dwell much upon high rocks and trees, to the end they may take air, wherewith they are nourished.

Other serpents there are that are venomous, that carry upon the tip of their tail a certain little circle like a bell, which rings as they go, so as it may be heard. It may be, it was there set by nature, on purpose, that people should beware of them; and it is found by experience that these bells, and the heads of the serpents, are very good remedies against an ague, and against the trembling of the heart. These kinds and sorts of land creatures are to be found in these regions, besides others also that are commonly to be had in other countries.

It remains, that we speak somewhat touching birds, and first of all of the ostrich, because it is bigger than all the rest. These ostriches are found in those parts of *Sundi* and of *Batta*, that are towards the *Muzambi*: the young ostriches spring out of their eggs, being warmed and disclosed by the eye and heat of the sun. Their feathers are used instead of ensigns and banners in war, mingled with some

The author doth not set down the name.

Another strange creature.

Chameleons.

A strange serpent.

The ostrich.

Peacocks. some plumes of the peacock, and are fashioned in the likeness of a shadow against the sun. And, forasmuch as I am fallen upon the subject of peacocks, I must tell you by the way, that, in the parts of *Angola*, there are peacocks brought up privately in a certain wood, that is compassed about with walls; and the king will not suffer any other body to keep those birds but only himself, because they are for the royal ensigns, as I told you before. And it is read in ancient histories of *Alexander the Great*, that he did also privilege this bird, at such time as he first saw it in *Europe*.

Fowls of divers sorts.

There are also *India* cocks, hens, geese, and ducks of all sorts both wild and tame: partridges so many, that children take them with ginns. Other birds they have likewise, as pheasants, which they call *Galliganoles*, pigeons, turtles, and of the small birds, called *Beccha-fichi*, an infinite number; birds of prey, as eagles-royal, falcons, geir-falcons and spar-hawks, and others, great store, which, notwithstanding, the people never use to hawk withal; birds of the sea, as pelicans, for so the *Portuguese* call them, white and great, which swim under the water, and have their throats so wide, that they will swallow a whole fish, at once. This bird hath so good a stomach, and naturally so hot, that it easily digests the fish that it swallows

Birds of prey.

Birds of the sea.

whole; and the skin of it is so hot, that the people of that country use to wear them to warm their cold stomachs, and therefore have them in great esteem.

There are many white herons and grey bitterns, that feed in the washes there, and are called *Royal Birds*. Other fowls there are, of the likeness of a crane, with a red bill, and red feet, as big as storks, and their feathers, for the most part, red and white, and some dark grey. Goodly birds they are to look to, and the people of the country call them *Flemminges*, because they much resemble them, and are good for food.

Other kinds of fowl.

They have parrots of a grey colour, large and very talkative; and others of a green colour, but little, and not so free of speech. They have likewise certain small little birds, which they call *Birds of Music*, and yet greater than the *Canary* birds, having red feathers and bill; some green, with their feet and bill only black; some all white; some grey or dun; some all black; and this kind is sweeter in their notes than all the rest, for you would think that they talked, in their singing. Others there are of various colours, but they all sing in sundry sorts; so that the chief lords of those countries, from ancient times to this day, have continually kept them in cages, and greatly esteemed them, for their melodious harmony.

Birds of music.

CH A P. X.

Of the Province of Sogno, which is the Country of the River Zaire, and Loango.

The second province Sogno, and the description thereof.

THIS country is bounded with the river *Ambrize*, towards the north, in seven degrees and a half; and so, traversing the rivers *Lelunda* and *Zaire*, it ends at the rocks called *Barreuras Vermellias*, that is to say, the *Red Pits*, which are in the borders of the kingdom of *Loango*. In the midst of this province, there is a certain territory, also named *Songo*, where the governor of the country has his residence. The chief lords that rule this province are stiled *Mani-Sogno*, that is, *Princes of Sogno*, and are commonly of the blood royal. The prince, that governs there at this day, is called don *Diego Mani-Sogno*: he hath under his dominion many petty lords, and other provinces, that, in old time, were free and lived by themselves, as, the people of *Mombalas*, situated somewhat near to the city of *Congo*, which are now subject to this government; and, on the other side of the river *Zaire*, towards the north, is the province of *Palmar*, that is to say, of *Palms*, because there is great store of palm-trees growing therein. Other

Sogno the chief town of this province.

Don Diego chief governor of Sogno, and those that rule under him.

lords there are, that border upon the king of *Loango*, who was formerly subject to the king of *Congo*, but, in process of time, became a free lord, and now professes himself to be in amity with the king of *Congo*, but not to be his vassal. The people, that are under these lords in those borders, are called the *Bramas*; and they reach within land, under the equinoctial line towards the east, to the bounds of *Anzicana*, all along the mountains which divide them from the *Anzichi* on the north: they are called, by the people of *Loango*, *Congreamolal*, because they were subject to *Congo*.

The Bramas.

In this country of *Loango* there are many elephants, and great store of ivory, which they willingly exchange for a little iron; so that, for the nail of a ship, be it never so small, they will give a whole elephant's tooth. The reason thereof is either, because there grows no iron in that place, or else they have not the skill to get it out of the mines where it grows; but all the iron they can get they employ, for heading

The commodities of Sogno.

heading of their arrows, and other weapons, as we told you, when we spoke of the *Bramas*.

The manner of life of the inhabitants.

They make a large quantity of cloth of the palm-trees, whereof we made mention before; but these are lesser, and yet very fine. They have great abundance of kine, and of other cattle mentioned before. They are, in religion, Pagans; and their apparel is after the fashion of the people of *Congo*: they maintain war with their neighbours, which are the *Anzichi* and the inhabitants of *Anzicana*; and, when they enterprize war against the *Anzichi*, they crave aid of the people of *Congo*, and so remain

partly free, and partly exposed to danger from others. They worship what they please, and hold the sun for the greatest god, as if it were a man; and the moon next, as if it were a woman; otherwise every man chooses his own idol, and worships it, after his own pleasure. These people would easily embrace the Christian religion; for many of them, that dwell upon the borders of *Congo*, have been converted to Christianity; and the rest, for want of priests, and such as should instruct them in the true religion, remain still in their blindness.

CHAP. XI.

Of the third Province, called Sundi.

The third province *Sundi*, and the description thereof.

THIS province of *Sundi* is the nearest of all to the city of *Congo*, called *Citta di San-Salvadore*, the city of *St. Saviour*; and beginneth about forty miles distant from it, quite out of the territory thereof, and reaches to the river *Zaire*, and so over the same to the other side where the *Caduta* or *Fall* is, which we mentioned before; and then holds on upwards, on both sides towards the north, bordering upon *Anzicana* and the *Anzichi*. Towards the south, it goes along the said river *Zaire*, until you come to the meeting of it with the river *Bancare*, and all along the banks thereof, even to the roots of the mountain of *Chrystal*. In the bounds of the province of *Pango* it hath her principal territory, where the governor resides, who hath his name from the province of *Sundi*, which is seated about a day's journey near to the fall of the river, towards the south.

The chief town of *Sundi*.

This province of *Sundi* is always governed by the heir apparent of the king of *Congo*.

This province is the chief of all the rest, and, as it were, the patrimony of all the kingdom of *Congo*; and, therefore, it is always governed by the king's eldest son, and by those princes that are to succeed him; as it fell out in the time of their first Christian king, called don *John*, whose eldest son, that was governor here, succeeded him, called don *Alfonso*; and, ever since, the kings of *Congo* have successively continued this custom, to consign this government to those princes who are to succeed in the kingdom; as did the king that now is, called don *Alvaro*, who was in this government, before don *Alvaro*, the king, his father, died, called *Mani-Sundi*.

In all the kingdom of *Congo*, no man hath any thing of his own.

And here, by the way, you must note, that, in all the kingdom of *Congo*, there is not any person, that possesses any proper goods of his own, whereof he may

dispose, and leave to his heirs; but all is the king's, who distributes all offices, goods, and lands, to whomsoever he thinks fit: yea, and to this law even the king's own sons are subject; so that, if any man do not pay his tribute yearly, as he ought, the king deprives him of his government, and gives it to another. An instance happened in the reign of the present king, in the case of signior *Odoardo*, who was at the court; a person, of his own nature, very liberal, bountiful beyond measure, and one that bestowed much upon his servants, which rendered him unable to discharge those impositions that the king had laid upon him: whereupon, he was by the king deprived of his revenues, government, and the royal favour; that is to say, in that language, he was *Tombocado*, as we will declare more at large, in the second part of this discourse.

Many lords are subject to the governor of *Sundi*. The people traffic with their neighbouring countries, selling and bartering their several commodities; as, for example, salt, and cloth of divers colours, brought from the *Indies* and *Portugal*, and lumache to serve for their coin; for which they exchange cloth of palm-trees, ivory, the skins of fables and martens, and certain girdles wrought of the leaves of palm-trees, which are greatly esteemed in those parts.

The manner of life of the *Sundi* inhabitants.

There grows in these countries great store of chrystal, and divers kinds of metal; but iron they love above all the rest, saying, that the other metals are intirely useles; for, with iron, they can make knives, weapons, hatchets, and such-like instruments, that are necessary and profitable for the use of mankind.

C H A P. XII.

Of the fourth Province, called Pango.

The fourth
province
Pango,
and the
description
thereof.

Pango the
chief town
of this
province.

THE province of *Pango*, in ancient time, was a free kingdom, governed of itself; and borders on the north, upon *Sundi*; on the south, upon *Batta*; on the west, upon the country of *Congo*; and the east, upon the mountains of the *Sun*. The principal territory, where the governor's dwelling is, hath the same name with the province, viz. *Pango*. It stands upon the western side of the river *Barbela*, and, in old time, was called *Pangue-lungos*, though, at length, the word was corrupted, and changed into *Pango*. Through the midst of this province runs the river *Berbela*, which derives its original from the great lake, whence the river *Nile* also takes its beginning, and from another less lake, called *Achelunda*, and so discharges itself into *Zaire*; and, although this be the least country, yet doth it yield no less

tribute than the rest.

This province was conquered after the country of *Sundi*, and made subject to the princes of *Congo*; and is now all one with it, both in speech and manners, neither is there any difference at all between them. The present governor thereof is called don *Don Francisco Mani-Pango*, and is descended from the most ancient nobility of all the lords of *Congo*; and, in all consultations touching the state, he is sent for, because he is now an old man, and of great wisdom: for he hath remained in the government of this region, for the space of fifty years, and no man ever complained of him, neither did the king, at any time, take his government from him.

The traffic of this province is like that of *Sundi*.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the fifth Province, called Batta.

The fifth
province,
Batta, and
the de-
scription
thereof.

Batta the
chief town
of all
Batta.

The pre-
eminence
of the go-
vernors of
Batta.

THE bounds of this province are, towards the north, the country of *Pango*; on the east, it extends quite over the river *Barbela*, and reaches to the mountains of the *Sun*, and to the foot of the mountains of *Sal-Nitre*; and, on the south from the said mountains, by a line passing through the meeting of the rivers *Barbela* and *Cacinga*, to the mountain *Brusciato*, that is to say, *Scorched*.

Within these bounds is *Batta* contained, and the principal city, where the prince resides, is likewise called *Batta*. In ancient times it was termed *Agbirimba*, but afterwards the word was corrupted, and it is now stiled *Batta*. It was formerly a very strong and great kingdom, and voluntarily, without any war, joined itself with the kingdom of *Congo*, perhaps, because there was some dissension among their lords; and, therefore, it hath more pre-eminence than the rest of the kingdom of *Congo*, in privileges and liberties: for the government of *Batta* is always assigned to one that is of the blood of the kings of that country, at their choice and pleasure, having no more respect to one than to another, so that he be of the stock and blood royal, neither to the eldest son nor to the second. Neither yet descends this government by inheritance, but the king of *Congo*, as is told you before, disposes it, at his own pleasure, to whom he thinks best, to the end they should not usurp it, by

way of succession, or rebellion. He lives nearer the king than any other governor or lord of the kingdom of *Congo*, and is the second person therein; neither may any man gainsay his arguments and reasons, as they may any of the rest, for it is so decreed among them. Now, if the line of the king of *Congo* should chance to fail, so that there were none of that blood to succeed, the succession would fall upon the governor of *Batta*: he, that now governs, is called don *Pedro Mani-Batta*.

Sometimes he eats at the king's own table, but yet in a lower place than the king; and that also not sitting, but standing, which is not granted to any other lord of *Congo*, no, not even to the sons of the king himself. His court, and his train, is little inferior to the court and train of the king of *Congo*; for he hath trumpets, and drums, and other instruments, going before him, as becomes a prince, and, by the *Portuguese*, is commonly called, the prince of *Batta*, because, as it was said, if the succession should fail, in the blood of the kings of *Congo*, the empire of the whole kingdom must light upon one of this stock.

He holds continual wars with the *Pagans*, that border upon him; and he is able to gather together about seventy, or eighty-thousand fighting men. And, because he continually maintains war with his neighbours, he hath liberty granted, unto

Don *Pedro*,
chief go-
vernors of
Batta.

unto him, to entertain harquebuffiers, that shall be of his own natural subjects; for the king of *Congo* will not suffer any governor of any other provinces, nor any of their children, to have any harquebuffiers, that are born within their country, but only the *Portuguese*. Signior *Odoardo* demanded once of the king, why he did not give leave to his other governors, to retain shot about them: the king answered, that, if, perhaps, they should rebel against him, with a thousand, or two-thousand harquebuffiers, he should not be able to make them any resistance.

The reason why the king of *Congo* permits *Mani-Batta* to have harquebuffiers in his province. And, forasmuch as we have told you, that the king hath granted licence only to the prince of *Batta*, to entertain harquebuffiers in his own country, it is fit you should understand, that he doth it upon a very necessary occasion; for, towards the east of *Batta*, beyond the mountains of the *Sun*, and of *Sal-Nitre*, upon the banks of the east and west of the river *Nile*, and in the borders of the empire of *Mohenne-Muge*, there lives a nation, which, by the people of *Congo*, are called *Giaquas*, but,

The *Giaquas*.

in their own language, named *Agag*: Very fierce they are and warlike, much given to fight and pillage, and make continual inroads into the countries adjacent, and sometimes, among the rest, into the province of *Batta*; so that this country must needs be always in arms, stand upon their guard, and maintain harquebuffiers, to defend themselves from their incursions.

The prince of *Batta* hath many lords under him: The natural people of this province are called *Monjobos*, and their language is well understood by the inhabitants of *Congo*; they are far ruder and more rustical than the *Moci-Congbi*, and the slaves, that are brought from thence, prove more obstinate and stubborn, than those that come from other countries.

Their traffic is the same with that of the other countries, whereof we have last treated; and the profit, which the king receives from *Batta*, amounts to double as much, as he receives out of any two of the other provinces already mentioned.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the sixth and last province, called Pemba.

The sixth province, *Pemba*, and the situation thereof. Don *Antonio*, chief governor of *Pemba*. THE province of *Pemba* is seated in the heart and middle of the kingdom of *Congo*, compassed and comprised within the bounds before described, whose governor is called don *Antonio Mani-Pemba*, second son to king don *Alvaro*, deceased, and brother to the king that reigns at present; and, forasmuch as his father loved him dearly, he assigned unto him this government, because he knew not what better thing to give him, except the kingdom itself; which, indeed, he would willingly have bestowed on him, for that he was more like unto him in quality and nature than his eldest son; but this could not be done, by reason of the law of the kingdom, which would not have yielded thereunto.

The chief city of all this province, whereof we will hereafter deliver you a full information. The governor of *Pemba* resides in a territory of the same name, situated at the foot of the *Scorched* mountain, along the river *Loze*, which rises out of the lake, and runs through the region of *Bamba* into the sea. The courtiers, lords, and attendants on the king of *Congo*, have their goods, possessions, and revenues in this province; because it is nearest to the court, and very

convenient for the conveying of their provisions, and other necessaries, unto the court. Some of these lords, in that part especially, that borders upon the aforesaid province of *Bamba*, find it a difficult matter to guard and defend themselves from the people of *Quizama*, because they are their nearest neighbours; for this people, as we told you, rebelled against the king of *Congo*, and revolted from him, and profess that they will be at liberty, and have the government in their own hands.

And here will we end the first book, which consists of the description of the kingdom of *Congo*, in general, of its borders, and, in particular, of all the six provinces thereof: now it remains that we proceed to the second book; wherein we will treat of the situation of the city of *Congo*, and of the territory thereunto belonging; of the christening of the king, his manners, his court, and of other conditions appertaining to the politic and military government of these people; and afterwards we will describe unto you the adjacent kingdoms, and all the neighbouring regions towards the south, even 'till you come to the cape of *Good-Hope*, and the rivers and countries of the ocean, that is right against *India*; and, within land, the kingdoms of *Prestor John*, touching also, by the way, the spring and original of the *Nile*, and the causes of its wonderful increase, which sundry foolish persons account to be a miracle.

BOOK

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Of the Situation of the Royal City of the Kingdom of Congo.

The territory of the chief city in all Congo contains in compass twenty miles.

The chief city called San Salvadore.

The situation of the city.

The mountain whereon it stands.

The soil, air, waters, and cattle.

The Otheiro.

The reason why they built in this place.

Although the chief and royal city of the kingdom of Congo be, after a sort, comprehended within the province of Pemba; yet, forasmuch as the government thereof, and the territory thereunto belonging, which may, in compass, amount to the space of twenty miles, depends wholly on the king of Congo himself, we will make it a distinct article, and treat of it by itself.

This city is called *San Salvadore*, or *St. Saviour's*, and formerly, in that country language, it was called *Banza*, which generally signifies the Court, where the king or the governor ordinarily resides: it is seated about one hundred and fifty miles from the sea, upon a great and high mountain, being almost all of a rock, but yet having a vein of iron in it, whereof they make great use in their houses. This mountain hath, in the top of it, a great plain, very well manured, and furnished with houses and villages, containing, in circuit, about ten miles, where live no less than an hundred-thousand persons.

The soil is fruitful, and the air fresh, wholesome, and pure; there are great store of springs, of indifferent good water to drink, which, at certain times, do not harm any man; and of all sorts of cattle great abundance. The top of the mountain is distinguished from all the rest of the hill which surrounds it, and therefore, the Portuguese call it, *the Otheiro*, that is to say, *a view*, *a watch-tower*, or *a singular height*; from whence you may take a view of all the surrounding plain; only, towards the east, and the river, it is very steep and rocky.

For two causes did the first princes of this kingdom place this city in the foresaid height of this mountain: first, because it lies in the very middle, and, as it were, in the center of all the kingdom, from whence he may presently send aid to any part of it, that may stand in need of relief; and secondly, because it is situated in a territory that is, by nature, high, having a very good air, and of great safety, for it cannot be forced. By the chief common high-way, that leads up to the city, and looks towards the sea, being distant from thence one hundred and fifty miles, as hath been told you (which way is very large and competent, though it go some-

what about, in compass) you ascend five miles, from the bottom to the top of the mountain; and at the foot thereof, on the east side, there runs a river, whereunto the women descend, by the space of a mile's walk, to wash their clothes. In divers other parts thereof, there are sundry vallies planted and manured; neither do they suffer any part of the adjacent country to be left untilld or unoccupied, because it is the country wherein the court resides.

The city is seated in a corner or angle of the hill towards the south-east, which don *Alfonso*, the first Christian king, encompassed about with walls, and gave unto the Portuguese a distinct place for themselves, likewise inclosed. Then did he also inclose his own palace and the king's houses with another wall, and, in the middle between these two inclosures, left a great space of ground, where the principal church was built, with a fair market-place before it. The doors and gates, as well of the lodgings of the lords, as of the Portuguese habitations, open on the side of the said church; for, in the uppermost end of the market-place, divers lords of the court reside; and, behind the said church, the market-place runs into a narrow street, where there is also a gate, and beyond that gate many houses, towards the east. Without the walls, which inclose the king's houses, and the city of the Portuguese, there are several other buildings, erected by divers lords, every one making his choice of the place which he thinks most fit and convenient, for his living near unto the court; so that the greatness of this city cannot well be determined or limited. Beyond the walls also, that thus inclose this city, there is a great champaign plain, full of villages, and sundry palaces, where every lord possesses, as it were, a whole town within himself. The circuit of the Portuguese city contains about a mile, and the king's houses as much: the walls are very thick, the gates are not shut in the night-time, neither is there any watch or ward kept therein.

And, although the plain, surrounding this city, lie very high, yet is there great abundance of water in it, so that there is no want thereof; but the court and the

Por-

Portuguese city do all drink of a certain fountain, that springs continually, towards the north, and lies down the hill, as far as a gun will shoot; and from hence they fetch all their water, and bring it to the city, in vessels of wood, earth, and leather, upon the backs of their slaves.

The plain very fruitful. Several sorts of grain. *Luco*.

All this plain is very fruitful, and well manured; hath meadows full of grass, and trees that are always green; bears fundry sorts of grain, but the principal and best of all is called *Luco*, which is very like to mustard-seed, but that it is somewhat bigger. When it is ground with hand-mills, for these they use, it yields a very white meal, whereof they make bread, that is not only white, but also of a very good favour, and wholesome withal; neither doth it give place to our wheat, in any respect, except that they do not celebrate the sacrament with it. Of these grains there now is great store, in all parts of the kingdom of *Congo*; but it is not long since this seed was brought thither, from that part of the river *Nile*, where it falls into the second lake. There

White millet called the *Mazza* of *Congo*. *Maiz*.

is also a white kind of millet, called the *Mazza* of *Congo*, that is to say, the corn of *Congo*; and another grain which they call *Maiz*, but they make no account of it, for they give it to their hogs; neither is rice in great esteem. The foresaid *maiz* they commonly term *Mazza-Manputo*, that is to say, the *Portuguese* corn; for they call a *Portuguese* *Manputo*.

Divers sorts of trees bearing fruit.

There are, moreover, fundry sorts of trees, that bear very great plenty of fruit, insomuch that the greatest part of the people feed upon the fruits of the country; as citrons, lemons, and especially oranges, very full of juice, which are neither sweet nor sowre, and are ordinarily eaten without any danger or harm at all; and, to shew the fruitfulness of this country, signior *Odoardo* reported, that he had seen, that, from the kernel of the fruit of a pome-citron, which was left within the rind thereof, there sprung up, in the space of four days, a pretty tall sprig. Other fruits there are, termed *Banana*, which we verily think to be the *Muses* of *Egypt* and *Soria*, except that, in those countries, they grow to be as big as trees; but here they cut them yearly, to the end they may bear the better: the fruit is very sweet in smell, and of good nourishment. In these plains there grow likewise several kinds of palm-trees; one that bears dates, and another that bears the *Indian* nuts, called *Cocos*, because they have within them a certain shell, that is like to an ape: and, on this account, they use in *Spain* to shew their children a *Coccola*, when they would make them afraid. Another palm-tree

Several kinds of palm-trees.

there also grows very like to the former, but of a stranger and more singular property; for it yields oil, wine, vinegar, Palm oil, fruit, and bread. The oil is made of the shell of the fruit, and is of the colour and substance of butter, except that it is somewhat greenish: they use it, as other people use oil and butter, and it will burn like oil; they anoint their bodies with it, and, besides, it is very good for food; they press it out of the fruit, as oil is pressed out of the olives, and then they boil it, and so preserve it. The bread is made of the stone of the fruit itself, which is like to an almond, but somewhat harder; and, within the same, is a kernel or pith, which is eatable, very wholesome, and of good nourishment; the whole fruit, together with the outward shell, is green, and they eat it both raw and roasted. The wine is drawn from the top of the tree, by making a hole therein, from whence there distils a liquor like milk, which at first is sweet, but afterwards sowre, and, in process of time, becomes vinegar to serve for fallads. This wine they drink cold, and it is very diuretic; so that, in those countries, there is not a man that is troubled with gravel or stone in the bladder; it will, indeed, intoxicate those that drink it to excess, but is, in reality, an excellent aliment.

The Bread of palm.

The fruit of the palm.

Palm-wine and vinegar.

The fruit *Cola*.

There are other trees, that bear a fruit, called *Cola*, as big as a pine-apple, which hath within it other fruits like chest-nuts, wherein are four several shells or skins, of red and carnation colour, which they hold in their mouths, chew, and, at last, eat for the quenching of their thirst, and better relishing of their water. They comfort and preserve the stomach, but, above all other qualities, are singularly good against the diseases of the liver; and it is said, that the liver of a hen, or of any other bird, which is putrefied and stinks, being sprinkled over with the matter of this fruit, returns into its former state, and again becomes fresh and sound. This food is generally used among all sorts, and there is exceeding plenty of it; and, therefore, it is to be had at a cheap rate. Other kinds of wild palm-trees there are, which yield variety of fruits that are eaten; and they reserve their leaves, to make mats, wherewith their houses are covered, and baskets, and such other instruments as are necessary for their daily uses. Other trees there are likewise, called *Ogheghe*, which bear a fruit like a yellow plum, which is very good to eat, and hath also a very sweet smell; and of these trees they cut off the bows, and plant them so thick together, that they touch one another, and stand closely all in a rank; so that, when they

Other kinds of palm-trees.

Trees called *Ogheghe*.

they are grown great, they make a strong fence or wall about their houses, which, being afterwards covered with mats, resembles a handsome court or close, wherein they usually walk, as it were, in an arbour that makes a great shadow, and defends them from the heat of the sun. In the middle of these inclosures they commonly build houses of wood, covered with straw, and divided into several convenient rooms, all on the ground, without any stories or walks above them; which they line with very fair and delicate mats, and furnish with other ornaments, in a very handsome manner.

Great store of stone to build withal.

It is proper to be observed here, that they do not build thus rustically and shepherd-like, for want of materials; for, in the mountains of the kingdom of *Congo*, there are many places, that yield most exquisite fine stone of various kinds; from whence you may dig out whole pillars, capitals, and bases; and other pieces as large as you please, if you be disposed to build: infomuch that it hath been confidently affirmed, that there are to be found among them many masses and lumps of stone, of such thickness and bulk, that you may cut out a whole church, even of one intire piece, yea, and of the same kind of stone, whereof the obelisk is made, that is erected before *Porta del Popolo* in *Rome*. Besides, there are whole mountains of porphyry, jasper, and white marble, and of sundry other colours, which, here in *Rome*, are called marbles of *Numidia*, *Africa*, and *Ethiopia*; certain pillars whereof you may see in the chapel of pope *Gregory*. Another sort of stone there is, that is speckled with grains or strakes; but, among all the rest, that kind is most admirable, which hath in it fair hyacinths, that are good

jewels; for, the strakes being dispersed like veins over all the body of their mother-stone, if you divide them and pluck them out, as you pick the kernels out of a pomegranate, they will fall into grains and little pieces of perfect hyacinths; if you please to make pillars, or obelisks, or other such-like memorials, of the whole mass, you will see them shine and sparkle, full of most fair and beautiful jewels. There are also other kinds of rare stones, which make a shew of metal in them, as of copper, and of sundry other colours, that are very fresh, bright, and smooth, whereof you may make images, or any other work of singular beauty; and, therefore it is not the scarcity of materials, that is the cause of this their simple building, seeing their mountains have such plenty of the foresaid stone, yea and, perhaps, more store of other kinds, than is to be found in any other place in the whole world; besides lime, trees for beams, and cattle both for carriage and drawing in the cart, and all other kinds of provision, that are requisite for building. True it is, indeed, that they want masons, cutters, plaisterers, carpenters, and other artificers; for, when the churches, walls, and other fabrics in those countries were built, the workmen were brought thither out of *Portugal*.

Lime and timber, and cattle to carry and draw. Want of workmen to build.

There are also tamarinds, cassia, and cedars in such multitudes growing all along the river of *Congo*, besides other trees of an unmeasurable length and thickness, that would be sufficient to build an infinite number of ships and houses: their gardens bear all kinds of herbs and fruits, as, pom-pions, melons, cucumbers, coleworts, and the like, with other sorts that do not suit our climates of *Europe*.

Materials for building ships and houses.

Herbs and fruits.

CHAP. II.

Of the original Beginning of Christendom in the Kingdom of Congo, and how the Portuguese obtained this traffic.

The first traffic of the Portuguese into Congo.

THE king of *Portugal*, don *Giovanni II*, being desirous to discover the *East-Indies*, sent forth divers ships, by the coast of *Africa*, to search out this navigation, who, having found the islands of cape *de Verde*, and the isle of *St. Thomas*, and running all along that coast, did light upon the river *Zaire*, whereof we have made mention before; and there they had good traffic, and found the people to be very courteous and kind. Afterwards he sent forth, for the same purpose, other vessels, to entertain this traffic with *Congo*, who, finding the trade there to be so free and profitable, and the people so friendly, left certain *Portuguese* behind them, to

learn the language, and to traffic with them, among whom one was a *Romish* priest. These *Portuguese*, conversing familiarly with the lord of *Sogno*, who was uncle to the king, and a man well-stricken in years, dwelling at that time in the port of *Praxa*, which is in the mouth of *Zaire*, were very well entertained, and esteemed by the prince, and revered as if they had been earthly gods, and descended down from heaven into those countries; but the *Portuguese* told them, that they were men like themselves, and professors of Christianity: and, when they perceived in how great estimation the people held them, the foresaid priest and others began to reason with

Mani-Sogno, the king's uncle, entertains the Portuguese.

with the prince, touching the Christian religion, and to shew unto them the errors of the Pagan superstition, and by little and little to teach them the faith which we profess; insomuch that what the *Portuguese* spoke unto them greatly pleased the prince, and so he became converted.

Mani-Sogno converted and become a Christian.

With this confidence and good spirit, the prince of *Sogno* went to the court, to inform the king of the true doctrine of the Christian *Portuguese*, and to encourage him to embrace the Christian religion, which was so manifest, and also so wholesome for his soul's health; whereupon the king commanded to call the priest to court, to the end he might himself treat with him personally, and understand the truth of that which the lord of *Sogno* had declared unto him; whereof being fully informed, he was converted, and promised that he would become a Christian.

The king of Congo promises to become a Christian.

And now the *Portuguese* ships departed from *Congo*, and returned into *Portugal*: and by them the king of *Congo* wrote to the king of *Portugal*, don *Giovanni II.* with an earnest request, that he would send him some priests, with all other orders and ceremonies to make him a Christian; the priest also, that remained behind, had written, at large, concerning this business, and gave the king full information of all that happened, agreeable to his good pleasure; and so the king took order for sundry religious persons, to be sent unto him accordingly, with all ornaments for the Church and other service, as crosses and images: so that he was thoroughly furnished with all things that were necessary and needful for such an action.

The king of Portugal sends priests to the king of Congo to instruct him.

Mani-Sogno promotes the Christian religion.

In the mean while, the prince of *Sogno* ceased not, day and night, to discourse with the *Portuguese* priest, whom he kept in his own house, and at his own table, that he might not only learn the Christian faith himself, but also instruct the people therein; so that he began to favour Christianity with all his power. And, forasmuch as the Christian religion had now taken root, and begun to bud in those countries, and since both the people, and the king himself, did continue in their earnest desire to purge themselves from that abominable superstition, he did instantly deal with the priest, that he would proceed in the sowing and dispersing of the Christian doctrine, as much as he could; and in this good affection did they wait for the *Portuguese* ships, that were to bring them all provisions for baptism, and other things thereunto appertaining.

The ships return from Portugal in 1491.

At last the *Portuguese* ships arrived with the expected provisions, which was in the year of our salvation 1491, and landed in

the port which is in the mouth of the river *Zaire*. The prince of *Sogno*, with the greatest shew of familiar joy, accompanied with all his gentlemen, ran down to meet them, entertained the *Portuguese* in a most courteous manner, and so conducted them to their lodgings; and, the next day, according to the direction of the priest that remained behind, the prince caused a kind of church to be built, with the bodies and branches of certain trees, which he, in his own person, with the help of his servants, most devoutly had felled in the wood. And, when it was covered, they erected therein three altars, in the worship and reverence of the most holy Trinity, and there were baptised himself and his young son; himself, by the name of our Saviour, *Emanuel*; and his child, by the name of *Anthony*, because that saint is the protector of the city of *Lisbon*.

Mani-Sogno and his train entertained the Portuguese.

Mani-Sogno builds a church.

Mani-Sogno and his son baptised.

Now, if any man here demand of me, What names the people of those countries had, before they received Christianity? Of a truth, what I must answer, will seem incredible, namely, that the men and women had no proper names agreeable to reasonable creatures, but the common names of plants, stones, birds, and of beasts: but the princes and lords had their denominations from the places and states which they governed; as, for example, the foresaid prince, who was the first Christian in *Congo*, was called *Mani-Sogno*, that is to say, the prince of *Sogno*, and, when he was christened, was called *Emanuel*; but, at this day, they have all in general such Christian names as they have learned of the *Portuguese*.

What names the people of Congo had, before they were christened.

After a mass was celebrated, and a divine song, one of the priests that came from *Portugal* went up, and made a brief sermon in the *Portuguese* language, declaring the sum of the new religion, and faith of the gospel, which they had received. This sermon, the priest that was left behind, having now learned the *Con- go* speech, did more at large expound to the lords that were in the church; for the church could not possibly hold the innumerable multitude of the people, that were gathered together, at the conversion of their prince; who afterwards came abroad unto them, and rehearsed the whole sermon, with great love and charity, moving and exhorting them to embrace likewise the true belief of the Christian doctrine.

A sermon containing the sum of the Christian religion, and on Mani-Sogno rehearses the sermon to his people.

When this was done, all the *Portuguese* proceeded on their way towards the court, to baptise the king, who, with a most fervent longing, attended the same; and the governor of *Sogno* gave order, that king.

The Portuguese go to the court to baptise the king.

that many of his lords should wait upon them with music, singing, and other signs of wonderful rejoicing; he, moreover, bestowed upon them divers slaves, to carry their necessaries, commanding also the people, that they should prepare all sorts of provisions to be ready in the streets for them. So great was the number of people, that ran and met together to behold them, that the whole country seemed to be, in a manner, covered with them; and they all did, in great kindness, entertain and welcome the *Portuguese* Christians, with singing and sounding of trumpets, cymbals, and other instruments used in those parts. And it is an admirable thing to relate, that all the streets and high-ways, that reach from the sea, to the city of *St. Saviour's*, being one-hundred and fifty miles, were all cleansed and swept, and abundantly furnished with all kinds of victuals and other necessaries for the *Portuguese*. Indeed, it is a custom, in those countries, when the king or the principal lords go abroad, to cleanse their ways, and make them handsome; and, therefore, much the rather upon this especial occasion, when the *Portuguese*, whom they revered, as if they had been some of the ancient heroes, purchased for their king the jewel of religion, and salvation of his soul, and generally for every one of them the clear knowledge of God, and eternal life.

The courtiers of Congo meet the *Portuguese*.

Three days journey from the place whence they departed, they discerned the king's courtiers, that came to meet them, to present them with fresh provisions, and do them honour; and so, from place to place, they met with other lords, that, for the same purpose, were sent by the king to receive the Christians, who were the messengers of so great a joy. When they were come within three miles of the city, all the court came to entertain and welcome the *Portuguese*, with all sorts of pomp and rejoicing, and with music and singing, as, in those countries, is used upon their most solemn festivals; and so great was the multitude of people, which thronged in the streets, that there was neither tree, nor hillock, higher than the rest, but it was loaden with those that were run forth and assembled to view these strangers, who brought unto them the new law of their salvation. The king himself attended them at the gate of his palace, in a throne of state erected upon a high scaffold, where he did publicly receive them, in such a manner as the ancient kings of *Congo* used to do, when any ambassadors had access unto him, or his tributes were paid him, or when any

The king himself receives them.

other such royal ceremonies were performed.

And, first of all, the ambassador declared the embassy of the king of *Portugal*, which was expounded and interpreted by the foresaid priest, who was the principal author of the conversion of those people. After the embassy was thus delivered, the king raised himself out of his seat, and, standing upright upon his feet, both with his countenance and speech, shewed most evident signs of the great joy that he had conceived, for the coming of the Christians, and so sat down again; and immediately all the people, with shouting, sounding their trumpets, singing, and other manifest arguments of rejoicing, approved the king's words, and shewed their exceeding good liking of this embassy; and further, in token of obedience, they three times prostrated themselves upon the ground, and cast up their feet, according to the custom of those kingdoms, thereby allowing and commending the action of their king, and most affectionately accepting of the gospel, which was brought unto them, from the Lord God, by the hands of those religious persons.

The *Portuguese* ambassador declares his embassy.

The king rejoiced at the embassy.

The people rejoiced at it.

Then the king took a view of all the presents that were sent him by the king of *Portugal*, the vestments of the priests, ornaments of the altar, crosses, and the tables, whereon were painted the images of saints; the streamers, banners, and all the rest; and, with incredible attention, heard the meaning of every one of them declared unto him, one by one; and so he withdrew himself, and lodged the ambassador in a palace made ready on purpose for him; and all the rest were placed in other houses of several lords, where they enjoyed all possible ease and plenty.

The king views the presents unto him by the king of *Portugal*.

The day following, the king caused all the *Portuguese* to be assembled together in private; where they consulted of the course that was to be taken for the christening of the king, and for effecting the full conversion of the people to the Christian faith. And, after sundry discourses, it was resolved and concluded, that first of all a church should be built, to the end that the christening, and other ceremonies thereunto belonging, might be celebrated therein with the more solemnity; and, in the mean while, the king and the court should be taught and instructed in the Christian religion. The king presently commanded, that, with the utmost speed, provision should be made of all kinds of materials necessary for this building, as timber, stone, lime, and brick, according to the direction and appointment of the workmasters.

Consultation among the *Portuguese* for the christening of the king, and for the building of a church.

masters and masons, which, for that purpose, were brought out of *Portugal*.

An insurrection raised by the devil, to hinder the progress of the Christian religion. But the devil, who never ceases to cross all good and holy proceedings, raised new dissensions, conspiracies, and obstructions against this promoting of the Christian faith, which, indeed, began to overthrow and destroy the power, that he had long held in that kingdom, and, instead thereof, to plant the most salutary tree of the cross, and the worship of the gospel: and this he did, by procuring a rebellion among certain people of the *Anzichi*, and *Anzicana*, who dwell upon both the banks of the river *Zaire*, from the foresaid falls upwards, to the great lake, and are subject and belonging to the king of *Congo*. Now this monstrous river, being restrained and kept back by these falls, swells there mightily, and spreads itself abroad in a very large and deep channel; in the breadth whereof are many islands, some small and others great, so that, in some of them, there may be maintained about thirty-thousand persons; in which islands, and in other places adjacent to the neighbouring rivers, the people made an insurrection, renounced their obedience to the king, and slew the governors that had been sent thither.

Mani-Sundi goes against the rebels. All this was done by the devil, on purpose to interrupt the propagation of Christianity, which was now begun, and to hinder it, by the means of this rebellion; but the king, by the inspiration of God, provided a good remedy for this mischief, and sent thither his eldest son, called *Mani-Sundi*, within whose province that country lies; and yet afterwards the trouble and tumult became so great and dangerous, that the king must needs go himself in person to pacify these commotions; who, nevertheless, resolved to be baptised before his going, and so was forced to forbear the building of the church of stone, and with all speed, instead thereof, to erect one of timber; which church he in his own person, with the advice of the *Portuguese*, did accomplish in such a manner as it ought to be, and therein did receive the sacrament of holy baptism, and was named *don Giovanni*, and his wife *donna Eleonora*, after the names of the king and queen of *Portugal*, and the church itself intitled and dedicated to *St. Saviour*. The king builds in haste a church of timber. The king and queen of *Congo* christened. The church of *St. Saviour*.

The Latin history of the Indies reports amidst of this rebellion. But here it is to be noted, that all these stirs, and rebellion of the people aforesaid, arose by the cunning sleight and instigation of the devil, and not from the poor souls themselves, that dwell in those islands of the great lake, as it is written in the first book of the histories of the *Indies*, lately set forth in *Latin*: for the lake

V O L. II.

is distant from the city of *Congo*, about two-hundred miles; neither had the inhabitants thereabouts any knowledge of *Congo*, but only by hearsay, in those times, and very little have they of it, even at this day; and, besides, the book is faulty, in the name of the people that rebelled, for it calls them *Mundiqueti*, whereas indeed the *Portuguese* rightly term them *Anziqueti*.

The same day, whereon the king was baptised, divers other lords, following his example, were also baptised, having first learned certain principles of the Christian faith; and, when all this was done, the king went in person to disperse the turbulent attempts of his adversaries, against whom he found the prince his son, and the lord of *Batta*, already fighting with a formal army: but, at the arrival of the king, the enemies yielded, and submitted themselves to the obedience which before they performed; and so he returned in triumph to the city of *Congo*, and the prince, his son with him, who presently was desirous to become a Christian, and was christened by the name of the first prince of *Portugal*, called *Alfonso*; and with him also were christened many gentlemen and cavaliers, and others of his servants, that came with him out of his province. Divers lords baptised. The king goes in person against the rebels, and discomfits them. Mani-Sundi christened and many others with him.

But observe the devil once again, the utter enemy of the Christian religion, how he prosecuted his former intent to hinder Christianity amongst these people; for, when he perceived that he prevailed nothing by these wars, he incensed the mind of the king's second son, that he would not agree to receive the new religion, which his father, mother, brother, and so many other lords had embraced, sowing his cockle and darnel not only in him, but also in many other lords that favoured him, who, being addicted rather to the sensuality of the flesh, than the purity of the mind, resisted the gospel, which began now to be preached, especially in that commandment, wherein it is forbidden that a man should have any more wives than one: a matter that, amongst them, was harder, and more difficult to be received, than any other precept whatsoever, because they were used to take as many wives as they pleased. And thus, the two brethren being divided between themselves, each of them stily maintained his own opinion: the eldest brother, *don Alfonso*, with great fervency, defended Christianity, and burnt all the idols that were in his province; the second brother (called *Mani-Pango*, because he was governor of the country of *Pango*) resisted it mightily, and had gotten the greatest

greatest part of the principal lords of *Pango* to be on his side; for there were divers of the new-christened lords, whose ladies, seeing themselves separated, and deprived of their husband-lords, by force of the Christian law, apprehended it as a great injury and scorn done unto them, and blasphemed and cursed this new religion, at an extravagant rate. These lords confederated with others, and began to plot treachery against don *Alfonso*, hoping that, if they could rid him out of the world, the Christian faith would, of course, utterly expire; therefore *Mani-Pango* and his accomplices gave intelligence to his father, that the prince don *Alfonso* favoured the Christian faction, only to the end that, under the colour of his countenance and favour, they might raise an insurrection and rebellion against him, and so drive him out of his kingdom.

The king gave credit to their informations, and deprived his son of the government wherein he was placed; but the providence of God, which reserved him for a greater matter, relieved him by the mediation and counsel of his friends, who intreated the king, his father, that he would not be moved to anger, before he had examined the answers and reasons of the prince, his son; wherein the king was especially persuaded by *Mani-Sogno*, who, as we have already said, was before christened, and called don *Emanuel*, and was fortunately in court, at this juncture.

Mani-Sogno makes intercession for his brother.

Mani-Sundi restored.

This man, being the ancientest courtier and lord of that time, and singularly well beloved of the king and all his people, with sound reasons, and dexterity of wit, procured the king to revoke the sentence that was passed against the prince don *Alfonso*; so that the king, who was afterwards thoroughly informed both of the upright mind and actions of his son, perceived that the accusations, plotted against him, were false and malicious, and thereupon restored him again to his former government, with a special charge, that he should not proceed with such rigour against the *Gentiles*, for the propagation and exaltation of the Christian religion: but he, being full of Christian charity, and a godly spirit, nevertheless, persevered

in advancing the faith of the gospel, and putting in execution the commandments of God.

Upon this, his adversaries, who never rested from their former attempt, were continually at the king's elbow, and fought, by all cunning shifts and secret devices, to destroy that which the good prince had erected; especially when they saw, that the prince of *Sogno* was departed from court, and returned into his government: so that, no body being now left to protect and defend the Christian religion, the king began to doubt of the faith, which, with so great zeal, he had before embraced; and, therefore, he sent to his son, that he should come again to the court, to give an account of those revenues that he had gathered within the country of his government, with a full intent and meaning indeed, to deprive him, when his accounts should be settled. But he, being illuminated by his good angel, and discovering the treacheries of the enemies of God and himself, delayed the matter so long, that, in the mean while, his father, being an old man, did, by means of a natural infirmity, depart out of this life; and his mother, who constantly persevered in the Catholic faith, loving her eldest son most intirely, concealed the king's death for the space of three days, being assisted by some of her trusty friends, and gave it out, that the king had ordered that no man should have access to him, to give him any disturbance. In the mean time, she signified to her son the death of his father, which she was resolved to keep close, till his coming, and charged him without any delay, and in all haste, to come to the court; which she did by certain runners, that from place to place in convenient distances and journies, are always ready, like posts, to convey the precepts and commandments of the king over all the kingdom; whereupon he presently caused himself to be carried post, both day and night, by certain slaves, according to the custom of that country, in one day and two nights, with most exquisite diligence accomplishing the journey of two-hundred miles, and so arrived at the city, before he was expected.

The king wavers in religion, and calls *Mani-Sundi* to account, on purpose to deprive him.

The king dies.

The queen-mother sends in all haste for her son *Mani-Sundi*.

C H A P. III.

Don John, the first Christian King, being dead, Don Alfonso, his Son, succeeded. Of his Wars against his Brother. Of certain Miracles that were wrought, and of the Conversion of those People.

The funeral of king *John*, celebrated by *Alfonso*.

NOW, together with the death of the king, there was also published the succession to the crown of don *Alphonso*, he being then present, who, in his

own person, did accompany the corpse of his deceased father to the burial, with all the lords of the court, and all the Christian *Portuguese*, which was solemnised after the

Mani-Pango rebelleth against his brother.

The king's power both slender and timorous.

the manner of Christendom, with service and prayers for the dead; and all this with such funeral pomp, as was never seen before, in this country. But they, who formerly were adversaries to this new king, doubting of their own safety, if they should remain in the court, united themselves with *Mani-Pango*, who was now departed into the province of his own government, and, while his father lived, was wholly employed in fighting against the *Mozombi*, and certain other people, that had rebelled against him; who, when he heard of the death of his father, and understood that his brother was already placed on the throne, made a truce with his enemies, and, gathering together a great army, began to go in arms against his brother, and led with him almost the whole kingdom, which, indeed, favoured him, to the number of two-hundred-thousand men. King *Alfonso* waited for his coming, at the royal city, with a very small number, except that he was directed, advised, and assisted, by the good ancient lord *Mani-Sogno*, who, joining him, in the strength and virtue of the holy Christian faith, and making a list of all those armed friends, that he had to defend him against so great an enemy, found, by computation, that they did not amount to ten-thousand, among which there were but about one-hundred Christians, natives of that country, besides a few *Portuguese*, who, by chance, arrived there, at that time.

All these people were, indeed, too few for such an encounter, and, therefore, not very resolute to abide any attempt, but became very doubtful and timorous, by reason of the great power, that *Mani-Pango* brought with him; but the king, trusting confidently in his strong faith, and in the celestial assistance, comforted and strengthened his soldiers, by all possible means; and so did the good old lord, his uncle, who ceased not, both night and day, by words and actions, to encourage that small number, which they had, to expect and endure the assaults of their adversaries, with the utmost manhood and courage, assuring them, that God would be their help and succour. Thus, whilst they attended the proceedings of their enemies, *Mani-Pango* and his forces, advanced to the besieging of the city, with so great a noise of warlike instruments, cries, shoutings, and terrible threatenings, that the poor few, which were in the city, as well Christians, as others, fainted in their hearts, and failed in their courage; and came and presented themselves before the king, saying, that he had not power enough to resist so powerful an enemy,

and, therefore, they thought it better for him to come to some concord and composition, and to abandon the new religion, which he had lately begun to profess, to the end he might not fall into the hands of his cruel adversaries. But the king, being resolute, and full of religious constancy, reproved their cowardice, called them "faint-hearted, and base people, and intreated them, if they had any inclination, or desire, to forsake him, and go to the enemy, that they should act accordingly: As for himself, and the handful that would follow him, he did not doubt, but assuredly trust, though not with the power or strength of man, yet with the favour of God, to vanquish and overcome that innumerable army; and, therefore, he would not request them, either to join with him, or to put their lives in hazard against his adversaries, for his sake, but they might rest themselves, and expect the issue that should follow thereon."

The king's speech to his soldiers.

But they, notwithstanding this speech, The became never a jot the more courageous, king's soldiers abandoned him. but rather grew more timorous, and were peremptorily determined to abandon the king, and to save themselves. Now they were scarce out of the city, and on their way homewards, when, by extraordinary good fortune, they met with the good old lord *Mani-Sogno*, who, with a small part of his followers, had been abroad to survey the enemy's camp, and make provision for such things as were necessary, in such a proceeding: To him they all declare, what they had before declared to the king, "That they thought it a piece of downright madness to hazard lives and goods, with so few people, against an infinite multitude; and that, without all doubt, it were a safer way to compound with the enemy, and so save themselves." The good lord, with great piety and Christian valour, replied, that they should not so quickly fall into despair; but, as the king had told them before, look upon *Jesus Christ*, the Saviour of the world, whose faith and religion they had so lately, and with such ardent zeal, procured and embraced, who also, most assuredly and undoubtedly, would succour and defend those that were his; and, therefore, intreated them, that they would not, like rash-headed people, change their minds from that holy doctrine, which they had, with such fervency, lately received: adding, moreover, that they were not to fight with a strange nation, nor with a people that came from foreign countries, but with their own kinsmen and countrymen; so that they might always have opportunity, if occasion so required, to surrender them-

themselves, and to be received, in a most tender and friendly manner: "Behold, "I pray, faith, *Mani-Sogno*, my age, "now arrived to a hundred years; and "yet I bear arms, for the zeal and defence "of the religion that I have entertained, "and for the homage and honour that I "owe to my king: and you, that are in "the flower of your years, do you shew "yourselves so base and fearful, and un- "faithful to your own natural sovereign? "If, perhaps, you be not disposed to "fight yourselves, yet encourage your "vassals and subjects, and do not dismay "them: let us expect the first encounter "of the enemy, and then we shall not "want a fit occasion to take some other "course, and provide for our safety."

The fugi-
tives re-
turn, and
ask the
king for-
giveness.

With these comfortable words, the lords recovered their spirits that were sunk, and returned with him to seek the king, who was in the church at his prayers, beseeching God to send him help and succour; they waited for him, until he came forth, and fell down upon their knees before him, requesting pardon for their fault and want of duty, which they had discovered unto him, their prince, in that they would have forsaken him, when he was in this extremity; and promising that they would put on a fresh and constant courage, for the defence of him, and the law and religion which they had received, and that they would fight for the same, even unto death. But the king, who plainly perceived, that this comfort and assistance came from God himself, first gave him hearty thanks in secret, from the bottom of his heart, and vowed that he would sacrifice himself, for the maintenance of his faith and gospel; and then, with a chearful countenance, spoke as follows: "I believe, O Lord, that thy "greatness is infinite, and that thou canst "do all things; make of little much, and "of much little, whensoever it pleaseth "thee: neither do I any thing doubt, "but that thou wilt afford aid to this my "weakness, and assist the same with thy "invincible power, so that through thy "gracious favour, with these few and "feeble persons, I shall become the conqueror not only of this army, but also "of a far greater, if it should come against "me: and I promise thee, O my God, "besides that which I have already vowed, that I will, all the days of my life, "promote and exalt thy true faith, holy "name, and most wholesome doctrine."

The king
erects a
cross of
a great
length.

In testimony and memory of this confession, he presently caused a cross to be erected in the middle of the market-place, directly opposite to the church, which was built by his father: this cross was of a

wonderful length, for it was fourscore spans long, and the cross-bar, in proportion, answerable thereunto. Now the eternal God, who knew the faith from whence this vow of the good king did proceed, vouchsafed to comfort him with a celestial vision, which was a very clear and admirable light; at the shining whereof, he cast himself upon his knees, wept, and lifted up his hands and eyes to heaven; but spoke not a word, because he was overcome with tears and sighs, and wholly ravished in spirit; but that, which he himself saw, was seen of no-body else, neither would he ever publish the same. All those, that were in his company, were no less astonished than himself, and, for a while, lost the sight of their eyes, by reason of that miraculous light, remaining in a trance; but, at last, every man lifted up his eyes, and perceived, that there were imprinted on him five swords, very bright and clear, which, for the space of almost an hour, continued immoveable, as it were, in a circle, though none of them could either understand or explain the meaning thereof. The five swords the king took for his arms, as may be seen in his royal signet, which hath been used, ever since that time, yea even by the king that reigns at present; the cross also, that was thus erected upon a vow, is to be seen in the same place, wherein it was erected, at the front of the church, which was called *St. Cross's*, from the cross, and the miracle that appeared there. This cross the late king, don *Alvaro*, father to the king that now is, renewed, and made another of the same bulk with the first, in remembrance of such a miracle; for the old cross was in process of time decayed and consumed, and reduced to a ruinous heap.

A vision
appeared
to him.

The arms
of the king
of Congo.

The foresaid vision did greatly confirm the minds of the citizens, which before were wavering, and did wonderfully deject and extremely terrify the enemy, when they understood the news thereof. Nevertheless, *Mani-Pango* sent unto the king, and signified unto him, and to all the rest that were with him, that, if they did not forthwith surrender themselves, and deliver the city unto him, and create and swear him for their king, and withal relinquish their new Christian religion, he would put them all to the sword; but, if they would submit to him, he would freely pardon them; to which message the lords, that stood on the king's side, answered, that they were most ready to die, in defence of their prince, and of the Christian faith. But the king, in particular, sent him the following reply: "That he "did not, in the least, fear his terrible me-
"naces,

The
haughty
message of
*Mani-
Pango* to
the king.

The king's
answer.

“ naces, but rather, as a kind brother,
 “ was very sorry, even from his heart, to
 “ see that he walked in darkness, and
 “ strayed from the way of light ; that the
 “ kingdom did by law belong unto him,
 “ and was not fraudulently usurped by
 “ him ; and that the religion, which he
 “ had received, was assuredly delivered
 “ him from God, who, doubtless, would
 “ protect and maintain him therein : and,
 “ at the same time, besought him, that
 “ he would estrange himself from his false
 “ belief, and worshiping of the devil,
 “ wherein he had been nourished and
 “ brought up, and that he would be bap-
 “ tised ; for so he should become the
 “ child of God, and merit the celestial
 “ glory.” Then the king ordered his
 jewels to be brought, and other rich
 household ornaments, which he had at
 home ; and, the better to encourage these
 lords, that took his part, he most graci-
 ously distributed them amongst them all ;
 wherewith they remained extremely satis-
 fied, and obliged themselves to prosecute
 his enterprize, and follow his ensign, with
 a most ardent courage.

The king
rewards
his follow-
ers.

Certain
timorous
fugitives
run to the
camp of
*Mani-
Pango.*

A strata-
gem of
*Mani-
Pango.*

This being done, the very same night,
 the one half almost of the base people that
 were in arms, being surpris'd with a pa-
 nic fear, secretly flew into the camp of
Pango ; and, having thus revolted, gave
Mani-Pango to understand, that the king,
 and all the rest of his retinue, were utterly
 dismayed ; that every man was devising
 means of escape, and that they had no o-
 ther way left to save themselves, but by
 taking the lane that leads down to the ri-
 ver, which, as we told you, was distant
 from the city, about the space of a mile ;
 at the end of which lane, between the ri-
 ver and the hill, there was a little moor
 about two feet deep on the right-hand,
 and on the left were the mountains, and
 the garisons of *Pango*, that had besieged
 and beset the hill ; so that there was no
 other way for them to escape, but by pas-
 sing by over the moor, which was, in
 length, as far as the shot of an harquebuz
 could reach, and the same in breadth, and
 then to come to the river. *Mani-Pango*,
 believing all that they had related unto
 him, sent presently to stop that passage,
 with planting sharp stakes in the bottom of
 the moor, which were covered with water,
 to the end that, if his enemies should fly
 in the dark of the night, because they
 would not be seen, they should be all staked
 and taken therein ; and, all that night, he,
 with all his army, remained in great joy, and
 waited for the morning, that he might lay
 siege to the city, considering, in the mean
 while, what course might be most easy and
 convenient for him to attempt the same.

V O L. II.

But don *Alphonso*, on the other hand, *Mani-
Pango* af-
 having confessed himself, and consulted faults the
 with all his most faithful and loyal friends, city.
 expected his enemy, who, assuring himself
 of the victory, and having now granted
 the citizens goods, and all the states and
 governments of the kingdom, to his great
 lords about him, very early in the morn-
 ing, with a furious violence, assaults the
 city, on that side which is towards the
 north, where the great and wide plain,
 restraining itself into a narrow streight,
 forms, as it were, a round circle, natural-
 ly surrounded with certain hills, and then
 makes a large way, as broad as a man
 may shoot with a gun, until you come to
 the place where the city stands, which is a
 little plain of two miles compass, whereon,
 as has been observed, the city, church,
 the lords houses, and the king's court are
 situated ; in which situation, don *Alfonso*,
 with those few that attended him, settled
 himself against the *Pagans*, and against his
 enemy-brother, who, before he could face *Mani-
Pango* dis-
 the king, was utterly discomfited, disper- comfited
 ed, and put to flight. The king, upon without a-
 this, perceiving that he was overthrown ny fight.
 and constrained to retire, was, to the last
 degree, amazed, not knowing himself, how
 this matter came to pass, seeing he had not
 joined battle, nor fought with his enemies,
 and, therefore, must necessarily conclude,
 that it so fell out, by some hidden and su-
 pernatural means : but, nevertheless, the
 day following, *Mani-Pango* returned to *Mani-
Pango*, the
 the assault, in the same place, though he second
 was, in like manner, once again discom- time, dis-
 fited and constrained to fly ; whereby he comfited,
 certainly knew, that this disaster was not in like
 occasioned by the valour of his enemies, manner.
 but purely the effect of a miraculous inter-
 posal. The people of the city scorning
 those idolaters, being flushed with the two
 victories, thus obtained, began now to
 despise them, and would, with all vio-
 lence, have rushed upon them : To whom
 their adversaries made this answer, “ Fie,
 “ you are not the men that have thus
 “ vanquished us ; but it was a certain fair
 “ lady, all in white, who, with her ad-
 “ mirable brightness, blinded us, and a
 “ knight riding upon a white palfrey,
 “ that had a red cross upon his breast ;
 “ and he it was, that fought against us,
 “ and turned us to flight.” When this
 came to the ears of the king, he dispatch-
 ed a messenger to his brother, to acquaint
 him, that, of those two, the one was a
 virgin, the mother [of Christ, whose faith
 he had embraced ; and the other was St.
James ; who both were sent from God to
 succour and relieve him ; and that, if he
 would become a Christian, they would al-
 so shew him great grace and favour. But
Mani-

7 D

Mani-Pango assaults the city, on both sides at once.

Mani-Pango rejected this message, and, all the following night, put himself in a readiness to besiege the city, upon both sides at once; the one, with one part of his army at the streight above-mentioned; and the other, with another part of his people, himself, in his own person, surrounding the lane that ascends from the river; and so, in a place utterly unprovided of either watch or ward, he thought to attempt a victory. Those, that were above at the streight, first joined battle, and were intirely discomfited and overthrown; and *Pango* himself, hoping to have pushed forward, on the other side, whilst his enemies were wholly occupied in defending themselves at the streight, found himself greatly deceived, for his people were already put to flight by those of the city; who, perceiving the great noise, that *Pango* and his troops made in ascending the hill, on the other side, advanced, with all speed, to meet with that danger, and, driving him and his whole army back again, put them in confusion, and so gauled them with a shower of darts and other weapons, which they threw among them, that *Pango*, being overcome with fear and danger, ran away, and fell into the snares and nets which he himself had laid for the Christians: for, lighting among the foresaid stakes, he was with one of them thrust into the body, and so, being surpris'd with an evil death, he finished his life, as it were in a rage; for you must understand that the sharp ends of the same stakes were invenomed with a certain poison, which seizing on the blood, and penetrating into the flesh, kill, without any cure or remedy.

By this victory and death of his brother, the king remained in security and liberty, beyond all contradiction; and then, taking into consideration, that his subjects were in a great doubt and perplexity, and durst not present themselves before him, by reason of the error that they had committed against him, like a gracious prince, he signified unto them by a message, that he would pardon their former faults, and receive them into his grace and favour; whereupon they all came and surrendered themselves unto him, with all obedience, except the captain-general, whose name was *Mani-Bunda*. This man greatly dreaded to appear before the king, for very shame of his disloyalty and villainy; but yet, at last, he obtained his pardon, with a certain penance enjoined him, that he should go and serve in the building of the church; and he became afterwards so humble and devout a Christian, that, when the king would have eased him of that labour, he would not, by any means, give

it over, until the church was intirely finished.

The kingdom being thus pacified, and all things well established, don *Alfonso* gave order, that they should presently begin with the fabric of the principal church, called *St. Cross's*, which was so named from the cross that was there erected, as we told you before; and also, because, upon the festival of the *Holy Cross*, the first stone was laid of the foundation thereof. Moreover, he commanded, that the men should bring stones, and the women sand from the river, for the promoting of this work; and the king, who would needs be a porter himself, upon his own shoulders brought the first basket of stones, which he cast into the foundation; and the queen her basket of sand likewise, thereby giving an example to the lords and ladies of the court to do the like, and to encourage the people, in so holy an action. This fabric, being thus forwarded by so good work-masters and work-men, in a very short time, was fully compleated, and therein were celebrated mass's, and other divine offices, with great solemnity, besides a number of lords and others that were there baptis'd: so that the multitude of those, that came to be partakers of the holy baptism, abounded to such a degree, that there were not priests enough to perform that necessary service.

After this, the king dispatched away the *Portuguese* ambassador, who, till now, had remained at the court, by reason of the foresaid commotions; and with him he sent another ambassador of his own, called *Roderico*, and divers others that were of kin both to himself and to his ambassador, to the end that they should learn both the doctrine of the Christians in *Portugal*, and also their language; and further declare unto the king all these accidents that had lately happened.

Moreover, he caused the lords of all his provinces to be assembled together, in a place appointed for that purpose, and there publicly signified unto them, that whosoever had any idols, or any thing else that was contrary to the Christian religion, he should bring them forth and deliver them over to the lieutenants of the country; and that whosoever did not so, should be burnt themselves, without remission or pardon; which command was immediately put in execution. And a wonderful thing it is to be noted, that, within less than one month, all the idols, witches, and characters, which they worshiped, and accounted for gods, were sent and brought unto the court: and certainly the number of these toys was infinite, for every man adored and revered what he liked, without

Mani-Pango's stratagem turns to his own destruction.

The death of *Mani-Pango*.

The rebels yield to the king's mercy.

The building of the church called *St. Cross's*.

King *Alfonso* dispatches the *Portuguese* ambassador, and another of his own, into *Portugal*.

The king commands all idols to be brought in, and all other things that are contrary to the Christian religion.

without any order, measure, or reason at all : so that there was among them a vast multitude of devils, in sundry strange and terrible shapes. Many there were, that paid devotion to dragons with wings, which they nourished and fed in their own private houses, giving unto them, for this purpose, their best and most costly viands; others kept serpents of horrible figures : some worshiped the greatest goats they could get, some tygers, and other most monstrous creatures; yea, the more uncouth and deformed the beasts were, the more they were honoured. Some held in veneration certain unclean fowls and night-birds, as bats, owls, and screech-owls, and the like. To be brief, they chose for their gods divers snakes, adders, beasts, birds, and trees, sundry characters of wood and of stone, and the figures of all the things above rehearsed, as well painted in colours, as graven in wood and stone, and such other materials; neither did they content themselves with worshiping, the said creatures, when alive, but also adored the very skins of them, when they were dead, being stuffed with straw.

Their devout worshipping of idols. The act of this their adoration was performed in various sorts, all wholly addressed and directed to express their humility; as, by kneeling, prostration, defiling their faces with dust, making their prayers unto their idols in words and actions, and by offering unto them the best part of their substance which they had in their possession. They had, moreover, Witches. their witches, who made the foolish people believe, that their idols could speak, and so deceived them; and, if any man, being sick or infirm, would recommend himself unto them, and afterwards recovered his health, the witches would persuade him, that the idol had been angry with him, but now was appeased, and had healed him; and this is a brief account of the religious customs of the *Moci-Conghi*, before they received the water of holy baptism, and the knowledge of the living God.

The king burnt all the idols. Now the king, having gathered together all these abominable images, put them into divers houses in the city, and commanded, that, to the same place, where, a little before, he fought and vanquished his brother's army, every man should bring a burthen of wood, which at length became a great heap; and, when they had cast into it all the said idols, pictures, and whatsoever else the people, before that time, held for a god, he caused fire to be put unto them, and so utterly consumed the same. When he had thus done, he assembled all his subjects together; and,

instead of their idols which before they had in reverence, he gave them crucifixes, and images of saints, which the *Portuguese* had brought with them; and he enjoined every lord, that each of them, in the city of his own government, should build a church, and set up crosses, as he had already shewed unto them by his own example; and then he acquainted them, and the rest of his people, that he had dispatched an ambassador into *Portugal* to fetch priests, that should teach them religion, and administer the most holy and wholesome sacraments to every one of them, and bring with them divers images of Christ, of the virgin-mother, and of other saints, to distribute among them. In the mean while, he desired them to be of good comfort, and to remain constant in the faith; but they had, in so lively a manner, imprinted the same in their hearts, that they never more remembered their former belief in false and lying idols.

He ordained, besides, that there should be three churches builded; one, in reverence of our Saviour, to give him thanks for the victory which he had granted unto him; wherein the kings of *Congo* lie buried, and whereof the city royal took its name (for, as it was said before, it is called *St. Saviour's*.) The second church was dedicated to the blessed Virgin, the mother of God, called *Our Lady of Help*, in memory of the succour which he had received against his enemies; and the third was consecrated to *St. James*, in honour and remembrance of the miracle, which that saint had wrought, by fighting in behalf of the Christians, and shewing himself, on horseback, in the heat of the battle.

Not long after this, the ships arrived from *Portugal*, with many men that were skilful in the holy scriptures, and divers religious friars of the orders of *St. Francis*, *St. Dominic*, and *St. Austin*, with sundry other priests, who, with great charity and fervency of spirit, sowed and dispersed the Catholic faith over all the country: which was presently embraced by all the people of the kingdom, who held the said priests in so high a reverence, that they worshiped them, like saints, by kneeling unto them, kissing their hands, and receiving their blessing, as often as they met them in the streets. These priests, being arrived into their several provinces, instructed the people in the faith of Christ; and, taking unto them some natives of the country, they taught them the true heavenly doctrine, that they might the better declare the same to their own countrymen, in their own language; so that, in process of

of time, the Catholic faith was rooted over it hath endured some small impediments, all those countries in such sort, that it continued there, even till this day, although as, in a convenient place, shall be related.

C H A P. IV.

The Death of the King, Don Alfonso, and the Succession of Don Pedro. How the Island of St. Thomas was first inhabited, and of the Bishop that was sent thither. Other great Accidents that happened on Account of Religion. The Death of two Kings, by the Conspiracy of the Portuguese and the Lords of Congo. How the King's Lineage was quite extinguished. The Banishment of the Portuguese.

WHILE these matters were, thus working for the service of God, and Christianity was now planted and increased, with so happy success, it pleased God to call away to himself the king, don *Alfonso*, who, at the time of his death, gave remarkable signs, which beautified and exalted his former life; for he died in great faith, declaring that his hour was now come, and discoursed of the Christian religion, with so great confidence and charity, that it evidently appeared, that the cross and passion, and a true belief in our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, were imprinted in the root of his heart; and to don *Pedro*, his son and successor, he did especially recommend the Christian doctrine, who, indeed, following the example of his father, maintained and upheld it accordingly.

King *Alfonso* dies.

Don *Pedro* succeeds him.

The isle of *St. Thomas* begins to be inhabited.

The king of *Portugal* sends one to be bishop of the isle of *St. Thomas*, and of *Congo*.

The entertainment of the bishop in *Congo*.

In his reign, there began to sail into these quarters a great number of vessels, and the island of *St. Thomas* was peopled with *Portuguese*, by the king's command; for, hitherto, all the inland parts were waste and desert, and the coast only inhabited by a few sailors, that came from the adjacent countries. But, when this island, in process of time, was well stocked with *Portuguese*, and other nations that resorted thither, by the royal licence, and became a place of great traffic, being tilled and sowed, the king sent thither a bishop, to govern the Christians of that island, and those also that were in *Congo*: which the said bishop did speedily accomplish upon his arrival, and afterwards in *Congo*, where he took possession of his pastoral charge. When he was come into the kingdom of *Congo*, it was a thing incredible, to behold, with how great joy he was entertained, by the king and all his subjects; for, from the sea-side even unto the city, being the space of a hundred and fifty miles, he caused the streets to be made neat and beautiful, and to be covered all over with mats, commanding the people, that, for a certain space severally allotted unto them, they should prepare the ways in such sort, that the bishop should not set his foot upon any part of the ground which was not adorned. But it was a far greater wonder, to view all

the neighbouring country, trees, and places that were higher than the rest, swarming with men and women that ran forth to see the bishop, as a holy man sent from God, offering unto him, some of them lambs, others kids, chickens, partridges, venison, fish, and other kinds of victuals in such abundance, that he knew not what to do with them, but left them behind him; whereby he might clearly perceive the great zeal and obedience of these new Christians. And, above all other things, it is to be noted for a remarkable matter, that, as the bishop passed along, there met him an innumerable multitude of men, women, girls, boys, and persons of fourscore years of age, and upwards, that crossed him in the streets, and, with singular tokens of true belief, required the water of holy baptism at his hands; neither would they suffer him to pass, until he had granted their request; so that, to satisfy their desires, he was greatly delayed in his progress, and constrained to carry water with him, in certain vessels, salt, and other provisions necessary for that solemnity.

But I will proceed no farther, in relating the welcome entertainment, the bishop met with, in every place where he came, and the lively joy that generally, and particularly, was shewed, for his arrival; but shall now observe, that, at length, he came to the city of *St. Saviour's*, where he was met by the priests, and by the king, and all the court, and so, in procession, entered into the church; and, after due thanks given to God, he was conducted to the lodging that was assigned him by the king. He soon began to reform and reduce to good order the church itself and the friars and priests that dwell therein; ordaining the said church to be the cathedral church of *St. Cross*; which at that time, had be-

The bishop founds the cathedral church of *St. Cross*.

his

The bi-
shop dies. his vicars, in the places where he himself was absent, at last died, and was buried in the island of *St. Thomas*.

After this bishop succeeded another, in *Congo*; a *Negro*, descended of the blood royal; who formerly had been sent by king *Alfonso*, first into *Portugal*, and afterwards to *Rome*, where he learned the *Latin* tongue, and the Christian religion, but, being returned into *Portugal*, and, at length, landed, in order to enter upon his bishopric of *St. Saviour's*, he died by the way; whereupon the kingdom remained without a pastor, for the space of several years. Don *Pedro*, the king aforesaid, also departed this life, without issue, and was succeeded by his brother

Don *Francisco* succeeded, and also dies. Don *Diego* the fifth king.

called don *Francisco*, who, in like manner, continued but a while on the throne; and then was created the fifth king, named don *Diego*, who was next of all the race royal: a man of mighty courage, magnificent, witty, of a very good disposition, wise in counsel, and, above all other qualities, a maintainer of the Christian faith; and, in brief, so great a warrior he was, that, in a few years, he conquered all the adjacent countries; and so extremely loved the *Portuguese*, that he forsook the usual garments of his native country, and attired himself, after their fashion: he was, to the last degree, sumptuous, as well in his apparel, as in the ornaments and furniture of his palace; he was, besides, very courteous and liberal, and would bestow largely upon his own subjects and the *Portuguese* too. With great cost would he buy such curiosities as pleased his fancy, and often say, Rare things should not be in the hands of any, but those of kings? He used to wear one suit of apparel, but once or twice, and then would give it away to his followers; whereupon the *Portuguese*, perceiving that he so greatly esteemed cloth of gold and arras, and such other costly household furniture, brought great store thereof out of *Portugal*; so that, at this time, arras-hangings, cloth of gold, and of silk, and such like lordly ornaments were of great estimation, in that kingdom.

The third
bishop of
St. Thomas
and of
Congo. In the time of this king, there was a third bishop of *St. Thomas*, by nation a *Portuguese*, who, with the usual ceremonies, was entertained, by the way, and also in the court at *St. Saviour's*; and now the devil, the common enemy of the Christian religion, envying the happy success and promotion of the catholic faith, began to sow the darnel of division between the friars, priests, and their new bishop; which sprung up and arose from the long liberty, wherein they had now lived so

V O L. II.

many years, without a pastor; so that every man thought himself not only as good as the bishop, but far better than he was; and, therefore, would yield no obedience to their prelate, insomuch that there was raised amongst them so great a discord and dissension, as wrought a grievous scandal and wicked example amongst the people. But the king, like a good and faithful Catholic, always maintained the bishop's part; and, to remove these troubles and commotions, he sent some of these priests to prison in *Portugal*, and others into the isle of *St. Thomas*; and some went away, with all their substance, of their own accord; by which means, their doctrine, instead of increasing, greatly diminished, through their own default.

Neither were our common adversaries contented with this, but proceeded further, by sowing discord between the kings and their subjects; for, after the death of this king, there started up three princes, at once, to claim the succession. The first was the king's son, whom few of them favoured, because they desired to have another; so that he was slain immediately. The two others were of the blood royal; one of them was created king, by his favourites and followers, with the approbation of the greater part of the people, but utterly against the will of the *Portuguese* and certain of the lords, who designed and endeavoured to set up the other; insomuch that the foresaid lords, together with the *Portuguese*, went into the church, to kill the king elected; imagining, that, if they slew him, the other must, of necessity, be placed on the throne: but, at that very juncture, those of the contrary faction had slain the king that was already made by the *Portuguese*, persuading themselves, that, he being dead, there would be no difficulty for them to obtain the state for their king, because there was no other left, that, by law, could challenge the royal scepter; and thus, in an hour and in two several places, were these two kings murdered, at once.

In these conspiracies and slaughters, when the people saw that there were no lawful persons left to enjoy the crown, they laid all the blame upon the *Portuguese*, as the authors of all these mischiefs; and, therefore, they turned themselves against them, and slew as many of them as they could find; only they spared the priests, and would not touch them, nor any that dwelt in other places.

Seeing, then, as is before observed, that there was none of the blood royal remained to be placed in the government, they made choice of one don *Henrico*, brother to don *Diego*, the king lately deceased; and

After the death of king *Diego*, three princes, at once, claim the kingdom, and all three are slain.

The *Portuguese* slain and dispersed.

Don *Henrico* created king.

King *Henrico* dies, and don *Alvaro* succeeds; and so the stock of the ancient kings of *Congo* became extinct.

King *Alvaro* restores the *Portuguese*.

The bishop of *St. Thomas* returns into *Congo*.

The bishop of *St. Thomas* dies. King *Alvaro* lives licentiously.

and this *Henrico*, going to war against the *Anzichi*, left behind him in his stead for governor, under the title of king, one don *Alvaro*, a young man of twenty-five years of age, son to his wife by another husband; but don *Henrico* died shortly after the war was ended, upon which, the said don *Alvaro* was, with the common consent, elected king of *Congo*, and generally obeyed by all; and thus failed the royal stock of the ancient kings of *Congo*, in the person of don *Henrico*.

But don *Alvaro* was a man of good judgment and government, and of a mild disposition; so that he presently appeased all these tumults in his kingdom, and caused all the *Portuguese*, that, by the last wars, were dispersed over all the adjacent countries, to be gathered together, as well religious persons as lay-men, and, by their means, he was much better confirmed in the Catholic faith than he was before. Moreover, he used them very courteously, and cleared them of all faults that were laid to their charge, declaring unto them, by gentle discourses, that they had not been the occasion of the former troubles, as every man would confess and acknowledge; and, to that effect, he determined with himself to write a large information, of all the accidents that befel him, to the king of *Portugal*, and the bishop of *St. Thomas*; which he did accordingly, and dispatched certain messengers unto them, with his letters. When the bishop of *St. Thomas* understood this news, he was very glad; and, whereas before he durst not adventure to go into the kingdom of *Congo*, in the heat of all those troubles, he presently embarked, and sailed thither, where he employed himself wholly, with all his authority, to pacify the former dissensions, and regulate all such matters as concerned the worship of God, and the office of his priests; and, soon after he had done so, he returned to his habitation in the isle of *St. Thomas*, where, by means of sickness, he ended his days: and this was the third time, that those parts remained without a bishop.

Now it came to pass, that, for want of bishops, the king and the lords, and the people likewise, began to grow cold in the Christian religion, every man addict-

ing himself licentiously to the liberty of the flesh; and especially the king, who was induced thereunto by divers young men, of his own age, that familiarly conversed with him. Among these, there was one principal man, that was both a lord, and his kinsman, called don *Francesco Bullamatare*, that is to say, *Catche-Stone*. This man, because he was a great lord, and wholly estranged from all Christian instructions, walked inordinately after his own pleasure, and did not scruple to defend openly, "That it was a very vain thing to keep but one wife, and, therefore, it were better to return to their ancient custom." Thus, by his means, "did the devil open a gate to the overthrow and destruction of the church of *Christ*, in that kingdom, which, until then, with so great pains and travel, had been there established; but afterwards the man did so wander and stray out of the way of truth, that he fell from one sin to another, and, at length, quite abandoned all true religion. However, at last, the said *Francesco* died, and was solemnly buried, like a noble lord, in the church of *St. Cross*, although he was notoriously suspected and spotted, for his false religion: but it fell out (and a marvellous case it is, to confirm the righteous in their good belief, and to terrify the wicked) that, in the night-time, certain spirits of the devil uncovered a part of the roof of *St. Cross's* church, where he was interred, and, with a great and horrible noise, which was heard all over the city, they drew him out of his tomb, and carried him away; and, in the morning, the church-doors were found shut, the roof broken, and the grave without the body of *Francesco*. By this extraordinary sign, the king was, at first, advertised of the great fault that he had committed; and so were the rest that followed him, in his course; but, notwithstanding, because there was no bishop in the kingdom to give him good counsel, and the king but a young man, and unmarried, although he remained somewhat sound in the Christian faith, yet he continued still in the licentiousness of the flesh, until God had chastised him with another severe discipline, as you shall hereafter understand.

Francesco Bullamatare an ill companion and counsellor to the king.

Bullamatare dies.

CHAP. V.

The IncurSIONS of the People, called Giachas, in the kingdom of Congo. Their Conditions and Weapons; and the Taking of the royal City.

What people the *Giachas* are: their conditions and weapons.

FOR, not long after, there came to rob and spoil the kingdom of *Congo* certain nations, that live after the manner

of the *Arabians*, and of the ancient *Nomades*, and are called *Giachas*: their habitation is about the first lake of the river *Nile*,

Nile, in a province of the empire of *Moene-mugi*. A cruel people they are, and murderous, of a great stature, and horrible countenance, fed with man's-flesh, fierce in battle, and valorous in courage. Their weapons are pavises or targets, darts and daggers; otherwise they go all naked: in their fashions and daily course of living, they are very savage and wild: they have no king to govern them, and they lead their life in the forest, in cabbins and cottages, after the manner of shepherds.

This people went wandering up and down, destroying, and putting to fire and sword, and robbing and spoiling all the countries that they passed through, till they arrived at the kingdom of *Congo*, which they entered on that side where the province of *Batta* lies. Those, that first came forth to make resistance against them they overthrew, and then steered their course towards the city of *Congo*, where the king remained, at that time, in great perplexity, for the victory that his enemies had obtained in the country of *Batta*: yet some comfort he took to himself, and went out against his adversaries, with such soldiers as he had; and, in the same place, where formerly *Mani-Pango* fought with the king don *Alfonso*, he joined battle with them. In this encounter, the king, being half defeated, retired into the city; wherein when he perceived that he could not remain in safety, being utterly deprived of the grace of God, by reason of his sins, and not having that confidence in him, that don *Alfonso* had, he thought fit to leave it for a prey to his adversaries, and betake himself to an island within the river *Zaire*, called *Isola del Cavallo*, that is to say, the *Isle of Horses*, where he continued with certain *Portuguese* priests, and other principal lords. And thus were the *Giachi* become lords and masters of the royal city, and of the whole kingdom; for the natural inhabitants fled away, and saved themselves in the mountains, and desert places; but the enemies burnt and laid waste the city, and churches, and all, and spared no man's life; so that, having divided themselves into several armies, they ruled sometimes in one province, and sometimes in another, over all the kingdom.

With this persecution, did God generally afflict and chastise all the inhabitants of the said kingdom of *Congo*; the king himself, the lords, the people, the *Portuguese*, and their clergy, every one, in their degree and calling. As for the poor people, they went wandering like vagabonds over

all the country, and perished, for hunger and want of necessaries: and the King, with those that followed him, and had saved themselves in the island, also, because the isle was very little, and the multitude great, were oppressed with so terrible a scarcity of victuals, that the most part of them died, by famine and pestilence: for this dearth so increased, and meat arose to so excessive a rate, that for a very small pittance, God knows, they were constrained to give the price of a slave, whom they were wont to sell for ten crowns, at the least; so that the father was forced to sell his own son, and the brother, his brother, and every man to provide himself food, by all manner of wickedness. The persons, that were sold for the satisfying of other men's hunger, were bought by the *Portuguese* merchants, that came from *St. Thomas*, with their ships laden with provisions. Those, that sold them, said they were slaves; and those, that were sold, justified and confirmed the same, because they were desirous to be rid of their greedy torment. And, on this pressing occasion, there was no small quantity of slaves, that were born in *Congo*, sold and sent to the isle of *St. Thomas*, and to *Portugal*; among whom there were some of the blood royal, and others, principal lords.

By this affliction, the King manifestly perceived, that all these great miseries and adversities abounded, for his misdeeds; and, although he was not much punished with hunger, because he was a king, yet he did not escape the cruel infirmity of the dropsy, that made his legs to swell exceedingly; which disease was ingendered partly by the air, and very ill diet; and partly by the moistness of the island, and it attended him, even unto his dying day. But, in the mean while, being struck to the heart with these misfortunes and calamities, he was converted and turned to God, requiring pardon for his offences, and doing penance for his sins; and then he was advised by the *Portuguese*, that he should send to request assistance of the king of *Portugal*, by certain ambassadors, that might recount unto him all the mischiefs which had lighted upon him. This embassy was accordingly performed, at the same time that don *Sebastian* began his reign, who, with great speed and kindness, sent him succours by a captain, called *Francesco di Govea*, a man well exercised in divers wars, both in *India* and *Africa*, who led with him six-hundred soldiers, and many gentlemen-adventurers, that accompanied him.

The king and those that followed him are plagued with an extreme famine.

Many of the blood royal sold slaves to the *Portuguese*.

King *Alvaro* falls into a dropsy.

King *Alvaro* sends to the king of *Portugal* for succour. Don *Sebastian*, King of *Portugal*, sends succour unto him.

C H A P. VI.

The King of Portugal sends Aid, and an Ambassador, to the King of Congo. The Knowledge of the metal Mines, which abound in Congo, is denied the King of Portugal. At the same Time the King of Congo dispatches Ambassadors to the King of Spain, to request Priests of him, and what befel unto them. He sends divers Proofs of the Metals. The Vow of Odoardo Lopez.

Francesco di Govea restores the King, and drives the Giachas out of Congo.

THIS captain *Francesco di Govea* carried with him a commandment from his king, that the island of *St. Thomas* should provide him ships and victuals, and whatsoever else was requisite for this enterprize; and, with this provision, he arrived, at the last, in the isle of *Horses*, where the king of *Congo* resided. In his company, the *Portuguese* departing from thence, and gathering together all the men of war in that country, with all possible speed, advanced against their adversaries, and engaged with them, sundry times, in battle; so that, at the end of one year and a half, they restored the king to his former estate. This victory they obtained indeed, by the noise and force of their *harquebusses*, for the *Giachi* are exceedingly afraid of that weapon, rather than by the valour and strength of their soldiers; and so they were forcibly driven out of the kingdom of *Congo*, and but few of them returned home again to see their friends. But the *Portuguese* captain remained there, for the space of four years, to settle the king on his throne, and then returned into *Portugal*, with letters of request to that king, that he would send over some more priests to uphold and maintain the Christian religion; though a number of *Portuguese*, that came with him, staid behind him in these countries, and are, at this day, become very rich and wealthy men. The king, being thus established in his former degree, and the kingdom intirely in quiet and peace, became a very good Christian, and married the lady *Catarina*, who is yet alive; by whom he had four daughters, and by certain maid-servants which he kept, two sons and one daughter; and, because, in those regions, the women do not succeed, his eldest son was the heir of his kingdom, called also *don Alvaro*, who lives at this day.

The king becomes a good Christian, and marries.

The king of Portugal sends, to make search in Congo for metal mines.

During the time, that the foresaid captain continued in *Congo*, the king of *Portugal*, *don Sebastian*, understanding, that there were in that kingdom divers pits and mines of silver, gold, and other metals, sent thither two persons that were cunning and skilful in that art, for therein they had served the *Castilians* in the west, to make search for them, and to draw some profit thereby: but the king of *Congo* was by a *Portuguese* named *Francesco Barbuto*, who was his confessor and great familiar, per-

suaded to the contrary, that he should, by no means, suffer those mines to be discovered; signifying unto him, that thereby, perhaps, the free enjoyment and possession of his kingdom might, by degrees, be wholly taken from him; and, therefore, advised him, that he would cause these skilful masters to be led and guided by some other ways, where he knew there were no metal-mines to be found; which he did accordingly. However, it afterwards occasioned great mischief, that the king would not suffer this art of digging and melting of metals, so greatly esteemed over all *Europe*, to be exercised in *Congo*; for, thereupon, began the great trade and traffic in that country to cease, and the *Portuguese* merchants did not greatly care for venturing thither, or dwelling there any more; and consequently very few priests resorted among them: so that as well on this account, as for other like causes before rehearsed, the Christian religion became so cold in *Congo*, that it wanted very little of being utterly extinct. But *don Alvaro*, as it hath been told you, after all these mighty afflictions laid upon him by the hand of God, for the punishment of the sins which he had committed against religion, acknowledged his error, and became a good Christian, cherishing the *Portuguese* whom he called his sons, and omitting nothing to oblige them; and, especially and above all things, he ceased not to send new ambassadors into *Portugal*, with an earnest request, that he might have more priests, and such as were skilful in the holy Scriptures, to maintain the Catholic faith, which was now almost utterly forgotten in that realm, merely for want of religious persons, that should teach the people, and administer the sacraments, and not for any fault of their good inclinations; for they were marvellously well disposed and affected to the holy faith.

The inconvenience of not suffering the metal mines to be dug and melted.

The king sends new ambassadors into Portugal for more priests.

After the afore said captain was arrived in *Portugal*, and had presented the requests of the king of *Congo* to his sovereign, who was also but a young man, he had no other answer from him, but words and promises, that he would take care of the matter, that was demanded; but in the mean while he provided neither priests, nor divines to be sent for *Congo*. Upon this, the King of *Congo* dispatched another principal ambassador, his kinsman, called *don Sebastia-*

The Portuguese king delays to send more priests.

The king of Congo sends don Sebastiano Alvarez to intreat for priests, and to redeem certain nobility that were in St. Thomas's isle, and in Portugal.

Don Sebastiano was constrained to return to Congo, without any priests.

Antonio degli Ova sent by the king of Portugal to be bishop of St. Thomas, and Congo.

He is persecuted by the captain of St. Thomas.

He is honourably received by the king of Congo.

Don Sebastiano, king of Portugal, overthrown in Africa, and don Henrico, the cardinal, succeeds.

Philip, king of Spain, succeeds the cardinal.

V O L. II.

fect: whereupon, the captain presently dispatched Sebastiano de Costa, with the title of ambassador, to carry the news and letters unto the said king. When these letters were presented, and all compliments performed, the king of Congo returned him again to the court of king Philip, with an answer to his letters, and therein offered to discover unto him the metal-mines, which had been concealed from all the other kings, his predecessors, and withal sent him divers trials of them: beseeching him, especially, with the most affectionate intreaties, that, as soon as possible, he would furnish him with a sufficient number of priests, declaring also unto him the miserable state and condition, whereinto his people were fallen, by reason of the troubles that had happened about the Christian religion. But Costa died, by the way, the vessel wherein he sailed, being cast away upon the coast of Portugal, and every man drowned that was in it; and the bad news is known by the contents of the letters, that were found in a little chest, which was driven a-shore by the waves of the sea; and by a brief note of such commissions, as he had in charge to deliver to the king. When the king of Congo heard of this accident, he did not desist, but persevered in his godly purpose, and would not suffer Christianity to be utterly extinguished in his kingdom, as it was very likely to be; and, therefore, he determined, once again, to send a new ambassador of his own to the king of Spain. But, forasmuch as there arose some difficulties and differences among some lords of the court, that desired this honour, the king, because he would not displease any of them by preferring one of them before another, made choice of one Odoardo Lopez, a Portuguese, from whose mouth Pigafetta took this present report, and put it in writing. This man had dwelt now a long time in those regions, and was well versed in the affairs of the world, and, being fortunately, at that time, in the court, he was thus employed, with the king's favour and countenance; who delivered unto him, in writing, very ample instructions, for all matters whereof he was to treat, as well with his catholic majesty in Spain, as his holiness at Rome; together with pressing letters of credence, authority, and advantage to them both, safe conducts, and exemptions in all liberties, both within and without; besides effectual recommendations of him to all other Christian princes, with all other privileges and declarations, that could manifest, how dearly the king esteemed his person, as to an ambassador, in such causes, appertains.

King Philip sends Sebastiano de Costa to Congo, to signify his arrival to the crown of Portugal. The king of Congo offers king Philip of Spain the discovery of the metal-mines in Congo, with request for priests. Costa dies by the way, and his message is known by letters that were found.

The king of Congo sends Odoardo Lopez to the king of Spain, and to the pope, with letters of credence, and instructions.

The am-
bassy of
Odoardo
Lopez to
the king of
Spain.

The sum of his ambassay was this :
“ That he should present his letters to the
“ king, don Philip, and, at large discourse
“ unto him of the state, wherein the king-
“ dom of Congo stood, touching the affair of
“ religion, by reason of the former wars,
“ and scarcity of priests, and thereupon
“ request his majesty to provide him a
“ competent number of confessors and
“ preachers, that might be sufficient to
“ maintain the gospel, in those remote
“ countries, being but lately converted to
“ Christianity ; moreover, that he should
“ impart unto him the sundry trials of me-
“ tals, which he had made, and many o-
“ ther matters, which were worthy to be
“ known ; and that he should likewise
“ offer unto him, in his name, the free
“ and uninterrupted traffic of them, which
“ was ever denied to his predecessors.
“ Touching the pope, That he should,
“ on his behalf, kiss his feet, deliver un-
“ to him his letters, and recount the mi-
“ fery and loss that his people had suffered
“ for the Christian faith : That he should
“ recommend those poor souls to his holi-
“ ness, and beseech him, as the universal
“ father of all Christians, to have com-
“ passion upon so many faithful persons,
“ who, because they had no priests to de-
“ liver the holy faith unto them, and to
“ administer the wholesome sacraments,
“ were, by degrees, falling into everlast-
“ ing perdition.” And, being thus dis-
patched, he departed from the court, and
went about certain services for the king,
wherein he spent about eight months ; so
that, in January, being then summer-
time in Congo, he embarked in a vessel of
a hundred tons burthen, which was bound
with her lading for Lisbon.

Odoardo
Lopez at
the islands
of cape de
Verde.

Now, as he sailed, he came to the sea
of the islands of cape de Verde, where the
vessel, being somewhat old, began to take
in much water, at a leak that was open
in the fore-ship ; so that, the wind blow-
ing very strongly before, and the sailors
being not able either to reach the islands
aforesaid, or to gain the firm land of A-
frica, much less, in spite of all their en-
deavours to pursue their voyage, by sailing
on with the half-ship, and to strain the
vessel that leaked so much, the pilot judg-
ed it better to turn his course, and taking
the wind in the poop, to go and save
themselves in the islands of New Spain.
Thus, after terrible storms, and extreme
dangers of drowning, and of perishing
with hunger for want of all kinds of food,
they arrived, with great difficulty, at a
little island, called Cubagoa, and situated
over-against the isle of St. Margaret, where
they fish for pearls. From thence, when

The isle of
Cubagoa.
The isle
of St.
Margaret.

they had, in some haste, amended their
ship, and a little refreshed themselves,
they sailed, with a short cut, to the firm
land, and took haven in a port called
Cumana, or, as it is called by another
name, *The new kingdom of Granado in the*
West-Indies. This battered and weather-
beaten vessel was no sooner arrived in a
safe harbour, than it sunk presently to the
bottom ; but the persons, that were in her,
were all saved, although afterwards they
fell sick and died, by reason of the great
grief, which they had endured, through
hunger, thirst, and the want of all other
sustenance, and chiefly by the horrible
storms of that tempestuous ocean.

Cumana,
or the new
kingdom
of Grana-
da in the
West-In-
dies. The
ship sunk
in the ha-
ven.

Whilst the aforesaid ambassador endea-
voured, in this place, to recover his for-
mer health, the company of ships, which
is called *la flota*, that is to say, the fleet,
and used every year to sail from that coast
for Castile, departed from thence : so that
he was constrained to stay for a new
navy, and consumed a year and half to
no purpose. In the mean time, the king
of Congo, having never received any ti-
dings of his ambassador don Odoardo, but
accounting him for dead, and not know-
ing that he was driven by a tempest to
the West-Indies, continued constant in his
former resolution, to procure some reme-
dy for Christianity in his kingdom ; and,
therefore, he sent another ambassador,

Odoardo
Lopez stays
in Cumana
a year and
a half.

with the very same instructions, called
don Pedro Antonio, the second person in
all his kingdom, and with him, one Gas-
paro Diaz, a Portuguese, a principal man,
very rich, and an ancient inhabitant in
that country, to the end that he should
accompany the said don Pedro, and suffer
him to want nothing, and, on all occa-
sions, join his best endeavours to obtain
that the request, which he made to the
king of Spain, might be fully effected ;
with a further express order, that, if they
did meet with signior Odoardo, they should
carry on their business, with his advice
and concurrence. But this ambassador had
an unfortunate end, for he was taken,
at sea, by the English, and his ship, be-
ing drawn towards England, when it was
near unto the coast, by a great misfortune,
ran against the shore, and don Pedro An-
tonio, and his son, were both drowned ;
but the Portuguese and a few others with
him escaped, and arrived in Spain, at the
time when Odoardo was come to the court,
and had entered upon the charge of his
ambassy : and, therefore, this Gasparo
wrote to Odoardo, that he was inclined to
return home into Congo, and not to go to
the court at all ; and, whether it were for
the death of the cardinal, or for any other
reason, all.

The king
of Congo
sends don
Pedro An-
tonio, and
Gasparo
Diaz, a
Portuguese,
with the
same am-
bassy
which he
sent by
Lopez.

Don Pe-
dro is ta-
ken by the
English,
and by
misfortune
drowned,
and his son
with him.
Gasparo
Diaz e-
scaped and
arrived in
Spain, but
returned
into Congo,
without
doing any
thing at
reason, all.

reason, I cannot tell, but home he returned, according to his desire.

Whilst signior *Odoardo* remained in the *West-Indies*, which is situated under the same climate, and enjoys the same temperature of air with *Congo*, he observed, that, nevertheless, the colour of the inhabitants, in both countries, was widely different; for, in *Congo*, they are generally, and for the most part, black, but in *India*, almost white, that is to say, of a middle colour, between white and black, which the *Spaniards* call *Mulatto*, that is, brown, or dark-tawney: from whence he concludes, that it is not caused by the sun, as it hath been, for a long time, recorded, but that it proceeds from nature itself, who works it by some secret influence, which never yet, to this day, either by ancient philosophers, or modern authors, hath been fully understood, or explained.

When he had recovered his health, he sailed to the port of the city of *St. Domingo* in the island of *Hispaniola*, that there at the first passage he might take some ship that went towards *Castile*: and he fortunately found a *Portuguese* vessel amongst the rest of the navy, which was appointed to join with the fleet of ships, that passed from the firm land to *Castile*, and so to proceed in good company and with greater safety. All these ships being thus united, they arrived, by the means of a very good wind, at *Terzera*, which is one of the islands called *Azores*, that is to say, the *Spar-Hawks*; and from thence to *St. Lucar di Bararmeda*, which is a haven in the mouth of the river *Guadalquiver*, and so to *Sevil*; from whence he took his journey into *Portugal*, to see his friends, and to furnish himself with all things necessary for his business; and, at last, he

rode to the court, which was then in *Madrid*. There he was courteously entertained by his Catholic majesty, to whom he propounded the contents of his commissions; but divers great accidents intervened, and many difficulties that crossed him, and altogether interrupted the course of those affairs, which he had to accomplish, in the name of the king of *Congo*: for, first, he heard the dolorous news of the king's death, that sent him on this message, and then king *Philip* was wholly taken up with the conquest of *England*, so that his business, instead of succeeding, was delayed from time to time; neither did he see any prospect of dispatch, but was given to understand, that, for this time, they could, by no means, comply with his request.

Now the said *Odoardo*, being afflicted with so many adversities, began to call to mind the innumerable perils that he had

passed, and the many dangerous infirmities that attended him, after a course of years spent in long and hazardous voyages: he saw that he was sometimes cast down, and sometimes exalted, and knew that, in this world, there was no solid rest or quiet, but in the Divine Majesty. He was greatly oppressed with grief at heart, which he continually endured, because he could not relieve the necessities where-with the people of *Congo* were vexed and troubled; and he manifestly perceived, that those poor souls incurred the extreme danger of falling into the utter darkness of hell. He considered the great expences, that every day must be defrayed by the court, for the maintenance of himself and his family; and, lastly, he was wholly deprived of hope, that he should ever be able to bring that matter to effect, which the king of *Congo* had committed to his care. On these accounts, he made choice of another kind of life, that was not only advantageous to him, but also most wholesome for his soul; for the good angel had touched his conscience, and caused him, with a manly courage, to abandon the sword, and to take up the cross; and, thereupon, he renounced the world, with all the deceitful pomp and glory thereof, and, in *Madrid*, apparelled himself in a grey course habit, and so went to *Rome*, to declare to *Sixtus Quintus*, the pope, the tenor and commission of his ambassy, because he would not altogether neglect the good intent and meaning of the king, who had sent him, although he was now entered upon a far better life. He was kindly received by his holiness, to whom he represented the miserable state, into which the Christians of *Congo* were plunged, for want of the worship and service of God, and a sufficient number of priests, to instruct them in the doctrine of the gospel, and administer unto them the sacraments of the church; especially, as the multitudes in that country, who daily resorted together, to be baptised and instructed, confess and communicate, were, in a manner, innumerable. Moreover, he made a vow, and resolved in his mind, that, with the store of wealth, God had blessed him with in *Congo*, which was very considerable, he would build a house, wherein, for the service of God, there should reside certain men of letters, and sundry priests, to teach the youth of those countries the learned languages, liberal arts, principles of Christianity, and mysteries of salvation; out of which house, as it were, out of a holy school, there might come forth, from time to time, many learned men, well versed in the law of God, that

Odoardo
Lopez
changes
his kind of
profession.

Lopez goes
to *Rome*,
where he
was kindly
entertain-
ed by the
pope.

The vow
of *Odoardo*
Lopez, to
erect a se-
minary,
and an
hospital in
Congo.

The
blackness
of a man's
skin is not
caused by
the heat of
the sun.

Odoardo
Lopez
sails to *St.*
Domingo.

Lopez, in
a *Portu-*
guese ship,
comes
with the
fleet to
Terzera,
to *St. Lu-*
car, to *Se-*
vil, and
so into
Portugal.

Lopez goes
to the *Spa-*
nish court
in *Madrid*.

Alvaro,
king of
Congo,
dies.
King *Phi-*
lip is busi-
fied about
the con-
quest of
England.

should be able, in their own mother-tongue, to awaken and revive the faith of Christ, which now lay dormant, and was withered, in those regions; and thereby, in process of time, there would spring up many fruits of blessing, and vigilant souls in the Christian faith: To this he intended also to add an hospital, as a recourse and harbour for God's poor, who, coming out of strange countries, should have relief and entertainment there, and find a remedy for their infirmities and wants. With this purpose, he went to *Rome*, to obtain of his holiness a licence to erect this

feminary and hospital; and to beseech him, that he would grant him jubilees, indulgences, and other dispensations, that for such Christian and wholesome works are requisite, especially to the use and benefit of those countries, which are so remote from Christendom. He presented himself to the pope, delivered unto him his letters of credence, and declared unto him, at large, the tenor of his commissions, wherein he had a gracious audience; but, when the pope understood, that the kingdom of *Congo* belonged to the king of *Spain*, he remitted that matter wholly to him.

The pope remits the whole matter to the king of *Spain*.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Court of the King of Congo. Of the Apparel of the People, before they became Christians and after. Of the King's Table, and Manners of his Court.

IN the foregoing part of this book, we have manifestly discovered the beginning of the Christian religion in *Congo*, and, of course, the strange accidents that happened therein; and now it is time to discourse of the manners and fashions of that court, and other customs and conditions appertaining to that kingdom. In ancient times, this king and his courtiers were apparelled with a sort of cloth made of the palm-tree, as we have told you before, wherewith they covered themselves, from the girdle downwards, and fastened the same straight unto their bodies, with girdles made of the same stuff, very fair and curiously wrought; and they likewise used to hang before them, like an apron, delicate and dainty skins, of little tygers, civet-cats, fables, martens, and of such-like creatures, for an ornament; and, for a more glorious pomp and shew, they wear upon their shoulders a cape like a hood. Upon their bare skin they had a round garment like a rochet, which they call *Incutto*, reaching down to their knees, made after the manner of a net; but the stuff of it was very fine cloth of the said palm-tree, and at the skirts there hung a number of thread-tassels, that made a very gallant shew. These rochets were turned up again, and tucked upon their right shoulder, that they might be the more at liberty, on that side; and upon that shoulder also they had the tail of a zebra, fastened with a handle, which they used for a kind of bravery, according to a most ancient custom of those parts. On their heads they wore caps of yellow and red colour, square above and very little, so that they scarcely covered the tops of their heads, and were worn rather for pomp and vanity, then to keep them either from the air or sun; and most part of them went unshod; but the king and some of the great lords wore cer-

tain shoes of the old fashion, such as are to be seen in the ancient images of the *Romans*, which were also made of the wood of the palm-tree. The poorer sort and the common people were apparelled, from their middle downwards, after the same manner; but the cloth was coarser, and the rest of their body all naked. The women used three kinds of traverses, or, as it were, aprons, below their girdle: one was very long and reached to their heels, the second shorter than that, and the third shorter than both the others, with fringes about them; and every one of these three was fastened about their middle, and open before. From their breast downwards, they had another garment, like a doublet or jacket, that only reached to their girdles, and over their shoulders a certain cloke; and these several garments were made of the same cloth of the palm-tree. They were accustomed to go with their faces bare, and a little covering on the head, like a man's cap. The meaner sort of women were apparelled, after the same manner, but their cloth was coarser; their maid-servants and the basest kind of women were likewise attired, from their girdle downward, but all the rest of the body naked.

The ancient apparel of the meaner sort.

But, after this kingdom had received the Christian faith, the great lords of the court began to apparel themselves, after the manner of the *Portuguese*, in wearing clokes, *Spanish* capes, and tabards, or wide jackets of scarlet, and cloth of silk, every man, according to his wealth and ability. Upon their heads they had hats, or caps, and upon their feet moils or pantoffles of velvet and of leather, and buskins after the *Portuguese* fashion, with long rapiers by their sides; and the common people, that are not able to procure such costly apparel, retain their ancient custom. The women

Their new kind of apparel.

The ancient apparel of the king of *Congo* and his courtiers.

women also imitate the *Portuguese* fashion, except that they wear no clokes, but have upon their heads certain veils, and upon them black velvet caps, garnished with jewels, and chains of gold about their necks; but the poorer sort keep to the old custom; for only the court adorn themselves, in the manner before related.

The court of Congo now imitates the court of Portugal.

After the king himself was converted to the Christian religion, he conformed his court, in some measure, after the manner of the king of *Portugal*; and first, for his service at the table, when he dines or sups in public, there is a throne of estate erected with three steps, covered all over with *Indian* tapestry; and thereupon is placed a table, with a chair of crimson velvet, adorned with bosses and nails of gold. He always feeds alone, neither doth any man ever sit at his table, but the princes stand about him with their heads covered: he hath a cupboard of plate of gold and silver, and one that tastes his meat and drink. He maintains a guard of the *Anzichi*, and other nations, that are about his palace, furnished with such weapons as are mentioned before; and, when it pleases him to go forth, they sound their great instruments, which may be heard about five or six miles, and so signify, that the king is going abroad. All his lords accompany him, and likewise the *Portuguese*, in whom he reposes a singular confidence; but very seldom it is that he goes out of his palace.

The customs and laws of Congo.

Twice a week, he gives audience publicly, yet no man speaks to him but his lords; and, because there are none, that have any goods or lands of their own, but all belong to the crown, there are but few suits or quarrels among them, except, perhaps, about words. They use no sort of writing in the *Congo* tongue; and, in criminal cases, they proceed with lenity, for they very rarely condemn any man to death. If there be any enormity committed against the *Portuguese* by the *Moci-Conghi* (for so are the inhabitants of *Congo* called, in their own language) they are judged by the laws of *Portugal*; and, if any mischief be found in any of them, the king confines the malefactor in some desert island; for he thinks it to be a greater punishment to banish him, in this sort, to the end he may do penance for his sins, than at one blow to dispatch him; and, if it so happen that those, who are thus chastised, live ten or twelve years, the king commonly pardons them, if they be of any consideration at all, and employs them in the service of the state, as persons that have been tamed and well disciplined, and accustomed to suffer any hardship. In civil disagreements, there is an order,

V O L. II.

that, if a *Portuguese* have any suit against a *Moci-Congo*, he goes to the judge of *Congo*; but, if a *Moci-Congo* impleads a *Portuguese*, he cites him before the *Portuguese* consul or judge; for the king hath granted unto them one of their own nation to be a judge in that country: in their bargains between them and the *Portuguese* they use no writings, nor other instruments of billets or bonds, but wholly transact their business by word and witness.

They keep no histories of their antient kings, nor any memorial of the past ages, because they cannot write: they measure their times, generally, by the moons, and know not the hours of either day or night; but they usually say, "In the time of such a man, such a thing happened." They reckon the distances of countries, not by miles, or any such measure, but by the journies and travels of men, that go from one place to another, either loaden or unloaden.

Touching their assembling together at feasts, or other joyful meetings, as, for example, when they are married, they sing verses, and ballads of love, and play upon certain lutes, that are made after a strange fashion; for, the hollow part and neck, they are somewhat like unto our lutes; but the flat side (where we use to carve a rose, or a rundle to let the sound go inward) is not made of wood, but of a skin, as thin as a bladder; and the strings are made of hairs, which they draw out of the elephant's tail, that are very strong and bright; and of certain threads made of the wood of palm-tree, which, from the bottom of the instrument, reach and ascend to the top of the handle, and are tied every one of them to its respective ring; for, towards the neck or handle of this lute, there are rings placed, some higher and some lower, at which there hang divers plates of iron and silver, which are very thin, and different from one another, in size, according to that of the instrument. These rings make a sound of several tunes, according to the striking of the strings; for the strings, being struck, cause the rings to shake, and then the plates, hanging at them, help them to utter a mixt and confused noise. Those, that play upon this instrument, tune the strings in a just proportion, and strike them with their fingers, like a harp, but without a quill, with great dexterity; so that they make thereby (I cannot tell whether I should call it a melodious harmony or not, but) such a sound as serves to please and delight their senses. Besides all this, which is a thing very admirable, by this instrument, they

7 G

express

express the very thoughts of their minds, and understand one another so plainly, that every thing almost, which can be explained with the tongue, they can declare with their hand, in touching and striking this instrument; to the sound whereof, they dance in good time with their feet, and follow the proper tune of that music with clapping the palms of their hands one against the other. They have also, in the court, flutes and pipes, which they sound very artificially; and, according to the sound, they dance and move their feet, as it were in a *Morisco*, with great gravity and sobriety. The common people use little rattles, pipes, and other instruments, that make a more harsh and rude sound, than that of the court-instruments.

Their
physic.

In this kingdom, when any are sick, they take nothing but natural physick, as, herbs, trees, barks of trees, oils, waters, and stones, such as mother-nature hath taught them. The ague is the most common disease that reigns amongst them, and plagues them in winter, by reason of continual rain, that brings heat and moisture along with it more than in summer; but the distemper, which here we call the *French disease*, and *Chitangas* in the *Congo* tongue, is not there so dangerous and hard to be cured, as it is in our countries.

Their
medicines
for an a-
gue.

They heal the ague with the powder of of a wood, called *Sandale*, or *Sanders*, whereof there is both a red and a grey sort, which is the wood of *Aguila*; for this powder, mixt with palm-oil, if the body of the sick person be two or three times anointed with it from head to foot, recovers the party. When their head aches, they let blood in the temples, with certain little boxing-horns; first by cut-

ting the skin a little, and then applying the cornets thereunto, which, with a suck of the mouth, will be filled with blood: and this manner of letting blood is also used in *Egypt*; and, in any other part of a man's body, where there is any pain, they draw blood, in the same manner, and heal it. They likewise cure the infirmity, called *Chitangas*, with the foresaid unction of sanders, whereof there are two sorts; one red, as we told you, named *Tavila*; the other grey, stiled *Chicongo*, which is most esteemed, for they do not scruple to give or sell a slave for a piece of it. They purge themselves with barks of trees, made into powder, which, taken in drink, work powerfully and to purpose; and, when they take these purgations, they are not afraid of going abroad into the air. Their wounds also they commonly cure, with the juice of certain herbs, and the herbs themselves; and signior *Odoardo* affirmed unto me, that he saw a slave, who was stabbed through the body with seven mortal wounds of an arrow, that was recovered whole and sound, merely with the juice of certain herbs, well known unto them by daily experience. Hence it appears, that these people are not incumbered with a number of physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, for drugs, syrups, electuaries, plaisters, and such-like medicines, but simply heal and cure themselves with plants that naturally grow in their own country; whereof they have no great need neither; for living, as they do, under a temperate climate, and not surfeiting themselves with great variety of meats, to please their appetites, nor overloading their stomachs with wine, they are very little troubled with those diseases, that commonly proceed from undigested food.

Their
medicine
for the
head-ach,
and other
pains of
the body,
is letting
of blood.

Their
medicine
for the
French
pox.

Their pur-
gations.

Curing of
wounds.

C H A P VIII.

Of the Countries, that are beyond the Kingdom of Congo towards the Cape of Good-Hope; and of the River Nile.

HAVING surveyed the kingdom of *Congo*, with the qualities both of the country and its inhabitants, and also the neighbouring nations, it remains that we farther discourse, and that very briefly, of the rest of *Africa*, towards the cape of *Good-Hope*, all along the ocean, whereby they use to sail into *India* even as far as the *Red-sea*: and then we will return again into the inland parts, and treat of the river *Nile*, and of *Prester-John*, and of all his dominions; to the end that, so far as our matter will bear, we may make a perfect relation of those regions, which, hitherto, have not been so rightly conceiv-

ed by the bulk of mankind. Beyond *Congo*, we have already observed, there are other countries belonging to the king of *Angola*, and at a yet greater distance, towards the cape of *Good-Hope*, a king called *Matama*, who rules over divers provinces, which are called *Quimbebe*; and this kingdom, as has been related, from the first lake and the confines of *Angola*, contains all the rest of the country southwards, till you come to the river of *Bravagul*, that springs out of the mountains of the *Moon*, and joins with the river *Magnice*, which takes its rise from the first lake, mentioned before. These moun-

The king-
dom of
Matama.

River
Bravagul.
River
Magnice.
The
mountains
of the
Moon.

tains are divided by the tropic of *Capricorn*, towards the antarctic pole, and beyond this tropic lie all the country and borders of the cape of *Good-Hope*, which are not ruled and governed by any one king, but by several princes; and, in the middle between that cape and the tropic, are the said mountains of the *Moon*, so famous and greatly renowned among antient writers, who assign them to be the original head and spring of the river *Nile*; which is very false and groundless, as the situation of the country manifestly shews, and as we anon will discover. This country is full of high and rough mountains; extremely cold, and not habitable; frequented by a few persons that live, after the manner of the *Arabians*, under little cabbins in the open fields, and apparelled with the skins of beasts. They are a savage and rustical nation, without either faith or credit, neither will they suffer any strangers amongst them; their furniture is bows and arrows, and they feed upon such fruits as the land produces, and the flesh of beasts.

The lake
Gale.

Camissa,
i. e. The
sweet
River.

The false
Cape.

The cape
of the
Needles.

Among these mountains of the *Moon*, there is a lake called *Gale*; a very little one, that lies somewhat towards the west; out of which lake there issues a river, named *Camissa*, and, by the *Portuguese*, *The sweet River*, which, at the point of the cape of *Good-Hope*, voids itself into the sea, in the very place that is termed *The false Cape*; for the ships of the *Indies*, sailing that way, first discover another greater cape, which is stiled, *The Cape of the Needles*, and afterwards this lesser cape; whereupon they call it, *The false Cape*, because it is hid and covered with the true and great cape. Between these two capes or promontories, there is the distance of an hundred miles, containing the largeness and breadth of this famous cape: which, being divided into two points, as it were, into two horns, makes a gulf, where sometimes the *Portuguese* ships take fresh water, in the river that they call the *Sweet River*.

Another
note, That
the colour
of black in
mens skins
doth not
proceed
from the
heat of the
sun.

The inhabitants of this coast, who dwell between these two points, are of a black colour, although the antarctic pole, in that place, be in the elevation of thirty-five degrees, which is a very strange thing; yea, the rude people, that live among the coldest mountains of the *Moon*, are black also. This I write of purpose, to advise and excite the philosophers, and such as make researches into the effects of nature, that they would enter into a deep contemplation and speculation of this point, and thereupon teach us, whether this black colour be occasioned by the sun, or by any other secret and unknown cause; which

question I, for this time, design to leave undecided.

Now, forasmuch as this promontory of *Good-Hope* is the greatest cape of all, and stretches out into the sea farther than any other in the world, and is very dangerous to pass, as all promontories are; and also because the sea is there most terrible, and from the land there blow most dreadful winds, which cause that ocean to be exceedingly tempestuous, so that many *Portuguese* ships, of admirable burthens, have been cast away therein; and lastly, because the ancient historians did never know it, no not so much as by hearsay; and it is not long ago since the king of *Portugal*'s fleets first discovered the same: it will not be impertinent, but rather a matter of great convenience, in this place, to decipher the measure thereof, and to make so manifest a declaration of it, as may serve also to shew, how great the navigation is from *Portugal* into *India*, by compassing the coast of the cape of *Good-Hope* only, almost the space of six-thousand miles, as shall anon be related.

The cape
of *Good-
Hope* very
dangerous.

For from the river of *Ferdinando Poo*, where the said cape begins to jut out into the sea, as far as to the point, which we call the point of *Needles*, there are contained upon the shore more than two-thousand and two-hundred miles, from the north to the south; and, on the contrary side, from the said point to the cape of *Guarda-Fuy*, right over-against the island of *Socotora*, they reckon more than three-thousand and three-hundred miles by the coast, from the south to the north; so that, from *Lisbon*, compassing about the shores of *Africa*, and all the cape of *Good-Hope*, unto the kingdom of *Goa*, there are more than fifteen-thousand miles; and, from thence to *Malaca*, and *Cbina*, and so forwards, there remains so long a voyage, that, never hitherto, hath there been so great and so dangerous a navigation undertaken and performed, as this of the *Portuguese*, neither with great nor small vessels. It is called the cape of *Good-Hope*, because all, who sail that way, as well in setting out, as in returning home, chiefly aim at this mark, that they may pass and get beyond this promontory; which when they have done, they account themselves to be out of all danger, and, as it were, to have compleated their voyage; and, as this was the main object of their general desire, they gave it the name of the cape of *Good-Hope*.

This is a
point of the
cape of
Good-Hope.

Why it is
called the
cape of
Good-Hope.

Now to return to our purpose, and to discourse farther of the coast of *Africa*, beyond the cape or point of the *Needles*, there are many competent harbours and havens, the principal whereof is *Seno Formoso*,

Seno Formoso.
Seno del Lago.

River of St. Christopher.

Terra do Natal.
Capo della Pescheria.

The river Magnice.
The kingdom of Buttua.

moso, that is, *The fair Bay*; and *Seno del Lago*, that is, *The Bay of the Lake*: for there the sea makes a gulf, wherein are several islands and ports; and, a little beyond, there runs into the sea the river of *St. Christopher*, and, at the mouth thereof, there lie three pretty islettes. A little farther forwards, the coast runs all along by a country, which the *Portuguese* call *Terra do Natal*, the land of the *Nativity*, because it was first discovered at *Christmas*, and so reaches to the cape, called *Della Pescheria*; between which cape and the river *Magnice*, within the land, is the kingdom of *Buttua*, whose territories are, from the

roots or bottom of the mountains of the *Moon*, until you come to the river *Magnice* towards the north, where the country of *Monomotapa* stands, and westwards from the river *Bravagul* towards the sea, all along the banks of the river *Magnice*. In this kingdom there are many mines of gold, and a people of the same qualities and conditions, with the people of *Monomotapa*, as hereafter I shall make appear; and so, going along the shores of the ocean, you come to the river *Magnice*, which lies in the very entrance of the kingdom of *Sofala*, and the empire of *Monomotapa*.

The kingdom of *Monomotapa*.
River *Bravagul*.
Store of gold mines.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Kingdom of Sofala.

The original of the river Magnice.

Three rivers run into Magnice.

1. *The river Nagoa.*
2. *The river Marques.*

The Nile rises not from the mountains of the Moon.

3. *The river Arroee.*

THIS kingdom begins at the river *Magnice*, which springs out of the first lake of the *Nile*, and conveys itself into the sea in the middle of the bay, between the point *Pescheria* and the cape called *Capo delle Correnti*, situated in twenty-three degrees and a half of the antartic pole, under the tropic of *Capricorn*. With this river near unto the sea, there join three other remarkable rivers, the principal whereof is by the *Portuguese* called *St. Christopher's*, because, upon the day of that saint's festival, it was first discovered, but by the inhabitants it is named *Nagoa*: the second took the name of one *Lorenzo Marques*, who first discovered it; and these two rivers spring originally from the mountains of the *Moon*, so greatly renowned among ancient writers, but, by the people of the country, they are termed *Toroa*; out of which mountains they thought that the famous *Nile* took also its rise, though they were utterly deceived: for, as we have already observed, the first lake arises not from those mountains, but lies a great way distant, and between it and them is a very low plain, of a vast extent. Besides, the streams, that flow from the said mountains, run towards the east, and bestow their waters upon other great rivers; so that it is not possible for them to pass into the foresaid lake, much less into the *Nile*, considering especially, that the river *Magnice* springs out of that first lake, and by a far different course from that of the *Nile*, runs towards the east, and so joins itself with the two rivers aforesaid. The third is called *Arroee*, and rises on another side, out of the mountains of the gold-mines of *Monomotapa*; and, in some places of this river, there are found small pieces of gold among the sand. These three rivers enter into the great *Magnice*, near unto the sea; and all four together

make there a great stream, in a very large channel, which so discharges itself into the ocean. From the mouth of this river, all along the sea-coast, extends the kingdom of *Sofala* unto the river *Cuama*, which is thus termed from a certain castle or fortrefs that carries the same name, and is possessed by Mahometans and Pagans; but the *Portuguese* call it, *The mouths of Cuama*; because, at the entry into the sea, this river divides itself into seven mouths, where are five special islands, besides divers others that lie up the river, all very full and well peopled with Pagans. This *Cuama* proceeds from the same lake, and from the very springs from whence the *Nile* flows; and thus the kingdom of *Sofala* is comprised within the said two rivers, *Magnice* and *Cuama*, upon the sea-coast. It is but a small kingdom, and hath but few houses or towns in it; the principal head whereof is an island that lies in the river, called *Sofala*, which gives the name to the whole country. It is inhabited by Mahometans, the king himself being of the same sect, who yields obedience to the crown of *Portugal*, because he will not be subject to the empire of *Monomotapa*: on which account, the *Portuguese* keep a fort in the mouth of the river *Cuama*, and trade in those countries for gold, ivory, amber, which is found upon that coast, and good store of slaves, and, instead thereof, they leave behind them cotton-cloth, and silks, that are brought from *Cambaya*, the common apparel of those people. The Mahometans, that now inhabit those countries, are not natives thereof, but, before the *Portuguese* came into those quarters, they trafficked thither, in small barques, from the coast of *Arabia Felix*; and, when the *Portuguese* had conquered that kingdom, the Mahometans continued there, and are, at length,

The river *Cuama*.

The kingdom of *Sofala*.

The commodities of *Sofala* gold, ivory, and amber.

The inhabitants of *Sofala*.

length, become neither intirely Pagans, nor adherents to the sect of *Mabomet*.

From the shores and coast, lying between the two foresaid rivers of *Magnice* and *Cuama*, within the land, spreads the empire of *Monomotapa*, where there is very great store of mines of gold, which is carried from thence into all the adjacent regions, and into *Sofala*, and the other parts of *Africa*; and some affirm, that *Solomon's* gold, which he had for the temple of *Jerusalem*, was brought by sea out of these countries; a thing, in truth, not very improbable; for, in the countries of *Monomotapa*, remain, to this day, many ancient and magnificent buildings, of singular architecture, of stone, lime, and timber, the like whereof are not to be seen in all the neighbouring provinces.

The empire of *Monomotapa* is of very great extent, and the number of the people infinite: they are Gentiles and Pagans, of a black colour, extremely courageous in war, of a middling stature, and swift of foot. There are many kings, vassals and subjects to *Monomotapa*, who often rebel and make war against him; and their weapons are bows and arrows, with light darts. This emperor maintains many armies in several provinces, divided into legions, according to the custom of the *Romans*; for, being so great a lord as he is, he must, of necessity, be in continual war, for the support of his estate; but, among all his soldiers, legions of women are reputed the most valorous, whom he esteems very highly, and accounts to be the very sinews and strength of his military forces. These women burn their left paps with fire, that they may be no hindrance to them, in their shooting, after the manner of the ancient *Amazons*, who are so highly celebrated by the authors of former profane histories; and, for their weapons, they make use of bows and arrows. They are very nimble and swift, lively and courageous; extremely expert archers, but, especially and above all, venturous and constant in fight. In their battles, they use a warlike kind of craft and subtlety; for they have a custom to pretend to fly, as if they were, in reality, vanquished and defeated, but they return, and gaul their enemies mightily, with the shot of their arrows; and, when they see their adversaries so greedy of victory, that they begin to disperse and scatter themselves, then they suddenly turn again upon them, and, with great courage and fierceness, make a cruel slaughter of them; so that, partly with their swiftness, and partly with their deceitful wiles and other cunning stratagems of war, they are greatly dreaded in all those parts. They enjoy, by the king's

V O L. II.

special favour, certain countries, where they dwell by themselves; and sometimes they choose particular men, at their own pleasure, with whom they keep company, for the sake of generation; so that, if they bring forth male-children, they send them home to their fathers houses; but, if they be female, they reserve them to themselves, and train them in the exercise of warfare.

The empire of this *Monomotapa* lies, as it were, in an island, which is made near the sea-coast, by the river *Magnice*, by a piece of the lake from whence *Magnice* flows, and by the river *Cuama*; it borders towards the south, upon the lords of the cape of *Good-Hope*, before-mentioned, and northward, upon the empire of *Moenemugi*, as presently shall be related.

But now, returning to our former purpose, that is to say, to run forwards upon the sea-coast, after you have passed over some part of the river *Cuama*, there is a little kingdom upon the sea called *Angoscia*, which takes this name from certain neighbouring islands, which lie directly against it. It is inhabited with the same sort of people, both Mahometans and Gentiles, as the kingdom of *Sofala* is: who are merchants, and, in small vessels, traffic along that coast, with the like wares and commodities, wherewith the people of *Sofala* trade.

A little farther, suddenly starts up in sight the kingdom of *Mozambique*, situated in fourteen degrees and a half, towards the south, which derives its name from three islands, that lie in the mouth of the river *Meghincate*, where there is a great and safe haven, capable of receiving all sorts of ships. This country is but small, and yet abounds in all kinds of food: It is the common landing-place for all vessels that sail from *Portugal*, and from *India* into those parts. In one of these isles (which is the principal, called *Mozambique*, that gives a name to all the rest, as also to the whole kingdom, and the haven aforesaid) there is erected a fortress, guarded with a garison of *Portuguese*, upon which all the other fortresses on that coast depend, and from whence they bring all things necessary for their subsistence: all the armada's and fleets that sail from *Portugal* to the *Indies*, if they cannot compleat their voyage, winter in this island of *Mozambique*; and those, that travel out of *India* to *Europe*, are constrained to touch at *Mozambique*, to furnish themselves with provisions. This island, when the *Portuguese* discovered the *Indies*, was the first place, where they learned the *Indian* language, and procured pilots, to direct them in their course. The people of this

7 H

king-

The empire of *Monomotapa* full of gold-mines. *Solomon's* gold.

The people of *Monomotapa*.

The king of *Monomotapa* maintains many armies.

Left-handed *Amazons*.

The situation of the empire of *Monomotapa*.

The kingdom of *Angoscia*.

The kingdom of *Mozambique*. The river *Meghincate*.

The island of *Mozambique*.

The inhabitants of *Mozambique*.

kingdom are Gentiles ; rustical and rude, and of a black colour. They go all naked, and are valiant and strong archers, as well as cunning fishers, with all kinds of hooks.

As you proceed forwards upon the fore-said coast, there is another island, called *Quiloo*, in extent not large, but in excellency singular ; for it is situated in a very cool and fresh air, being replenished with trees that are always green, and affords all sorts of provisions. It lies at the mouth of the river *Coavo*, which springs out of the same lake from whence the *Nile* flows, and so runs about sixty miles in length, till it approaches the sea, where it hath a mighty stream, and, in the very mouth of it, makes a great island, which is peopled with Mahometans and Idolaters ; and a little beyond that, towards the coast on the west, you may see the said island of *Quiloo*. This island is likewise inhabited by Mahometans, of a whitish colour, who are well apparelled, and neatly adorned with cloth of silk and cotton : their women use ornaments of gold and jewels about their hands and necks, and have plenty of household stuff made of silver ; and they are not altogether so black as the men, and in their limbs very well proportioned. Their houses are made of stone, lime, and timber, excellently built, and of good architecture, with gardens and orchards full of herbs and sundry fruits. From this island the whole kingdom took its name, which, upon the coast, extends itself from *Capo Delgado*, that is, the *Delicate Cape*, that borders on *Mozambique* and *Quiloo*, being situated in nine degrees towards the south, and from thence it runs out unto the fore-said river of *Coavo*. In former times, the kingdom of *Quiloo* was the chief of all the neighbouring principalities, and stood near to the sea ; but, when the *Portuguese* arrived in those countries, the king trusted so much to himself, that he thought he was able, with his own forces, not only to defend himself against them, but also to drive them from those places which they had already surpris'd. However, the matter fell out quite contrary to his expectation ; for, when it came to blows, he was utterly overthrown and defeated by the *Portuguese*, and so fled away : but they took and possessed the island, and enriched themselves with the great spoils and booties that they found therein ; where they erected a fortress, which was afterwards pulled down, by the command of the king of *Portugal*, because he judged it unnecessary, considering that there were others sufficient for that coast.

And here we must not overlook the isle of *St. Laurence*, so called by the *Portuguese*, because they first discovered it upon

that martyr's festival : it is so great, that it contains in length almost a thousand miles, and stands directly opposite to the coast which we have described, beginning at the mouths of the river *Magnice*, which are in twenty-six degrees of the south latitude, and so, proceeding forwards to the north, it ends right against the mouths of *Cuama*, in the kingdom of *Quiloo*. Between this island and the continent, there is, as it were, a channel, which, at the entry westward, is three-hundred and forty miles broad ; in the middle, where it is narrowest, over-against the island of *Mozambique*, an hundred and seventy miles ; and, for the rest, it enlarges itself very much towards the *Indies*, and contains many isles. The ships that pass from *Spain* to the *Indies*, or return from thence to *Spain*, for the most part, sail in and through this channel, if, by time or weather, they are not forced to the contrary ; and, surely, this island deserves to be inhabited with a better people, because it is furnished with singular commodities, and hath many safe and secure havens. It is watered with sundry rivers, that cause the earth to bring forth fruits of divers kinds, as pulse, rice, and other grain ; oranges, lemons, citrons, and such-like fruit ; flesh of all sorts, as hens, and venison, as wild boar and deer, and such-like, and all this of a very good taste and relish, because the soil is very fat, and their fish also exceeding good. The inhabitants are *Pagans*, with some of the sect of *Mahomet* among them ; and they are of the colour which the *Spaniards* term *Mulatto*, between black and white. They are very warlike, and addicted to their weapons, which are bows and arrows, and darts of very light wood, strengthened with iron, whereof they make the heads of their darts, which are crooked like hooks ; and these they throw, with the utmost sleight and dexterity ; and they use also targets and jacks, made of certain beasts-skins, wherewith they save themselves, in fight, from the blows of their enemies. This island is divided among several princes, that are at enmity one with another ; for they are in continual wars, and persecute one another with arms. There are divers mines of gold, silver, copper, iron, and other metals. The savage people do not use to sail out of the island, but, from one side to the other, they go coasting along the shores, with barques made but of one stock of a tree, which they hollow for that purpose. The most part of them do not willingly entertain strangers, neither will they consent, that they should traffic or converse with them ; though, in some particular ports, the *Portuguese* trade with

of *St. Laurence*.
Historia della China. Part III. cap. ult.
La grand Isola di S. Lorenzo 275.
leghe & *larga* 90.
id est, The great island of *St. Laurence* is, in length, two-hundred and seventy-five leagues, and in breadth, ninety leagues. The last chapter of the history of the kingdom of *China* printed in *Macao*, the first *Latin* book that ever was printed in *China*, makes mention of this island, by the name of *Madagascar*, in these words, *Madagascar trecentas fere leucas comprehendit, id est, Madagascar continet almost three-hundred leagues.* The inhabitants of the isle of *St. Laurence*. Their weapons.

Several islands in the channel.

with the islanders for amber, wax, silver, copper, rice, and such other things, but they never come a-shore. In the channel before-mentioned there are several islands, some greater, and others less, inhabited by *Mahometans*; the principal whereof are *St. Christopher's*, *Santo Spirito*, and *Magliaglie*; and the rest are the isles of *Comoro*, *Anzoame*, *Maiotto*, and others.

But let us return to the sea-side, where we left off, and prosecute the coast of the kingdom of *Quiloo*: next unto it is the kingdom of *Mombaza*, in the height of three degrees and a half; towards the south, which takes its name from an island inhabited by *Mahometans*, also called *Mombaza*, where there is a fair city, with houses that have many terras-walks, furnished with pictures both graven and painted. The king whereof is a *Mahometan*, who, undertaking to resist the *Portuguese*, met with no better success than the king of *Quiloo*; so that the city was ransacked and spoiled by his enemies, who found therein good store of gold, silver, pearl, cloth of cotton, silk and gold, and other such-like commodities. This kingdom lies between the borders of *Quiloo* and *Melinde*, is inhabited by *Pagans* and *Mahometans*, and yields obedience to the empire of *Moenemugi*.

A little farther, is the kingdom of *Melinde*, which, being likewise but a little small one, extends itself upon the sea-coast, as far as the river *Chimanchi*, and lies in the height of two degrees and a half, and, up the stream of that river, it reaches to the lake *Galice*, the space of an hundred miles, within land. Near unto the sea along the banks of this river, a very considerable part of the country inhabited by *Pagans* and *Mahometans* of almost a white colour, and their houses are built, after our fashion: but there is one particular to be admired, that their sheep are twice as large as ours sheep, for they divide them into five quarters, if we may so call them, and reckon the tail for one, which commonly weighs twenty-five, or thirty pounds. The women are white and sumptuously dressed, after the *Arabian* fashion, with cloth of silk; and, about their necks, hands, arms and feet, they use to wear jewels of gold and silver. When they go abroad, they cover themselves with taffety; so that they are not known, but when they please themselves. In this country, there is a very good haven, which is a landing-place for the vessels that sail through those seas. The people, for the most part, are very kind, true and just, and converse with strangers; they have always entertained the *Portuguese*, in a welcome manner, and reposed great

confidence in them; neither have they ever offered them any injury or injustice in any respect.

In the sea between these two capes of *Mombaza* and *Melinde*, there are three islands, the first whereof is called *Monfie*, the second *Zanzibar*, and the third *Pemba*, all inhabited only by *Mahometans*, that are of a white colour. These islands abound in all things, as the others, whereof we made mention before. The people are somewhat inclined to arms; but, indeed, more addicted to dress and manure the ground; for there grows much sugar, which in small barques, they export to sell on the continent, with other fruits of their country.

Besides the three kingdoms last described, *Quiloo*, *Melinde*, and *Mombaza*, within the land, is the great empire of *Moene-mugi*, towards the west; it borders on the south upon the kingdom of *Monzambique*, and upon the empire of *Monomotapa*, to the river *Coave*; on the west, upon the river *Nile*, between the two lakes; and, on the north, it joins the empire of *Prester John*. Towards the sea, this emperor *Prester John* stands in good terms of peace with the aforesaid kings of *Quiloo*, *Melinde*, and *Mombaza*, by reason of their traffic together, and the better to secure the intercourse and trade by sea; by means whereof, they have brought unto them much cloth of cotton, and of silk, from divers countries, and other merchandises that are well esteemed, in those parts; particularly certain little balls, that are made in the kingdom of *Cambaya*, of a kind of *Bitumen* or *clammy clay*, like unto glass, only that it is, as it were, of a red colour, which they use to wear about their necks, like a pair of beads, instead of necklaces; it serves them also for money, for gold they hold in no estimation; with the silks that are brought unto them, they likewise apparel themselves, from the girdle downwards, and in exchange and barter for all these commodities, they give gold, silver, copper, and ivory.

But, on the other side towards *Monomotapa*, there are continual wars, yea and sometimes so bloody, that it is hardly discerned, who hath gained the victory: for, in that border, there meet together two of the greatest and most warlike powers and forces that are in all those regions; that is to say, in favour of *Monomotapa*, there come forth into the field the *Amazons*, of whom we told you before; and in the interest of *Moenemugi* are the *Giacchi* (as the *Moci-Conghi* call them, but in their own tongue, they are termed *Agagi*, who formerly so greatly afflicted the king-

Three islands
1. Monfie.
2. Zanzibar.
3. Pemba.

The Empire of Moene-mugi.

The Giacchi, or Agagi.
dom

The kingdom of Mombaza rich in gold, silver, and pearl.

The city of Mombaza spoiled as Quiloo was.

The kingdom of Melinde.

The tail of a sheep in Melinde, weighs commonly twenty-five or thirty pounds. Leo Afer affirms, that he hath seen tails of Egyptian sheep, that weighed fifty pounds a-piece, and sometimes one hundred and twenty a-piece. The women and inhabitants of Melinde.

dom of Congo, as you may remember, I have already related, These people are not less courageous or strong than the *Amazons*, but are of a black complexion, and fierce countenances; and they usually mark themselves, above the lip, upon their cheeks with certain lines, which they make with iron instruments and fire. Moreover, they have a custom to turn their eye-lids backwards; so that, their skin being all black, and consequently shewing the white of their eyes, and those marks in their faces, they make a very strange and surprising, and, indeed, a most dreadful and devilish sight. They are large of body, but deformed, and living like beasts in the field, and feeding upon man's flesh; and, in battle, they are extremely courageous, and utter most horrible shouts and yellings, on purpose to daunt and dismay their enemies. Their weapons are darts, and pavises of leather, that cover their whole bodies, and so they defend themselves therewith; and sometimes they incamp together, and strike their pavises in the ground, which then serve, instead of a trench; but, at other times, they advance, in the heat of action, and shroud themselves under them, at the same time, annoying their adversaries with the shot of their darts. And thus, by policy, they ordinarily infest their enemies, by endeavouring, with all subtlety, to make them spend their shot in vain upon their targets; and, when they see that they have made an end of shooting, then they renew the battle a-fresh, and,

forcing them to fly, make a cruel slaughter of them, without any mercy. And this is the manner which they use against their enemies, and the *Amazons*: but the *Amazons* on the other side, who are no strangers to their ways of proceeding, fight against them with other military stratagems, as we have above declared, and overcome the forces of their adversaries with their swiftness and dexterity, in matters of war; for they assure themselves, that, if they be taken, they shall be devoured; and, therefore, with redoubled courage, they fight for life, that they may overcome, and at any rate preserve their lives from that fierce and cruel nation; and, in this manner, they maintain continual war, never without great mortality on both sides. These *Agagi* dwell at the entrance of the river *Nile*, where it runs northwards out of the lake, upon both the banks of the river, till it come to a certain limit, wherein they are bounded; and then westward all over the banks of the said *Nile*, even to the second lake, and to the borders of the empire of *Prestor John*. Touching these *Agagi*, I thought it convenient, in this place, to add all this, which before I had omitted. Between the confines of the *Moenumugi* and *Prestor John*, there are several other petty lords, and people that are of a white colour, and yield obedience sometimes to one of these two princes, and sometimes to the other; and they are men of a far greater stature than all the other inhabitants of those countries.

C H A P. X.

The rest of the Coast of the Ocean to the Red-sea. Of the Empire of Prestor-John, and the Confines thereof. Of the famous Riven Nile, and the original Spring thereof.

AND now, to return to our former treatise of the coast, beyond the kingdom of *Melinde*, towards the cape of *Guarda-Fuy*, there are many places inhabited by Mahometans, all along the sea-side, of a white colour. Upon this shore there are several good havens, where the ships of sundry countries traffic with the foresaid merchandises; the first whereof is called *Patee*, the second *Brava*, the third *Magadoxo*, the fourth *Affion*, and the last is the famous promontory and cape of *Guarda-Fuy*; which, because it is very great, and jutteth out a good way into the sea, is well known to all sailors that come from the *Indies*, *Ormuz*, and from *Arabia Felix*. It is the harbour where the *Portuguese* are wont yearly with their navies, to watch for the vessels of the Mahometans, that, being laden with precious merchandises, sail into those parts, without their

licence, they being the lords of the traffic and trade for spicery, and all other commodities that are brought from the *Indies*; so that, every year, the *Portuguese* fleet take great prizes of merchant-ships in that place, as the *English* and the *French* do at cape *St. Vincent*.

After you have passed the foresaid cape of *Guarda-Fuy* towards the *Red-sea*, you come to other towns and havens of the Mahometans; the first whereof is called *Methe*, and another beyond that, named *Barbora*; and this is the farthest place, wherein you will find any people with white skins, for here the men begin to be all black. Then there are *Ceila*, *Dalaca*, *Malaca*, and *Carachin*; and all this coast is termed in that country language, *Baragiam*. The inhabitants are all black, valiant in arms, and apparelled, from the girdle downwards, with cloth of cotton; but

Many good havens.

The cape of *Guarda-Fuy*.

Divers ports on the sea-coast towards the *Red-sea*.

but those, that are of the best account among them, wear upon their shoulders certain clokes with hoods stiled *Bernussi*, such as the ancient *Romans* used, and stiled *Saga Romana*; it abounds in gold, ivory, metals, and all sorts of provisions.

The Red-Sea. Then follow the mouths or entrances into the *Red-Gulf*, otherwise called the *Red-Sea*, universally known: In number, they are two, caused by an island that lies between them, and is named *Babelmandel*.

The two entrances into the Red Sea. The one of them, towards the west, is fifteen miles broad, and hath a deep channel, through which all the great ships enter; the other is a little one, and contains, in breadth, only five miles, and yet is full of shallows, and shelves of sand, and some rocks; so that the whole mouth is but thirty miles in all. The cape, on the side of *Africa*, hath the name of *Rosbel*, and the other towards *Arabia Felix*, that of *Ara*. From this place, all the western

The length of the Red-Sea, 1200 miles. coast of the said gulf runs up to *Suez*, which is the farthest town thereof northwards, and is distant from these mouths twelve-hundred miles. This gulf, on both sides near to the banks, is much pestered with islets and shelves that are very shallow, and affords free and safe navigation, only in the middle; for the sea following the motion and stream of the ocean, with great swiftnes, keeps the channel and the bottom, in the middle, very clean and neat, by casting up the filth and sand upon the banks on both sides.

The empire of Prester John. And now, forasmuch as we are to treat of the Empire of *Prester John*, who is the greatest and richest prince in all *Africa*, let us briefly acquaint you, that his state and government, at this day, reaches from the two mouths of the *Red-Sea*, unto the island of *Syene*, which is under the tropic of *Cancer*, excepting the coasts of the said sea; for, about fifty years ago, he lost them by negligence, and suffered the *Turk* to take them from him; so that the confines of his estate are these, viz. towards the north-east, and the east, the greater part of the *Red-Sea*; towards the north, *Egypt*; towards the west, the desarts of *Nubia*; and towards the south, the country of *Moenemugi*: and so, in a gross and general account, the Empire of this Christian king may, perhaps, be in compass four-thousand miles. The principal city, where he most resides and keeps his court, is called *Bel-Malechi*; and he rules over many provinces, that have their several kings. His estate is very rich, and abounds in gold and silver, precious stones, and all sorts of metals; and his people are of divers colours, as, white, black, and of a middle colour between both: they are of

V O L. II.

a very good stature, and have agreeable countenances. His courtiers and lords are apparelled with cloth of silk, and adorned with gold and sundry jewels; and there is among them a law for apparel, according to the several degrees of men; A law for whom it is not lawful to wear any other garment, but such as are made of dressed skins.

These people are, in a manner, Christians; for they not only observe certain ceremonies of the *Jewish* law, but, upon the festival of our *Lady* in *August*, all the kings and principal lords assemble themselves together, in the city aforesaid, to celebrate that feast, every man bringing with him his tribute that he owes to the king, and the people coming from all parts in pilgrimage to perform this devotion. They have a very solemn procession, and out of the church, from whence they walk, they carry with them an image of the blessed Virgin, the Mother of God, which is as large as any common person, and all of gold; which image hath, for its eyes, two very rich and great rubies, all the rest of the body being garnished and adorned with jewels and curious ornaments; and it is carried upon a frame made of gold, of admirable workmanship. In this procession also, there appears abroad in public *Prester John* himself, either in a chariot of gold, or upon an elephant, all over garnished with jewels, and such like rare and precious things, and intirely covered with cloth of gold; and the multitude of people, that run to see this image, is so great, that many are stifled in the croud and crushed to death.

This king is termed *Prester John*, for The right his right name is *Bel-Gian*: now *Bel* signifies that which is the chief, most perfect and excellent, in any thing, and *Gian* a prince or lord, and is applied to every man that hath a government and jurisdiction; and therefore, *Belgian* is as much as to say, the chief prince; and, being so joined together in one word, belongs to the king alone, and to no man else; he bears also the surname of *David*, as the emperors of *Rome* use the name of *Cesars*.

It yet remains, that we discourse of the river *Nile*, which doth not spring in the country of *Bel-Gian*, much less out of the mountains of the Moon, nor as *Ptolemy* writes, out of the two lakes, which he setteth down, in parallel, from the east to the west, with the distance of about four-hundred and fifty miles between them; for, in the altitude of the same pole, wherein the said author places those two lakes, lies also the kingdom of *Congo* and of *Angola* towards the west; and, on the

His people are Christians. A great solemnity upon the Assumption of our Lady.

The right name of Prester John.

The river Nile. Ptolemy disapproves.

side eastward is the empire of *Monomotapa*, and the kingdom of *Sofala*, with a distance, from sea to sea, of twelve-hundred miles. Now, within all this space, as signior *Odoardo* affirmed to me, there is but one lake to be found, which lies, in the confines of *Angola* and *Monomotapa*, and contains, in diameter, an hundred and ninety-five miles. Of the western side of this lake, the people of *Angola* give sufficient information, and of the other side eastward, those of *Sofala* and *Monomotapa*; so that there is a full and perfect knowledge of this lake, but, of any other adjacent, there is not the least mention made; and, therefore, it may be justly be concluded, that there are no others to be found, in that altitude of degrees. True it is indeed, that there are two lakes, but they are situated in places quite contrary to those of *Ptolemy*; for he, as it hath been told you, places his parallels from west to east; and these are situated from the south to the north, as it were in a direct line, with the distance of about four-thousand miles between them. Some, that inhabit those countries, hold an opinion, that the *Nile*, after it is issued out of the first lake, hides itself under the ground, and afterwards rises again; but others deny that it is so. Signior *Odoardo* justified it to me, that the truth of this matter is, that the *Nile* doth not hide itself under the ground, but runs through monstrous and desert vallies, without any settled channel, and where no people live; and so, they say, it sinks into the bottom of the earth.

From this first lake, indeed, the *Nile* springs, which lies twelve degrees towards the antarctic pole, and inclosed, like a vault, with exceeding high mountains, the greatest whereof are called *Cafates* upon the east, and the hills of *Sal-Nitrum*, and those of *Silver* on another side, and lastly with divers other mountains on the third part. This river *Nile* runs, for the space of four-hundred miles, directly towards the north, and then enters into another vast lake which the inhabitants call a sea; it is much larger than the first, for it contains, in breadth, two-hundred and twenty miles, and lies under the equinoctial line. Of this second lake the *Anzicki*, who are near neighbours to *Congo*, give very certain and perfect information, for they traffic into those parts; and they report, that in this lake there is a people, that sail in great ships, and can write and cast accounts, and use weights and measures, which they are strangers to, in the parts of *Congo*; that they build their houses with stone and lime, and that, for their fashions and qualities, they may be

compared with the *Portuguese*; from whence it may be justly inferred, that the empire of *Prester John* cannot be far distant.

From this second lake, the river *Nile* runs forwards to the island of *Meroe*, for the space of seven-hundred miles, and receives into it several other rivers; the principal whereof is the river *Coluez*, so called, because it issues out of a lake of the same name, and is situated in the borders of *Melinde*. After the *Nile* is arrived at *Meroe*, it divides itself into two branches, and so surrounds a good high territory, which is called *Meroe*; upon the right-hand whereof, towards the east, there runs a river, named *Abagni*, that springs out of the lake *Bracina*, and crosses over the empire of *Prester John*, till you arrive at the island; and, on the other side westward, there are divers other rivers, and *Saraboe* in particular. When the *Nile* hath thus received these rivers into it, and hath compassed the island with both its arms, it becomes greater than before, and meets again in one channel, and by *Ethiopia*, which is called *Ethiopia* above *Egypt*, runs to the *Falls*, as they term them, which lie in a very low valley, that is extremely strait and narrow, and confines the river within a very small channel; so that it falls, from aloft downwards, with a most horrible noise, near to the isle of *Syene*; and from thence watering all *Egypt*, it disgorge its streams into the *Mediterranean* sea, which lies directly over-against the island of *Cyprus*, by two of its principal branches; the one called, at this day, the *Mouth of Damietta* on the east, and the other, the *Mouth of Rossetto* on the west.

And, soasmuch as we are now come to the very end of this discourse concerning the *Nile*, it will be very convenient, that we briefly shew the occasion of its increase; and, as we have told you before, the principal cause of it is the great quantity of waters, that rains from heaven at the beginning of the spring, in our countries, but, in those parts, in winter, which is, perhaps, generally speaking, about the beginning of *April*. This water does not fall in these regions, like rain in *Europe*, but most abundantly, in not descending in small drops, but poured down, as it were, with pails and buckets; so that, because it falls with such violence, and in so great a quantity, the earth cannot suck it up, nor drink it in; for, the ground being ragged, and somewhat shelving, the water flows with an exceeding rapidity, and, running into the rivers, causes them to swell, in a marvellous manner, and so overflow the country. It must be likewise considered,

The *Nile* doth not hide itself under the ground, and then rise again, as some affirm.

The true spring of the *Nile*, is out of the first lake.

The second lake.

The people that dwell about the second lake.

The island of *Meroe*.

The river *Coluez*.

The river *Abagni*.

The river *Saraboe*.

The isle of *Syene*.

The two branches of the *Nile* falling into the *Mediterranean* sea.

The cause of the increase of the *Nile*.

sidered, that they have these continual rains, for the space of five whole moons together; that is to say, in *April, May, June, July, and August*, but principally in *May, June, and July*; for then are the waters at their greatest height: and hence it comes to pass, that, the country being full of mountains and very high hills, as hath been related, and consequently replenished with divers brooks, rivulets, and lakes, they all, meeting together in the channels of the greater rivers, render them so great and large, that they contain and carry more water, than all the rivers of the world; and the lakes grow to such an excessive compass and extent, that it is truly wonderful; as may be seen in the discourse touching the cape of *Good-Hope*, all the kingdoms of *Congo*, and the adjacent countries, where there are lakes of so extraordinary a bulk, that, in the languages of those regions, they are not called *Lakes*, but *Seas*.

The several courses of sanary great rivers.

And thus you see how the river *Nile*, in the seasons before-mentioned, on the one side, runs most furiously, from those countries, into the north, to water *Egypt*, and the rivers *Zaire* and *Niger*, on the other side, westward and eastward; and towards the south, other vast and monstrous rivers, which, at certain limited times, never fail to increase, after the manner of the *Nile*. And this is the natural and periodical effect of them, which is ordinarily observed every year, especially in *Cairo*, and over all *Egypt*, where the *Nile* begins to rise, about the end of *June*, and continues its rising till the twentieth of *September*, as I have seen myself; but the cause of this increase hath been, until the present age, very secret and obscure; and, although the ancient writers, from *Homer* downward, have, after a sort and in general terms, recorded that the *Nile* increases by rain, yet have they not so distinctly and plainly discoursed thereof, as signior *Odoardo*, who testified the same, from his own view and observa-

Διπτερὸς ποταμός. 1. The river that falleth from heaven. *Hom. Odyf. 4.*

tion. Some have assigned, as the cause of this overflowing, the rain that comes from the mountains of the *Moon*; others have attributed it to the snows that are dissolved in those mountains; and yet the *Nile* doth not swell or rise near to the mountains of the *Moon*, but a great way from them towards the north: and, besides, the winter season rather breeds snow, than yields any heat to dissolve it.

The conclusion of this book.

And now that I have diligently enquired, of signior *Odoardo*, the matters above related, upon such points as I had before proposed to myself, and he also communicating the rest unto me, of his own accord, like a man of credit, as in truth he is, and satisfying me with such answers, as are set down in this discourse: yet I assure myself, that every one will not rest fully satisfied herewith, especially such as are curious, versed in worldly affairs, and skilful in the sciences. The geographer would, perhaps, desire farther researches, as well as the physician, philosopher, historian, merchant, mariner, divine, and some others that differ from these, in respect of their profession: but signior *Odoardo* hath promised, with as much speed as possibly he can, to return to *Rome* from *Congo*, whither he sailed, presently after he had finished this treatise, which was in *May 1589*, with very ample informations and farther instructions, for the supplying of that which is here wanting, touching the *Nile*, and its original, and other such-like matters. In the mean time, the little, contained in this small treatise, is not inconsiderable: but yet, if, perhaps, there be any thing found therein, that may be either profitable, new, or delightful, or fit to pass away the time, and to drive away melancholy, let it be wholly ascribed to the right noble and reverend father, my lord *Antonio Migliore*, bishop of *San Marco*, and commendator of *Santo Spirito*, who was the author of this work, to be published for the good of mankind in general.

A
R E L A T I O N
O F A
V O Y A G E

MADE IN THE
Years 1695, 1696, 1697,

ON THE
COASTS of *AFRICA*,

BY A
Squadron of *French* Men of War, under the Com-
mand of M. *de Gennes*.

By the Sieur FROGER, Voluntier-Engineer on Board the
English Falcon.

To the right honourable the Lord Philippeaux, Count of Maurepas, Secretary of State, Superintendant-General of Maritime Affairs, &c.

My Lord,

THE glorious post you are in possession of, and whereunto the judicious choice of the greatest and wisest of kings, as well as a most ripened capacity, hath advanced you to, doth so naturally appropriate this relation unto yourself, that I could not forbear, how shapeless soever the same may be, to present it to your honour: I had no other design in the first undertaking, than to compile it for my own particular instruction: but the silence of all those who made the voyage with me constrained me to expose it to public view. Your lordship can find nothing here, which the extent of your knowledge hath not already anticipated; for what can such a minister be ignorant of, who, for the revolution of so many years, and in such hazardous times, hath sustained the weight of public affairs in the most potent monarchy of the world, and whose extraction is from a family, wherein science and illustrious qualities are as hereditary as nobleness of birth, and integrity of life? Wherefore, my lord, I have been so far from thinking to offer any thing new to your honour, upon this occasion, that I have had no other intention, than barely to make known the ardent desire I have to merit your protection, by a continual application of myself to my duty, and an inviolable adherence to your lordship's will, who am, with profoundest respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

most obedient servant,

T. FROGER.

The P R E F A C E.

AS I have always had a passionate desire to see foreign countries, I was no sooner master of my own inclinations, but I made it my business, in the prosecution of my design, to attain to whatever might contribute to the employment of an honest man, and to distinguish myself from those travellers, who run over the world, for the sole delight they have of seeing different objects, without ever putting themselves in a condition to be useful to their country: wherefore, being thus inclined, and assisted by the advice of my friends, I took to the study of the mathematics; and at length, by reading the relations of others, made myself familiarly acquainted with the history of the different nations of the world.

The noise, which monsieur *de Gennes's* expedition made in 1695, determined my resolutions of taking that opportunity to go abroad, as believing I could not do better than to lay hold of the conveniency of so brave a voyage; and, therefore, without any more ado, I abandoned the little experience, that an age of nineteen years could supply me with, to the course of my fortune; came quickly to make use of the lessons I had learned, as well as the chief officers of the mariners, under one of the greatest masters of the age; and began now to come to the practic part of what I knew before but in the theory. The general idea I had formed with myself of the voyage, and the frequent conversations I had with our pilots, gave me the advantage of taking notice of all the circumstances I thought necessary to sailing; and I am not to omit, that, the long abode I have made in divers parts, giving me a real taste of the pleasure there is in seeing foreign countries, I have with all imaginable exactness enquired into the commerce of the place, the particular interests of each colony, the strength, situation, and advantages of the ports; the manners, customs, and religion of the people; and lastly, the nature of those fruits, plants, birds, fishes, and the animals that seemed to have any thing extraordinary in or peculiar to them; and these I have set out in the best manner I could, by a great many copper-cuts, all of them respectively fixed in their proper places.

I hope this relation will meet with so much the more favourable reception, seeing I have retrenched it of those tedious particulars, wherewith others of this kind are usually stuffed, and have made use of all the exactness and simplicity that a work requires, that
has

has no other than truth for its end, and wherein the reader will have the pleasure either of seeing new descriptions, or his judgment regulated in respect of those he has already seen elsewhere.

A Relation of a Voyage made in the Years 1695, 1696, 1697, to the Coasts of Africa.

June 3,
1695.

WE set out from *Rochel*, on the 3d of June, anno Dom. 1695, to navigate the southern sea, with six vessels, viz. the *English Falcon*, furnished with forty-six pieces of cannon, and two-hundred and sixty men, under the command of monsieur *de Gennes*, captain: the *Sun of Africa*, carrying thirty-two pieces, and two-hundred and twenty men, commanded by monsieur *du Parc*, Captain of the light frigate: the *Seditious*, a light frigate of twenty-six guns, and one-hundred and forty men, monsieur *de Roque*, commander: the *Corvette-Felicity*, of eight pieces of ordnance, and forty men: the *Glutton* pink of ten guns, and forty men: and the *Fruitful* pink, of four guns, and twenty men: these two pinks carried two mortars, and six-hundred bombs, with all sorts of provision and ammunition necessary for a long voyage.

We set sail about three o'clock in the morning, with a fair north-east wind, passed the *Pertuis*, or streight of *Antioch*, and, before noon, intirely lost the sight of land.

On the 7th instant, at eleven o'clock, we discovered, at the distance of three or four leagues under the wind, two vessels which the *Felicity* went to view: they came from *St. Domingo*, and were steering their course for *Rochel*.

On the 9th, we had sight of another vessel, which the *Seditious* and the *Felicity* gave chase to, during four hours: the latter, which came very near her, informed us, that she seemed to be a *Sal-lee-man*, and might carry about thirty pieces of cannon.

On the 10th, at noon, we made fifteen leagues a-crofs cape *Finisterre*.

On the 11th, at break of day, we were separated from the *Seditious*, and the *Fruitful*, as also another vessel, which followed us from *Rochel*.

On the 15th, at four o'clock in the morning, we espied a very large ship, which came up to view us within three cannon-shot, and afterwards tacked about again; whereupon we gave her chase, till the darkness of the night caused us to lose the sight of her.

On the 21st, at sun-rising, we discovered the island of *Madera*, from whence we judged ourselves to be distant about twenty leagues.

On the 22d, at eleven o'clock at night, we lost the shallop with decks, which monsieur *de Gennes* had caused to be built, on purpose to throw out the bombs: for, as she was tacking about, whilst the sea ran very high, her cable broke, and she was driven out of her course.

On the 26th, at three o'clock in the morning, we passed the tropic of *Cancer*; at break of day, we discovered the land of *Praya*; and, in the afternoon, performed the ceremonies of the tropical baptism, or ducking, which are commonly used by the mariners in those places.

On the 1st day of July, at three o'clock in the morning, the *Corvette* let off a gun, to give us notice that she was near land; whereupon we sailed beyond that vessel without discerning her, by reason that she was very low built, and the night was dark.

On the 3d, we discovered cape *Verd*, or *Green-Head*, and cast anchor at eleven o'clock at night, within two leagues of the island of *Gorea*: the next day we likewise rode at anchor within a cannon-shot of the place.

The governor of that island immediately sent to compliment monsieur *de Gennes*, with a present of an ox, and two dozen of pullets. The person who brought this present told us, that the vessels of the *East-India* company passed by a little while ago, and that an *English* deserter had informed them, that almost the whole garison of *Gambia* was fallen sick, and wanted provisions; which piece of news was so well confirmed to monsieur *de Gennes*, even by the relation of the governor himself, that, if the *Seditious* and *Fruitful* had come up with us, we should have set sail the very next day, in order to besiege the fort, before the *English* could have had any notice of our arrival.

In the mean while, waiting till those ships appeared, we diverted ourselves, some in hunting, and others in fishing; nay, we met with sufficient variety of diversifements, not very expensive, without leaving the villages. The Negroes came continually on board with their vessels full of fish, which they gave us in exchange for knives, sheets of paper, little pieces of iron, and other toys of the like nature: we also pierced some barrels of wine, and, setting aside the heat of the weather,

The island
of *Madera*.

July 1,
1695.

The island
of *Gorea*.

Pirogues.

weather, which was excessive, the sports and pastimes abated a great deal of the impatience that we had to go to *Gambia*.

On the 5th instant, monsieur *de Gennes*, monsieur *du Parc*, and the governor of *Gorea*, went to give a visit to the *Alcay*, or governor of a village, called *The Gap*, situated on the sea-shore, near a small marsh, being the only place where fresh water can be taken in; upon which account the *Alcay* suffers none to do it, till an agreement be made beforehand, to give him a bottle of brandy for every shallop. He received these gentlemen very courteously, and granted their requests upon good terms.

The next day monsieur *de Gennes* invited to dinner the governor of *Gorea*, the aforesaid *Alcay* of *Gap*, and another *Alcay* of a neighbouring village, who was brother of a favourite of the king of *Houmel*, and otherwise in great esteem for his magnanimity, and for one of the most robust and well-set men of the country. The *Alcay* of *Rufisca* was also present, by chance, with a Negro lady, the widow of a certain *Portuguese*, who had one of the chief places of the kingdom: This lady had excellent features, was endowed with a generous disposition, and of a very obliging deportment; being of a middle-sized stature, and cloathed after the *Portuguese* fashion. Monsieur *de Gennes* treated them all very magnificently, and made them some small presents: he was also desirous to divert them with a volley of cannon and musket-shot: but dinner was scarce ended, when they earnestly importuned to be dismissed. The cause of their sudden departure being unknown to us, we were not a little surprised, in regard that they had no reason to be tired with the company; till the governor of *Gorea* told us, that apparently they had occasion to ease themselves, and that a superstitious custom prevailed amongst them, never to do it at sea.

Superstition of the negroes.

On the 9th instant, our shallop being fitted out to take in fresh water, a storm of wind arose, which threw her on the coast: she suffered little damage, by reason that the shock happened on the sand: nevertheless, this accident was like to have occasioned a great contest with the Negroes, who gave it out, That one moiety of the vessel, that run a-ground on their coasts, ought to be appropriated to their use: and even the governor of *Gorea* himself acknowledged, that they had a right to such a claim: but, forasmuch as this law was made only in reference to merchant-ships, we speedily set some of our men on shore, to stand upon their guard; and, for farther security, retain-

ed seven or eight Negroes, who were come on board to trade with fish: in the mean while, our carpenters wrought, during the whole night; and the next day in the afternoon our shallop returned laden with water, and as sound as before.

On the 13th, at two o'clock, two vessels appeared, whilst our *Corvette* was sailing to the village of *Rufisca*; whereupon we discharged a cannon to cause her to return, and to recall all the mariners on board: we likewise made signals to the other ships, which were answered by them. They were the *Seditious* and *Fruitful* pinks, which came to join with us again, after having waited for our arrival eleven days at *Madera*: they cast anchor at two o'clock, and the next day our *Corvette* set out a second time for *Rufisca*, to get some provisions, that were necessary for our departure in good earnest.

Before we leave *Gorea*, it may not be improper to give some account, how the *French* settled in that island, and to relate what I have seen and heard concerning the nature of the coast, and the traffic and manners of the inhabitants.

The description of the island of *Gorea*.

The island of *Gorea* is distant only one league from the continent, four from cape *Verd*, and may be about half a league in compass. The *Hollanders* first fixed a colony therein, and built the forts of *St. Francis* and *St. Michael*, which are still to be seen: afterwards the count *d'Etrees* made himself master of the place, anno Dom. 1678: the *English* took it from the *French* in 1692, and demolished the forts which were erected by the *Hollanders*: at last the *Senegal* company, having retaken it in 1693, rebuilt *St. Michael's* fort: and there are at present in this island about one-hundred *Frenchmen*, with some families of *Lapto's*, or free Negroes, who are hired by the company to trade from one coast to another.

The sea-coast is flat, sandy, and in many places very barren: the soil brings forth millet, rice, tobacco, and some fruits, which are all generally very insipid: the country is every where beset with a sort of wild apple or crab-trees, that grow as thick as broom in a heath or warren: there are also certain small shrubs, which are very common; their fruit, called *Mandanaza* by the Negroes, being no bigger than a small nut, exactly resembles an apricot in shape and colour: it is of a very grateful taste, but very unwholesome: its leaf is like that of ivy, but of a somewhat lighter green. I have seen there a sort of trees not unlike our plum-trees, the fruit of which has the colour, bigness, and almost taste of our cherries; 'tis called *Cabouar*; and I have

have caused the figure of it to be drawn, because it appeared to me to be very remarkable. The Negroes made a present to us, as a choice banquet, of certain large fruits that resemble small gourds, but, under the skin, is only a kind of substance like dressed flax: they cause them to be roasted under embers, and afterwards chew them to suck out the juice, which is as yellow as saffron: this fruit has a stone as large as an egg, and as hard as iron. In the country, there is a great number of palm-trees, out of which the Negroes extract a sort of white liquor, which we call palm-wine, and which is thus prepared: They make an incision in the trunk, and apply to it a gourd-bottle, into which the liquor runs by the means of a pipe: it is very pleasant to drink when one is hot; but, at the end of two or three days, it is spoiled, and easily inebriates.

The island affords great variety of game: turtle-doves, pintades, pigeons, and partridges as big as pullets, and of an exquisite taste, are very numerous; besides divers sorts of large fowl, which are unknown in *Europe*. There are also goats, stags, buffles, apes, civet-cats, tigers, elephants, lions, flying serpents, and many other animals. Among others, we met with two very rare birds, viz. one as big as a turkey, with black feathers, its legs being thick and short, and its head of an extraordinary figure, which will be better explained by the annexed draught of it, than by a large description. The other bird is somewhat less, having white feathers over the whole body, the bill long and yellow, the tail and the tip of the wings of a very lively fire-colour, and the legs small and very long.

The people of these coasts, from the river *Senegal*, are intirely black, robust, and well-set. They all go stark naked, both men and women, except their privy parts, that are covered with a sort of cotton-stuff, which they call *Pagnes*: they are very slothful, and always hold a pipe in their mouth: they feed upon nothing but millet and fish, and very seldom eat any flesh: they were surpris'd to see us eat herbs, and said we were like horses in that particular. Their trade consists in slaves, gold, *Morphil* or ivory, and wax; which commodities they usually exchange for iron, hatchets, fuses, coral, glasses, knives, paper, red stuffs, and more especially brandy; in which they take so great delight, that the son, when it is in his power, often sells his father to procure it.

Every province has its particular governor, who gathers the tributes due to the king, and takes care to call an assem-

bly of the negroes when they are enjoined to go on warfare. Their ordinary arms ^{Their arms.} are the hanger, the *Sagay*, which is a very light half-pike, and the bow, which nevertheless they do not use very dexterously; some of them are also furnished with fire-arms. Their principal aim is to take a great number of prisoners, who are never exchanged, but are either distributed for the service of the officers, or sold for the sovereign's advantage. The king resides at the distance of thirty leagues from the sea-coast, in a town called *Cayor*, where he has a palace, and apartments for his wives, always entertaining some foreigners in his court, and more especially those of the *Portuguese* nation: his dominions are extended very far in the country, and lie along the coasts from *Rufisca*, which is four leagues distant from *Gorea*, to the southern side of the *Senegal*: the northern is inhabited by certain *Moors*, who arrive there in caravans from the deserts of *Zaara*, and whose whole trade consists in the gums, with which they load their camels: they likewise bring *Barbary* horses, with which the negroes afterwards traffic even to the confines of *Guiney*. The king of *Houmel* keeps four or five-hundred for his guard; and, when he has a mind to make war, he can raise six-thousand, all the people being obliged to march, except the *Marabouts*, who are their priests, and who stay at home with their wives, to make prayers for the good success of the king's arms. These *Marabouts* are very numerous, and every one of them has divers wives: they pray to God five times a day, more especially at midnight, and at the rising and setting of the sun; but, before they say their prayers, they usually wash their whole body several times: lastly, they write and speak the *Arabic* tongue, as we do the *Latin*.

The most part of the negroes are de- ^{Their religion.}stitute of religion, and live in the woods, of the booty that they get from travellers. Those, who have any kind of belief, follow the *Mahometan* sect, very much corrupted: they wear about their neck, arms, and legs, and even bind about their horses, little leathern bags, which they call *Grisgris*, in which are inclosed certain passages of the *Alcoran*, which are given by the *Marabouts*, to secure them from venomous beasts, and from all sorts of wounds; an abominable superstition, which they equally observe in reference to their managed war-horses. They circumcise their children, but not till they have attained to the age of twelve or thirteen years. Their sabbath is kept on *Monday*, during which they forbear working, and make but one meal. They have no considerable festival but

Unknown birds.

The people.

that of *Tabaské*, which happens in the month of *June*; and, for the celebration of which, they prepare themselves a month before, by continual fasting and abstaining from correspondence with their wives: then they meet together in a large plain, to say their prayers, and to be reconciled with their enemies, every one bringing a goat, a calf, or some other animal of the like nature, which the *Marabous*, cloathed with a kind of surplice made of white *Pagnes*, or cotton-stuff, sacrifice to *Mahomet*. After the celebration of the festival, which continues till evening, every man carries away his victim to make a solemn banquet of it, with his family; which custom seems to have much relation to the *Jewish* passover.

Their burials.

When one of the principal elders dies, the *Marabous* embalm his body, and expose it to public view in a hut, where the women of the neighbourhood are assembled to lament his death, during several days. At last, when these lamentations, which continue more or less, according to the quality of the deceased person, are ended, the *Marabous* wrap up the corpse in a *Pagnes* or cotton-shrowd, and bury it; whilst his intimate friends take a pride in stabbing themselves, to shew the sincerity of their affection; which barbarous custom they blindly observe, even contrary to the prohibitions of their own religion and laws. This is all that I have seen, or could get information of, concerning those coasts, with any manner of probability.

On the 19th, we set sail for the river of *Gambia*, having for our guides two negroes, and the *English* deserter, of whom we have already made mention. We sailed along the coasts four or five leagues in length, and twenty the next day. At six o'clock in the evening we cast anchor within three leagues and a half of the mouth of the river, and immediately sent out our shallops to sound the depth of it; but they met with a great deal of foul weather, during the whole night, and were not able to return till the next day at noon.

On the 22d instant, at eight o'clock in the morning, we all entered the river, with *English* colours, and, at eleven, we saluted, with three cannon-shot, a thick and very high tree, which serves instead of a pavilion to the king of *Bar*, and which the *English* are likewise wont to salute, as often as they come into, or go out of the river. At noon, we ran aground before the isle of dogs, on a shelf of mud, where we stuck above two hours, and could not get off without some difficulty. At last, at five o'clock in the

evening, we cast anchor within a small league of the fort, which we immediately invested, with the *Corvette* and the shallops, to hinder the importation of provisions, or of any manner of succours. We also began to unmast the *Fruitful* pink, to turn it into a bomb-galley.

The same evening, *M. de Gennes* sent our two negro agents to a village called *Gilofriée*, situated on the river-side, to carry a letter to a certain ancient *Portuguese*, named *don Cardos*, whom the governor of *Gorea* had assured us to be well-affected to the *French*. And, indeed, this *Portuguese*, having received the letter, came to salute *M. de Gennes*, to whom he afterwards gave an exact account of the condition of the fort, and insinuated, at the same time, that, forasmuch as the *English* were not well beloved by the king of *Bar*, it would be no difficult matter, by the means of some present, to bring him over to their party. The chevalier *de Fontenay*, our second captain, went, at two o'clock in the morning, to compliment *don Cardos*, and to intreat him to permit us to land a body of men, to hinder the *English* from taking in fresh water and provisions: but the king had told him, that he would not be concerned in our quarrels, lest, if we could not take the fort, it might give an occasion of hatred to the *English*, who might afterwards resent the affront; and that therefore he would not suffer any one to land, but that he would readily supply us with all things that were in his power.

On the 23d instant, *M. de la Roque* ^{St. James's} went to summon the fort to surrender, ^{fort summoned.} and, upon his approach, a canoo appeared to enquire of him what were his demands: he answered, That he was desirous to speak with the governor: whereupon he was conducted blind-fold to the governor's house, and was received, in his absence, by the king's lieutenant, whom he made acquainted with the occasion of our arrival, and that he was come to summon the place, before we proceeded to any acts of hostility. *M. de la Roque* was nobly treated, and the healths of the kings of *England* and *France* were drank several times, with volleys of cannon-shot. After the collation, *M. de la Roque* returned on board, with three *English* officers, whom *M. de Gennes* entertained with the like magnificence. They desired some days of truce to consult about the affair, but no longer time was granted to make their positive answer, than till six o'clock the next morning; so that they were reconducted to their fort very much dissatisfied with these proceedings, and wrote the following letter to *M. de Gennes*.

A let.

A letter written by the English officers to M. de Gennes.

From St. James's Fort, July 23, 1695.

S I R,

“ YOU have allowed us so little time to consider about your summons, made, as you say, by the order of the French king, that we are resolved to wait for your attacks, and to defend ourselves to the last extremity, rather than to surrender; not doubting but to meet with a generous enemy.

“ We are,

“ Sir, &c.”

The next night, twenty-three or twenty-four of our shallops took a brigantine and several canoes, laden with provisions for the fort; whilst the *Sun of Africa* gave chase to another canoe, in which the governor was passing over thither, who, perceiving their close pursuit, threw himself into the sea, and made his escape to the woods, from whence he found means to retire the same night, without being discovered.

At break of day, we set out two of our shallops, and sailed three leagues up a small river, which takes its name from the village of *Block*, where a certain prince resides, who assumes the title of emperor, and who is almost continually engaged in war against the king of *Bar*. We burnt two small vessels, which the *English* were refitting there, and laded our shallops with two pieces of cannon, and divers cast patereroes that were taken out of them. In passing down the river, we landed at the village of *Barifet*, where a petty king keeps his court, who is tributary to the other of *Block*. This prince sent us word, that it was customary for strangers to make him some present, and that he desired us to furnish him with a scarlet cloke. We contented him with some bottles of brandy, which were more acceptable to him than the finest cloke in the world.

On the 24th instant, at eight o'clock in the morning, the *Faithful* pink discharged two bombs, which did not come near the fort; therefore M. de Gennes forbade the letting off any more, and determined to wait for the tide of flood, in order to level the shot within reach of the place. In the mean while, the governor having sent a canoe with a white flag, to desire to capitulate, two officers were detained as hostages, and M. de la Roque and the cheva-

lier de Fontenay were sent to the fort, to draw up the articles, which were signed the same day, by all the *English* officers, and the next day, by all the captains of the squadron.

Articles of capitulation granted to the officers of the garison of St. James's fort in the river of Gambia on the coasts of Africa.

I.

THAT the salaries due to them from the company shall be paid.

II.

That every man shall be permitted to carry along with him his arms, baggage, chests, attire, ammunition, and money, with drums beating, and match lighted; and that every officer shall be attended with a young negro.

III.

That every married man, or inhabitant of the country, shall have liberty to continue therein.

IV.

That the commissioners for trade shall enjoy the same privilege, in repairing thither, and making the *French* a return of what they have traded for.

V.

That the sieur Charles Daval, a *Frenchman*, settled in *England* for the space of sixteen years, shall enjoy the same privilege as the governor himself.

VI.

That two days shall be allowed them, to make up their accounts; that is to say, that the fort shall be delivered up, on Tuesday morning at six of the clock.

VII.

That twelve free negroes, who are employed in the company's service, shall be permitted to go wheresoever they shall think fit.

VIII.

That a vessel with three masts shall be given them, with artillery, ammunition, and provisions to return to *England*, without detaining any thing whatever; and that

that their departure shall be within thirty days at the farthest.

IX.

That they shall have a good passport to go in safety ; and that the *English* governor shall, in like manner, grant an effectual passport to the *French* captain, who is to be their convoy back again, that his cargo may not be impaired.

X.

The above-mentioned articles being granted, it was declared, These goods belonged to the royal company of *England*, viz. five-hundred quintals of morphil, three-hundred quintals of wax, one-hundred and thirty male negroes, forty female in the island, fifty at *Gilofriée*, and above eighty-thousand crowns of merchandises at the usual rates of the country ; as also, seventy-two large cannons mounted, thirty dismounted, and a considerable quantity of warlike ammunition ; and that they should have a truce, till the commander in chief returned an answer.

Signed,

John Hanbury.

De la Roque.

The chevalier de Fontenay.

The fort
surrender-
ed.

On the 27th at day-break, *M. de la Perriere*, major of the squadron, gave notice to the governor to prepare for his departure, the term which was granted him being expired : at six o'clock, the shallops and canoes, ready fitted up, attended on the commander, and then cast anchor in a line, within pistol-shot of the fort. *M. de Fontenay*, who was chosen governor, first came on shore, where the *English* governor gave him the keys, and embarked the same time to go on board the *Felicity*. Afterwards all the forces landed ; sentinels were set in all the necessary posts ; the *French* standard was set up ; *Te Deum* was sung by the almoners of the squadron, and thirty-seven cannon were discharged.

The de-
scription
of the fort.

This fort was square, with four bastions, lined with good brick-work, having in the out-works three pieces of fortification, called *Horse-Shoes*, and several batteries along the pallisadoes : it was furnished with a prodigious quantity of arms, and the magazines of powder well stored ; in-
somuch, that it is certain, that if the governor, being a young man (who was more intent upon his pleasures, than on the putting of his fort in a good condition) had taken care to keep therein a sufficient

quantity of provisions and of fresh water, it might have held out for a long time. The situation of this fort was very advantageous, and there wanted only a magazine of powder, and a cistern bomb-proof, to render it impregnable.

On the 28th instant, *M. de la Roque* went to desire the king of *Bar* to give us leave to take possession of the slaves and oxen, which the *English* had in his dominions : whereupon the king replied, That, the fort being surrendered, every thing that was left on the land, of very good right, belonged to him : *M. de la Roque* told him, that we would not be so satisfied, and that, if he refused to grant our demands willingly, we would certainly do ourselves justice by force of arms. And, indeed, a council was held about that answer ; and, forasmuch as it was well known, that, in the beginning of the war, he had seized on merchandises to the value of above forty-thousand crowns, belonging to the *French* who traded on that river ; it was determined to make a descent upon the country, to take the king prisoner, and as many negroes as could be caught ; and to burn all their huts. This decree was ready to be put in execution, when an alcaty came to pass a compliment upon *M. de Gennes*, and to assure him, that the king was unwilling to engage in a war against him ; on the contrary, that he was very desirous to keep an amicable correspondence with him ; and that he might freely take whatever he should think fit.

The next day, *M. de Gennes* went to give a visit to the king ; the principal officers walked before him to his canoo, and conducted him to the place where the interview was to be made. The king appeared a little while after, without any regular train, in the midst of a great number of negroes, and attended with some drummers : he was of a very advantageous stature, and was cloathed with a red doublet beset with the tails of wild beasts, and little bells. He had on his head an osier cap, adorned with divers rows of coral, and two ox-horns. Here we may observe by the way, that circumcised persons, in those parts, have the liberty to wear such a cap, during eight days immediately after their circumcision, by vertue of which, they are authorised to commit all manner of crimes imaginable, with impunity, and none durst complain of their outrageous villainies. The king in this pompous equipage, holding a pipe in his mouth, walked with a majestic gate under a state-ly tree, where he usually gives audience to the ambassadors of the neighbouring princes. *M. de Gennes* went thither to salute him, and made him a present of
twenty

twenty bars of iron, a barrel of brandy, a pair of pistols, and a burning-glass, with the effects of which he was extremely surprised. The interpreter being a *Frenchman*, who dwelt on the river above ten years, spoke the language of the country very fluently; by which means, their conversation was continued for a considerable time; and, among other things, this poor king often enquired, Whether he was much talked of in *France*? After a great deal of discourse of the like nature, they parted; but the king caused M. de Gennes to be reconducted by forty men of his own guards, and several drummers, and presented him with some of the finest oxen that could be found in the village.

On the 30th instant, a council was held to determine, whether the fort should be kept or slighted: the latter advice was followed for divers reasons, and therefore we drew near, to take all the merchandises that were to be exported in our vessels: they consisted of several pieces of ordnance, a great quantity of arms, morphil, wax, vessels of tin and copper, &c. woollen and linnen-cloth, printed callicoos, coral, glasses, and other commodities, in which a great trade is carried on in that country.

August, 1695. On the 5th day of *August*, A. D. 1695, the *Sun of Africa* passed down the river, to transport certain merchandises and ammunition to *Gorea*; but that voyage was undertaken to no purpose, because the governor would not furnish himself with them, without the consent of the company.

The meeting of a free-booter. On the 14th instant, a free-booter of *St. Domingo*, which parted from thence a year ago, came to cast anchor before us, and, having saluted us with three cannon-shot, we answered her with one. This vessel met with the *Sun of Africa* at *Gorea*, by whom she was informed of the taking of *St. James's* fort; and that, since it was determined to demolish it, some advantage might be got by divers provisions that were left, as being of no use to us. The same day, we suffered a considerable loss upon this occasion: forasmuch as the *Fruitful* pink was appointed to convey the *English* officers into *France*, and was obliged to pass by *Cayenna* to leave some of our negroes there; one-hundred and fifty of them were shut up in the hold, lest they should attempt to make their escape: but these miserable wretches, scarce having room to breathe in, threw themselves one upon another, as it were in despair, so that thirty-four of them were found stifled.

On the 16th, the *Fruitful* pink, being ready to sail for *Cayenna*, saluted us with

her whole artillery, and we answered her with a cannon-shot.

The 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th days of this month were spent in breaking the cannons at *St. John's* fort, and undermining the walls, from whence we removed on the 21st, to avoid the ill accidents that might happen upon the blowing up of the place: On the 22d, the mines sprang, and took very good effect; except two, which miscarried, and were sprung the same evening. The king of *Bar* immediately sent to search among the ruins for such things as might turn to his advantage; and the *Portuguese*, who had several colonies on the river, told us, that they durst not go thither, till after the king and his officers had caused every thing to be carried away, which might be serviceable to them. The *English* spent several years in building this fort, which was situated in the middle of a fine river, where the traffic is very considerable; and the revenues which they received from thence are computed to amount to a million; so that the loss of the place cannot be easily repaired.

This river is navigable even so as to bear large barques, two-hundred leagues up the country, where it is joined with that of *Senegal*, in that place where the *Niger* forms its famous arms: its sides are flat, and cut with many channels, to which the sea runs up; and the soil along its banks is fertile in millet, rice, tobacco, and divers sorts of fruits; affording also good pasture for the feeding of numerous herds of oxen. The principal fruits, that we observed in those parts, are the *Banana*, *Tabakomba*, and the *Plougue*.

The *Banana* is a long fruit covered with a yellow and tender skin; the pulp of it being soft like cotton, and of a very good taste: it grows on a tender stalk, about two or three fathoms high; its leaves are a fathom long, and of a proportionate breadth. The stalk bears only one single bunch or cluster, round which there may be forty or fifty *Banana's*; and, when the bunch is gathered, the stalk is to be cut, by reason that otherwise it could not bring forth any more fruit.

The *Tabakomba* is almost of the same shape as a *Bon-Chretien* pear; its peel or rind is like that of a pomegranate, and opens when the fruit is ripe: it contains five or six small fruits of a rose-colour, the pulp of which is insipid, and the stone very large.

The *Plougues* or medicinal nuts contain three small kernels, that are called *Indian* pine-apple kernels, and which are used by the apothecaries in the composition of their medicines.

There is at least as great plenty of wild beasts, and as much variety of game in those parts, as on the coasts of *Gorea*. We saw there certain rare birds, which might well deserve a place in the famous aviary of *Verfailles*, by reason of the admirable beauty of their feathers, or upon account of their extraordinary shape; particularly, the pelican, which the inhabitants of the country call *Wide-Throat*; and the *Guiney* peacock. The pelican resembles a goose in its size and colour, having on the lower part of its bill, which is very long, a bag, capable of holding almost two quarts of water. This bird commonly perches upon some tree, near the banks of a river, waiting till the fish swim even with the surface of the water, to fall upon them, and even swallow some that are a foot long. The *Guiney* peacock, which others call the imperial, or the lady, is black, and almost of the bigness of a turkey: it walks stately, its neck and legs being long, having feathers of a violet-colour on the tail, and two tufts on the head, which render it magnificent: That on the fore-part of the head is of a black and very fine feather; and the other behind is of a long thick hair, of a yellowish colour.

The *Guiney* peacock.

The apes are larger and more mischievous than in any part of *Africa*; the negroes dread them, and cannot travel alone in the country without running the hazard of being attacked by these animals, who often present them with a stick, and force them to fight. I have heard the *Portuguese* say, that they have often seen them hoist up young girls, about seven or eight years old, into trees, and that they could not be wrested from them without a great deal of difficulty. The most part of the negroes imagine them to be a foreign nation come to inhabit their country, and that they do not speak, for fear of being compelled to work.

The air about this river is very unwholesome, by reason of the rains that continually fall during six months in the year; that is to say, from *June* till *November*; insomuch that strangers can scarce avoid its malign influence; for this air causes lingering fevers, by which men are extremely wasted before they die. We experimentally felt these direful effects, departing from thence with about two-hundred and fifty-six persons, of whom above two third parts died a little while after. These rains sometimes come with terrible blasts of wind; which are so much the more formidable, in regard that a vessel may be suddenly surprised and over set with them.

The *Portuguese* have many habitations in different places, and more especially in the

village of *Gilofree*, where they have a small sorry church. Those persons, who are desirous to settle in the country, of whatever nation they be, usually pay a yearly tribute to the king, to the value of fifty crowns, besides the presents which they are in a manner obliged to make him, on certain festivals, and when he enters their huts; where he always finds something that may serve for his use, and which these poor people dare not deny him.

The great trade, which is managed in that river, has rendered the people much more polite and civilised than those of *Gorea*: They are better *Mahometans*, and have a greater veneration for their commanders, whom they never accost, but with one knee on the ground, and throwing sand over their heads, as a mark of their submission. Their huts are neat, and well built, being made of a fat binding earth, which soon hardens: They are covered with palm-tree leaves, so well fitted, that they cannot be penetrated either by the rain, or the heat of the sun. They are of a round figure, and cannot be better compared than to our ice-houses. The most part of the negroes divert themselves therein, with discoursing about the *Alcoran*, or with playing on a certain musical instrument, which they call *Balaso*, whilst their wives are employed in tilling the ground. The *Calaso* is nothing else but several pipes of very hard wood set in order, which diminish by little and little in length, and are tied together with thongs of very thin leather. These thongs are twisted about small round wands, which are put between every one of those pipes, to leave a small space: this instrument very much resembles one of ours in that particular; but that of the negroes is composed of many more parts, in regard that they fasten underneath ten or twelve gourds, the different sizes of which perform the same effect as our organ-pipes: they usually play upon it with sticks, the ends of which are covered with leather, to render the sound less harsh.

The *Portuguese* told us, that the negroes who live further up the country, with whom they have but small dealings, are altogether savage; boast of being great forcerers, and have little religion: that, when a king, or one of the principal commanders, dies, they lay them in a new hut, kill his best beloved wife, with a certain number of slaves to serve him in the other world; and lastly, having said particular prayers, and put provisions and tobacco sufficient to last a long time into the hut, they cover it with earth.

On

Their departure from the coast of *Brasil*.

On the 24th instant at noon we passed down the river, and the next day, about eight o'clock in the morning, we prepared to set sail. The free-booter, passing by us, saluted us with five guns, and we answered her with one. We were steering our course for *Brasil*, and that pickeroon for the *Red-Sea*. We gave the ship's crew two pieces of ordnance, with powder, ball, and some oxen, on condition that, in the passage, they should set the negro prince of *Affiny* ashore in his own territories. *M. de Gennes* had the charge of him, but could not perform it, without interrupting the voyage he had undertaken.

On the 26th and 27th, we had a great calm, and, on the 28th, a barrel of brandy took fire in the hold, but it was soon put out, by the care that was taken, in applying a great quantity of wet cloths. The number of our sick men increasing every day, and the most part of them dying for want of necessary refreshment, a council was held, on the 30th, to know whether it were most expedient to continue our course to *Brasil*, or to stand in for some port: the latter advice was followed, and it was determined that we should go in quest of the islands of *cape Verd*, where the air is much more healthful than on the coast of *Guiney*.

September, 1695.

On the 3d day of *September*, we had boisterous winds, which, being contrary, would have driven us off from the islands, and, perhaps, would have hindered us from making them: wherefore we steered our course for *Gorea*, to take in fresh provisions, waiting for a more favourable wind to return to the island of *cape Verd*.

They stand in for *Gorea*.

On the 5th, at break of day, we discovered land, and, at six o'clock in the evening, we cast anchor before *Gorea*, where we took in fifteen oxen, and loaded some of our shallops with water: then we set sail again, on the 19th instant, with a favourable gale of wind.

On the 12th, 13th, and 14th, we had a great calm; and on the 15th, at eight o'clock in the morning, we discovered the island of *May*, from whence we steered our course for that of *St. Vincent*.

On the 17th, we came within sight of an island, the coasts of which appeared to be very high and foggy; and, indeed, by its height we judged it to be that of *St. Nicholas*.

On the 18th and 19th, the winds were contrary; but, on the 19th and 20th, at night, they favoured us; and, at two o'clock in the morning we discovered land by the light of the moon: we continued, the rest of the night, about the cape; and,

at break of day, we perceived it to be the island of *St. Lucia*. At two o'clock in the afternoon, we entered the channel, which separates the island of *St. Vincent* from that of *St. Anthony*; and when we were arrived within musquet-shot of a great rock which lay in form of a sugar-loaf in the middle of that channel, at the entrance of *St. Vincent's* bay, where our ship was to cast anchor; we were becalmed, and obliged to tow it up with our shallops against the current that carried us above the place. We spent the night in a perpetual hurry; for the wind continued so little in the same point, and veered so often, that we durst not fall into the bay till break of day.

On the 22d, we set up tents on the land, for our sick mariners, who were very numerous; for many of them were seized with the scurvy, besides the fevers of *Gambia*; and, of two-hundred and sixty men belonging to our ship's crew, we had only eighty left who were in a condition to work.

Their arrival at the island of *cape Verd*.

The island of *St. Vincent* is inhabited, but it is barren, and beset with very high mountains: it affords little fresh water; wood is also scarce there; and it is customary to cast anchor before it, only by reason of the safety of its harbour. We met with twenty *Portuguese* of *St. Nicholas's* island, who were employed there during two years in dressing goat-skins, with which this island abounds: these animals were taken with dogs so well inured to the game, that each of them was wont to bring twelve or fifteen every night. There is also abundance of tortoises in that island, of which there are different kinds, and some that weigh three or four hundred pounds. These animals make to land to lay their eggs, hide them in the sand, and return without sitting on them: they are not hatched till the end of seventeen days, and continue, during nine of them, without being able to pass to the bottom of the water, insomuch that three quarters of them are usually destroyed by the birds.

A description of *St. Vincent's* island.

On the 23d instant, we manned out our Great boat for *St. Anthony's* island, to trade for some provisions; and our mariners, conducted by two *Portuguese* of *St. Vincent*, went to certain cottages, where they were kindly entertained by the inhabitants, who gave us some pullets, and a great quantity of the fruits of the country, viz. figs, raisins, banana's, oranges, lemons, and water-melons; telling them at the same time, that, if we sent word thither in three days, they would give notice to the village, where we might be supplied with oxen, hogs, pullets, ducks, fruit, and every thing we could desire. This village is situated

Great plunder in *St. Anthony's* island.

ated in the middle of many high mountains, which renders its access difficult: there are above five-hundred inhabitants capable of bearing arms, and a great number of negro-slaves. The father *Corde-liers* have a church there. The *Portuguese* of this island, as all the other islands of *cape Verde*, are of a swarthy complexion, but they are ingenious people, and very sociable: they feed on a kind of bread made of millet and banana's. They have numerous herds of oxen, asses, goats, and hogs, with variety of fowl; their wine is also good, and their fruits excellent; in-
 so-much that this island, where the air is healthful, and always temperate, may well pass for a very delightful place,

On the 26th at two o'clock in the morning, a merchant-man of *Nantes*, that came to salt tortoises for *Martinico*, cast anchor by us. If their ship's crew had known that they should have met with so good company, they would not have entered so boldly; but they were not aware of us till it was too late to retreat; and, if they had proved *Englishmen*, they might have paid dear enough for their curiosity. These men informed us of the loss of *Namur*, and told us, that they passed by the island of *St. Nicholas*, where the inhabitants engaged them to bring back their countrymen, of whom they had heard no news since they went to *St. Vincent*. They kept their word; so that the *Portuguese* conveyed the vessel under the wind into a creek, where there is greater abundance of tortoises than in any other place: they of-

ten assisted them in fishing, and were afterwards carried back to *St. Nicholas*.

On the 27th instant, the pink went to *St. Anthony's* island, to fetch the provisions that the *Portuguese* had promised us, and which we could not obtain till the first day of *October*, by reason of the difficulty of *October 1,* conveying them to the sea-shore. Thus ^{1695.} we had twelve-hundred pullets, one-hundred hogs, above twenty-five oxen, and a great quantity of fruits; the whole cargo in exchange for linnen-cloth, beads, looking-glasses, ribbons, knives, and some other small wares of the like nature, which contented them much better than all the money we could have given them; more especially in regard that they have not any harbours in their island, so that vessels very seldom arrive there; and the king of *Portugal*, who receives large revenues from thence, sometimes forbears sending any thither, during the term of three years. All these provisions, with a vast quantity of good fish that we took in this bay, served, in some measure, to recruit our fleet.

Amongst the fish that were caught by us, we met with one of an extraordinary beauty in respect of the rays about the eyes, a great number of spots and hexagonal marks of a very lively and blue colour: this fish is commonly called a *Bourse*. *Bourse.*

On the 4th day, at eight of the clock, we set sail with a north-east wind, steering our course again to *Rio-Janeiro*, or the river of *January*, on the coasts of *Brasil*. They steered their course again to *Brasil*.

THE
VOYAGES

OF THE
Sieur *Le MAIRE*,

TO THE
CANARY ISLANDS,

Cape-Verde, Senegal, and Gambia.

The Voyages of the Sieur Le Maire, to the Canary-Islands, Cape-Verde, Senegal, and Gambia.

Departure
from Pa-
ris.

I Had been almost three years employed about the *Hotel de Dieu* of *Paris* (that is, the hospital of God) when I heard that monsieur *Dancourt* was ready to depart for *Cape-Verde*, in quality of director-general of the royal *African* company; when I immediately resolved to accompany him, and he consented to it: and having agreed on terms, the 14th of *January* 1682, he presented me to the gentlemen of the company, who confirmed what we had settled.

After employing a few days in settling my affairs, and in taking leave of my friends, we departed for *Orleans*; where we took boat for *Nantes* on the *Loire*: and, though this passage is commonly made in two or three days, yet we were seven or eight about it, and that not without danger too.

The wind was still contrary, and so violent, that the river was almost as boisterous as the sea; the rivers too overflowed so, that we lost the channel; so that, only discerning the tops of little trees, all the rest being under water, we found ourselves sometimes fast on the trunks, like birds pearching on trees.

At last, however, we arrived at *Nantes*, and, after ten days stay, we took horse for *Brest*: what we saw of *Britany*, as we passed, was not very entertaining; though it is known, this province is good and fruitful in many places; but, all along as we passed, we had a very unpleasant prospect.

Being arrived at *Brest*, the 4th of *February*, we expected to sail in a few days; but the ship was not ready, being ill careened, and had not half her furniture; and we were to wait till she was new masted, and fit to meet with stormy weather; and the enemy which we expected.

Two months were spent in this work; the ship was called the *St. Catharine*, of four-hundred tons, carrying forty guns; it was built at *Flessingue*, and designed for a cruiser; captain *Monsegne* commanded it, by orders of the company.

Brest.

The port of *Brest*, where the frigate lay, is the best we have in the ocean; the greatest ships ride there in safety, and sheltered from all weather as in a chamber; whence it is called by that name. Ships may sail out of it at low water, as well as at high; for they always ride afloat. It is as straight at the mouth as a river, and has two half-moons of each side, and on the right a strong castle, old built, which defends its entrance. This

port goes in a spiral line; it is a large half league long, and about two-hundred paces wide: it is situated between two mountains, which cover it. All these advantages it receives from nature.

In this port I saw the greatest and the beautifullest ships in the world; amongst others, the admiral, named the *Royal Sun*; it has not so much gilding as the *Royal Lewis* of *Toulon*, but is better built; longer, and a better sailer. It carries one-hundred and twenty guns, and the great cabin is magnificent, richly gilt, and the ceiling is of the design of monsieur *de Polne*: there are about fifteen more, but of a lesser size; yet very proper, and beautifully built.

Besides these, there were about fifty more of ninety, eighty, seventy, sixty, and fifty guns, without reckoning smaller frigates of a lower rate: next to the *Royal Sun* are the *Queen*, the *Crown*, the *Glorious*, the *Beautiful*, the *Good*, the *Thunderer*, the *Lightning*, the *Diamond*, &c. These vast machines gave just wonder, and appear like floating palaces.

Our ship being compleatly equipped, it sailed out of the *Chamber* into the road the 20th of *March*; five of the king's ships were fitted out, at the same time, of which four were to join those of *Toulon*, and the fifth to convoy some ships belonging to the *East-India* company.

Wednesday the 9th of *April*, 1682, I embarked, with four sons of a family which went with us: as monsieur *Dancourt* continued still at *Brest*, these gentlemen and I diverted ourselves a little with hunting, believing we might as easily go a-shore again as we came a-board: the director's cook, who came a-board about some business, made use of a little skiff which was rowed by two lads, which we used to go a-shore in; and were now got two leagues on the sea near *Cameret*, without minding which way we should get back: we were so earnest in taking the diversion of hunting, that we did not care where we put a-shore, without minding the danger we ran, in passing over craggy rocks hanging over the sea, into which I had like to fall two or three times. And, after all this pains, we had the disappointment to meet with no game; we were forced to employ ourselves in killing of larks, which proved afterwards more of use to us, than we imagined then: tired therefore, with this sort of hunting, we past to a better entertainment,

ertainment, and fell to a hare-pasty, which we brought with us, and a glass of good wine.

After we had spent our provisions, we returned to our little boat, and were no sooner at sea again, than a sudden storm arose, in which I thought we should have perished every moment. One of our gentlemen, who was very much fatigued, had fallen asleep, as soon as ever he came into the skiff, and was wakened by our noise, and the tossing of the boat; and, when we were half way, though he was scarce thoroughly awake, he was so sensible of the danger we were in, that he cried out, We were certainly lost, if we did not return again.

Our little rowers were almost spent, but not their courage, who pretended to cheer us, saying, There was no danger of the boat, though she rolled so; and, if the worst came to the worst, it was only swimming for it: but they were mistaken, as to me; and besides, the waves were so great and violent, that, instead of landing us, they had dashed us in pieces against the rocks.

We followed the counsel of our companion, and turned back again, rowing with all our might; and at last, with much ado, got a-shore, where we waited for calmer weather.

In the mean time, while we were enjoying our safety a-shore, we heard a single gun, and saw, at the same time, the top-sails loose, which is the usual signal of failing: there were several lighters near us, which might have carried us a-board; but we could not prevail with any of the masters, to whom they belonged, to give us a cast.

Thus we saw our ship under fail, the admiral saluted with seven guns, making the best of her way, running before the wind, with all the sail she could make; and I was not a little troubled to be left behind thus, and all my things a-board.

We followed the sight of our vessel, hailing her as loud as ever we could bawl, and discharging our fuses, but all in vain, the vessel disappeared: one of our companions, who was but an ill footman, took *Cameret* road, believing he should find us there; and, being in search of him, we spent a good part of the night in looking after one another.

Many misfortunes attended us on our way; for, ever and anon, one was bogged in the marshes, another would fall into a ditch, each calling on the other for help, and all cursing the chace: hunger followed our other miseries, when at last we got into an inn, where every thing was proportionable to our short purses; wretch-

ed provision and beds: however, all that we had was spent that night, and we were forced to depart fasting next morning.

As we went again in search of our strayed companion, and coasting by the sea, we perceived masts, which, at first, we took for high trees which grew by the sea, not so much as flattering ourselves that we should ever see our ship again, which we thought had been far enough off; but, coming near, we found we had not lost our passage, for she anchored in *Cameret* road, three leagues from *Brest*.

Great was our joy, and we had now no more to do but to find out our companion, and go a-board: we endeavoured, by signals, to give notice of us to the ship, but with no better success than the day before; so that the sloop did not come to fetch us.

As we sought all imaginable ways to get out of our troubles, we observed a barque at sea plying towards the ship; I do not know how we came to fancy, that he whom we sought might be in it; but we fancied right, and he was the first man we perceived from the shore; so we made signs to him at a distance, which he understood, and the barque made towards us: but, it being impossible to come near, by reason of the rocks, it was our business to get a-board, as well as we could.

At last, we did; and, after a great deal of rejoicing at our meeting so happily again, we thought of nothing but taking our rest: but this was not the time; for the sea was so rough, that the waves went over the ship, and we were wet from head to foot. This, joined with the excessive cold, and the danger we were in of being cast away, which the seamen themselves feared not a little, cast us into a fresh concern, till, after much difficulty and hazard, we got a-board.

At our leisure, we revolved all our past dangers, and presently fell to eating after hard fasts; we remained some time in the road, waiting for monsieur *Dancourt*, who was still a-shore at *Brest*.

On Sunday, at noon, April the 12th, 1682, he came a-board, and immediately we sailed.

When we were about three leagues at sea, we met the ship named the *Burning*, which lay at anchor, waiting the tide to enter into the bay of *Brest*; she was mounted with eighty guns, and came from *Havre*, to take monsieur *de Preuilly*, lieutenant-general, a-board, who was afterwards to sail to *Algier*.

We saluted him, in the usual manner, with seven guns, and crying out three times, *Vive le roy*; he answered us with

as many, against the usual custom of the king's ships, who always return two guns less; in all probability, he did it, in complaisance to monsieur the intendant, who was then a-board him, and who was monsieur *Dancourt's* friend.

After thanking him with three, we pursued our way with a north-east wind, leaving the cape to the west, steering west-south-west, where we took the point of our departure, in forty-eight degrees twenty minutes of southern latitude, and in the eleventh degree of longitude; but, as I am not very expert in the art of navigation, I shall not oblige myself to be thus exact, in these sort of observations, but when it is indispensably necessary.

Tuesday, the 21st of *April*, we perceived two ships, to the east of us; by their steering, to get the weather-gage of us, we judged them to be privateers; we presently put ourselves in a posture of defence, which prevented their making any attempt upon us, believing there was little to be got by us but ball.

Sunday the 26th, in the morning, being in thirty-two degrees, as many minutes, of northern latitude, and in four degrees thirteen minutes of eastern longitude, we saw cape *Cantin*, the coast of *Barbary*, and the kingdom of *Morocco*, from whence we were only six leagues distant; if the night had lasted, we had lost our way, for we sailed, to the west of the *Maderas*, which is above one-hundred and forty leagues thence.

Wednesday the 29th, we perceived the isle of *Anecerotte*, one of the seven *Canary* islands; which we left, about ten leagues to the south-east, where we met with a calm, and excessive heat.

Thursday, the 30th of *April*, we found ourselves in thirty-eight degrees thirty minutes of southern latitude, and four minutes of longitude, taking the first meridian at the isle *de Fer*, according to the custom of our nation; so that, not above ten leagues distant to the north-east from the *Great Canary*, we tacked on this isle till night, about a league off land. We could not anchor, by reason of the little wind that was stirring, and the darkness of the following night; this obliged us to tack about to the east, and to keep out at sea, till three o'clock in the morning, on the opposite side of the land.

Friday, the 1st of *May*, having tacked to the west, in the road of the *Great Canary*, about nine and a half, we anchored in twenty-four fathom, and found a sand that was partly grey and partly red, mixt with coral; the town, with its situation, stands on the south-west side, is a league

and a half from the road, and defended by a very ordinary castle.

When they had given us notice, from the top of this castle, they set up the pavilion of *Spain*, which we saluted with five guns; to which they returned not a gun, I suppose it was for want of powder.

There is very good anchoring in this place, if one do not come too near the town, to which the rocks, that lie under water, render the approach very dangerous; it is defended by a castle, situated on a mountain, from being attacked by strength, its sea; it is peopled by twelve-thousand islanders, brave enough, and able enough to oppose any invasion; our ship anchored in eighteen fathom water before the town.

It is about a league in compass; the houses, for the most part, are well enough built, but low, not above two stories; they are all terraced a-top, so that, the roofs not appearing, one would think they had been burnt. In the day-time, you scarce see a man in the streets.

Though the bishop, the governor, and the best sort, have their residence at *Teneriffe*, yet in this capital is the episcopal seat, the tribunal of the inquisition, and the supreme council, which is the parliament of the seven islands. There are four monasteries in it, one of *Dominicans*, and another of *Franciscans*; the two others are *Bernardines* and *Recolets*.

These islands, which were formerly called *Fortunate*, deserved the name, if the goodness of the air, and the richness of the soil, be considered; they abound in wheat, barley, honey, cows, sheep, deer, and all the necessaries of life: the wine of *Malvesia* is in such great plenty there, that the *English*, the *French*, the *Spaniards*, and *Dutch*; &c. furnish themselves thence every year.

The happiness of this place, to be able to subsist, independent of all other countries, for the necessaries of life, made the Heathens formerly believe that it was the *Elysian* fields, designed for the abode of happy souls, after death.

They are not so happy in their water, as in other things; but this they remedy, by pouring it into vessels of the figure of a mortar, made of a very porous sort of stone, through which it filters itself, and afterwards becomes very good.

Their harvest is commonly in *March* or *April*; in several places, they have two in one year. The soil is so exceeding rich, that I saw a cherry-tree, that had not been grafted above six weeks, bear fruit, and flowers grow of themselves, without any care; and it abounds in oranges and citrons to admiration.

The

Great Canary, the capital of the seven islands. Its situation.

The *Great Canary*, as well as *Teneriffe*, and the *Palme*, continued idolaters some time after the conquest made of them by the *Spaniards*, in 1460. The *Ancerotte*, *Fort-Avanture*, the *Gomer*, and the *Fer*, first received Christianity; and the three others, at last, followed their example. The *Spaniards*, resolving, at last, to reduce these islands to their obedience, sent a great number of the inhabitants slaves into *Spain*; they who remained were civilised, and live after the manner of their conquerors; and these, above all the other inhabitants of the *Canaries*, are civil to strangers.

Monsieur *Dancourt* was very well received there by the governor of the island, with whom he dined, conducted by the consul of our nation, named *Remond*, originally of *Liege*, and a very honest man; he too regaled us very much, both with wines and fruits, and I continued two days with him, in which he made exceeding much of me.

I was four times at the convent of the *Bernardines*, the provisor having given me leave, at the request of the abbess; there were some *French* women there, of whom one was of *Paris*, who was my interpreter; there being some sick in the convent, they were very much concerned, lest I should take the infection.

The presence of a physician made them make use of the opportunity; and several of them pretended to be sick, who ailed nothing, that they might have more liberty. They expressed a great deal of civility to me, and loaded me with biscuit, and wet and dry comfits, with lemonade, malvesia, and all manner of fruit, which they sent me on plates, and *China* dishes, garnished with roses, violets, orange-flowers, jessamin-flowers, and tuberoses, without reckoning nosegays; and I presented them too, which they civilly received.

Leaving this holy place, I found several at the consul's house, who waited for me, to go see some sick; particularly, some from a certain civilian, who was reckoned worth fifty-thousand crowns, whose wife was, ever and anon, troubled with a suffocation of the matrix. The doctor of the place managed her, as for a peripneumony; by which, chiefly, I discovered his ignorance.

As they have no great confidence in their own physicians, they are very glad, when they can meet with one of *France*: the lawyer did all he could to persuade me to stay at the *Great Canary*, offering me his house, his table, and many other advantages; but I was resolved not to break my word with monsieur *Dancourt*;

so I thanked the *Spaniard* for all his kindness, and ordered what I thought was most proper for his wife, and such things as might be found in the island, were they are very scarce.

He would have given me money, which, for the honour of my nation, I refused; I thought to have returned thither again the next morning, he having desired the consul I might, saying he would gratify me, in another way, seeing I would take no money; but I had not time, the sloop coming to take me a-board, on *Saturday* night.

I was almost enchanted with this island, and with much ado I parted from it; if ever I leave *France* again, it shall be to live in the *Great Canary*. But I can scarce prefer any thing to *France* itself, for happiness; but, before I leave this island, I must not forget to tell you, that it is thirty leagues in compass, and almost

Extent of
the *Great*
Canary.

Saturday the 2d, towards evening, the wind blowing hard at north-north-east, we sailed, and, slackening again about three o'clock in the morning, we steered our course, in sight of the *Pic*, a high mountain of the island of *Teneriffe*, with a design to anchor in the road of *Holy-Cross*; our pilots observed in this latitude, that the needle varied to the north-east, three degrees thirty minutes.

Sunday the 3d, being to the farthest north of the *Great Canary*, with a scanty wind at north-north-east, we had the cape to the west all night.

Monday the 4th, in the morning, we arrived at *Teneriffe*, the richest of all the *Canary* islands; in sight of *Holy-Cross*, a little town on the east point of the island. One may anchor there in twenty-five or thirty fathom water; however, we did not anchor at all, and remained ready to sail again all day, waiting the sloop that was sent a-shore.

Though the governor of *Holy-Cross* permitted those, who went in the sloop, to land, yet he acquainted the governor-general (whose residence is at *Laguna*, three leagues from the sea) that there were some *French* who desired to come a-shore to be supplied with provisions: the answer was, To make them prisoners, if they did. Perhaps, the reason was, that they were afraid we might have some a-board that had the plague, thinking we came from the *Levant*.

The *Pic* is one of the highest mountains in the world; they say one may see it forty leagues off at sea. As for us, we saw it but twelve or fifteen, by reason of the fog, which made it appear to us like a cloud in the point of a diamond; it is always covered

vered with snow, though it never snows below, nor ever freezes.

The island
of *Teneriffe*.

As for *Teneriffe*, it is reckoned to be the highest island in the ocean, and the best peopled, for its bigness, containing fifteen-thousand inhabitants; it is this which produces that excellent wine of *Malvesia*, which passes for the best in the world. This wine is not known in these islands, but since the *Spaniards* became masters of it; for they first brought the plant from *Candia*; and now they prefer this wine to that of the place from whence it derives its original, and there comes a greater quantity from thence, than from *Candia*.

The situa-
tion of the
seven Ca-
nary i-
slands.

The seven *Canary* islands lie in a line one by another, almost exactly from east to west; they are very mountainous, but well peopled, and very fertile; the least is sixty miles, in compass.

Remark.

As I had formerly heard speak of a wonderful tree in the isle of *Fer*, whose long and narrow leaves are always green, and supplied all its inhabitants with water, I was willing to inform myself about it; and I asked, if it was so as I was informed, that there falls so great a dew on this tree, that dropping afterwards, as clear water into stone basons, which they set on purpose to receive it, it supplies both all the men and beasts of the island, providence thus wonderfully supplying the want of fresh water. They told me it was a mere fiction, yet some there were too, who said, there might be such a tree in the island, but that it did not yield such a quantity.

Tuesday the 5th, we continued our course to the southward, in twenty-seven degrees forty minutes of southern latitude, and in three-hundred and sixty degrees of eastern longitude; about six in the evening, the south point of the *Great Canary* lay east-north-east from us, about seven leagues off.

Wednesday the 6th, it blew so hard at east, that we were extremely shattered in our masts and rigging, and the main-mast bowed so, that we expected it would come by the board; this tempest ceased, a quarter of an hour after, and we enjoyed a calm again.

Thursday the 7th, at noon, being in twenty-three degrees of southern latitude, and twenty-eight minutes of east longitude, we passed the tropic of *Cancer*.

Friday the 8th, we approached the coast of *Barbary*, being, at noon, in twenty degrees forty-seven minutes of south latitude, the wind blowing hard at east-north-east; and, observing it was impossible to gain cape *Blanc* before night, and that we were four leagues from land, being in twenty-eight fathom water, we presently tacked about, steering east-south-

east; and, *Saturday* the 9th, about eight o'clock in the morning, we found ourselves within a league of land.

We ranged the coast as far as cape *Blanc*, where we anchored in fourteen fathom water to the north-west, about a league from the point of the cape; which is, according to our elevation, in twenty degrees thirty minutes of south latitude, and three hundred and fifty-nine degrees ten minutes of west latitude.

When the *Portuguese* first discovered this cape, about the year 1454, they called it cape *Blanc*, for that, being sandy and barren, they saw not the least verdure; it is level like the sea, whence they called it the *Sea of Sand*. Why it is called cape *Blanc*, or the *Sea of Sand*.

From cape *Cantin* to this cape, which comprehends three-hundred leagues, one sees nothing but a sandy plain, called, by the ancients, the *Desart of Lybia*, and by the *Arabians* *Zaara*; it is inhabited only by wild beasts, as lions, tygers, ounces, leopards, and such-like creatures.

These desarts reach to mount *Atlas*, on the north, and to the country of the negroes, on the south; they are of so vast an extent from east to west, that they cannot be passed on horseback in fifty days. By this way, the caravans of *Fez* pass to *Tombut*, *Melly*, *Borneo*, and the other kingdoms of the negroes.

When a storm rises in these desarts, the sand buries men and camels, and often the stuffs; and, filling up the pits by the way, the passengers die with thirst; as there is no beaten path there, they make use of the compass, as at sea.

There is a sort of a gulf, in the very point of cape *Blanc*, that takes its name from the island which it forms, called *Arguin*; this gulf advances above fifteen leagues into the land, for which reason, we lose the sight of it, in passing the point.

The *Portuguese* had a fort formerly in this island, from whence they trafficked with the *Azoaghes*, *Arabs*, or *Moors*, who exchange with them gold, gum-arabic, ivory, and ostridges feathers, which are in great plenty there, by reason of the great number of these birds. It is said of this creature, that its memory is so bad, that it forgets where it has laid its eggs, and often treads on them. I cannot easily believe what I am told, that one of them will feed eight men. They bring these merchandises to *Hoden*, which is four days journey up land, and where arrive the caravans of *Tombut*, *Gualata*, and other places of inward *Lybia*, and of the negroes country. Observation on the ostridges.

These people observe the law of *Mahomet*; do not stay long in a place, wandering Manners and religion of the people.

ing from one place to another along the deserts, according as they find pasture for their horses, camels, oxen, sheep, and goats; on the milk of which they live. They are divided by tribes and families; they acknowledge no other king but him who surpasses the rest in riches, and him they willingly obey as their captain.

How they traffic. Their traffic with the negroes consists in horses and camels; they receive two, six, eight, or ten slaves, for one horse, but for a camel only two.

Fort of Arguin. The fort of *Arguin* was taken by the *Dutch* from the *Portuguese*, and again taken from them, in the war of 1672, by monsieur *Ducas*, captain of the royal company of *Africa*; he had but one-hundred and twenty men to this expedition, and lost but three of them. The cowardice of the *Dutch* eased this conquest very much, for nothing was more easy than to prevent it; we had but six guns, of which, the biggest, being but an eight-pounder, nothing defended us; and, with all this, we wanted water, it being impossible to drink of that, of one single well in the island, which stinks.

Belongs at present to the French. This fort remained to us, by the treaty of *Nimeguen*, as did all the other places which the company occupies; notwithstanding this treaty, the *Dutch* send several ships thither every year; which is a manifest infraction.

Remarks on the tortoises. The captain of our ship landed there with thirty men, thinking to have met the ship called the *Town of Hamburgh*, but it was sailed away; we found only one barque in the dock, which was not finished, and which we burnt; and another little vessel, in which were some *Moors* and *Dutch*, who, abandoning it, swam for it. It was found loaded with tortoises, which were very welcome to our men in the sloop, whose provisions were all spent; they are very large on this coast, and very plentiful; one alone will feed thirty men; they eat like veal, and are meat good enough; its shell may be about fifteen feet round.

The plenty of cape Blanc. Cape *Blanc* abounds in fish, besides the common fish, as, parguese, vielles, gold-fish, junny, sea-dogs, and others, of whose names I am ignorant; our men caught some of them, and fed very happily on them, for eight days, which we tarried on this coast. As far as the mouth of the river *Senegal*, there are some shattered habitations of *Moors*, though the country be very barren, and scarce any thing lives here but fish.

1682. Saturday the 16th, we continued our course to *Goree*, and passed in sight of the river *Senegal*; of which I shall speak hereafter.

Tuesday the 19th, we discovered cape *Cape Verde*, being in fourteen degrees forty-five minutes of southern latitude north.

This cape was thus named by the *Portuguese*, who discovered it, the same year as cape *Blanc*. They named it *Cape Verde*, because of the great number of trees they saw there, of which several are always green. It is high, and yields a pleasant prospect; on the top are two round mountains, which, from their resemblance, were called *Breasts*. It advances very far out into the sea, and passes for the greatest in the ocean, after cape de *Bon-Esperance*; there is a great concourse of tides there, which bear to the southward.

Its situation is ill marked in the card, which places it in fourteen degrees exact, whereas it is in fourteen and a half. After doubling the first point (for there are two) we see a little island which is uninhabited; it is named the *Isle of Birds*, by reason of the great numbers seen there at its first discovery.

When we had passed this island, we doubled the other point to discover *Goree*, which lies behind the cape, almost opposite to the *Breasts*. The coast runs inwards to the north-west in a creek, where is found the best water of all this latitude; which is a great relief to the ships.

Being arrived at *Goree*, Wednesday the 20th of May 1682, and anchoring in the road, we saluted the port with seven guns, which returned the salute, gun for gun; the first was with ball, in honour to monsieur *Dancourt*; when he went into the sloop, our ship saluted him with five guns, all the ships in the road did the same; and, when he was landed, the fort saluted him with seven more.

After shewing the letters of the company, who had made him director, he took possession of his employment; he found affairs in a very ill posture, by the conduct of two persons, each of them pretending to the chief command. The one was a *Frenchman*, and commandant of *Goree* for the company; and the other their agent-general along the coast. But, as this is none of my business, I shall meddle no farther.

The island of *Goree* was called so by the *Hollanders*, because it resembled an island of *Zealand* of the same name. It is about a quarter of a league in compass, and runs long-ways north and south, about a league from the land; it has, to the south, a rock sloping on one side, and on the other is washed by the sea. The whole island, indeed, is surrounded almost by rocks, which hinder the entrance into it, except a little creek, by which vessels may enter.

Gorree
discovered
by the
Portuguese.

As the *Portuguese* were the first who have made long voyages on this coast, it was first discovered by them, as well as all the rest of *Africa*, to the sea, ocean, and *Atlantic* side; having fallen into the possession of the *Dutch*, they built a fort on the weakest side of the mountain, for the defence of the island, and of another wretched fort, which was below, not able to defend itself.

Monsieur
d'Estrees
makes
himself
master of
it.

Monsieur the count d'Estrees, vice-admiral of *France*, in 1678, in the month of *November*, seized on this fort, which the governor surrendered to him, without making any defence; as they could not spare men to garison them, they were both razed. Messieurs of the company, who govern the island at present, have a little re-established that below, by buildings, which serve them for magazines, and, by the raising an ordinary wall on the ruins of the old fort, only to avoid being insulted by the negroes.

Monsieur *Dancourt* presently employed himself in promoting the trade, visiting the counters established along the coasts, and in giving orders to the commissaries; and afterwards, in seeking the amity of the negro kings and chiefs.

To this end, he began to visit the country up and down for a matter of fourscore leagues; that is, from the mouth of the *Senegal*, to that of the river *Gambia*; which are the two mouths of the river *Niger*. I accompanied him in all his journies along the coasts, when I informed myself of all that concerns the country, of their religion, manners, and customs of the *Africans* of *Cape-Verde*.

We began the 6th of *December* with *Senegal*, whither we could not go by sea, because of a north wind that was just contrary to us; notwithstanding, the affairs of that place requiring the presence of monsieur *Dancourt*, because of the death of the governor, which happened a little before, he resolved to go thither by land, and to send the *Fame*, a ship commanded by captain *D'Oyere*, as well to carry merchandise, as to bring back those which were exchanged.

Observation
on the
way.

It is easy to pass from *Senegal* to *Gorree*, but not to go thither; and this ship, having a contrary wind, spent a month in her passage, which was but forty leagues in a straight line; but she was forced to work and tack, which made it five-hundred. We gave her for lost, when we, at last, happily saw her arrived in the road.

Our journey by land was not so tedious, but that it was still more painful, for the road furnishes passengers with no sort of necessaries; no, not so much as carri-

age. And in the whole town of *Rufis*, which is but three leagues from hence, we could find but one horse for monsieur *Dancourt*, and six asses; two of which carried our provisions.

Though it was now *December*, yet the heat was excessive, which was very painful to us; and we travelled from sun-rise to sun-set, only stopping a little at noon, when we rested a while under a tree, to eat of some little provision we had brought with us. At night we lay in some town, where we found necessaries neither for ourselves, nor mill for our beasts, though it be the ordinary food of the negroes, who live often only on roots for the want of grain.

The great
scarcity
here-
abouts.

Our hosts received us after their best manner, but their extreme poverty made their best but indifferent. Their houses are made of straw, as are those of their very kings; though in some places they are more commodious than in others. The first are about four feet diameter, the roof is a sort of dome, the outside of which is straw, and the inside palms, the whole handsomely worked; the dome, or roof, is supported by five or six forks; the wall is of palm or straw, neatly wove together.

They have neither doors nor windows to their houses, only a little hole like the mouth of an oven, so that one must creep on all four to enter into them; though the heat must needs be excessive in such a place, yet they make fires in them, which are always accompanied with a great smoke. This inconveniency pleases them, for they love smoke: their floor is sand, into which you sometimes sink up to the mid leg.

The ne-
groes love
smoke.

They have some houses, the passage into which is so very little, that one would wonder how they could go in or out. I remember one day, a pretty tall gentleman and I having lain in one of them, though he crept like a serpent, yet could not get out, and was forced to lie there, one half out and the other half in, not able to stir backward or forward. I endeavoured to help him, but to no purpose, and, not daring to cut the wall, was forced to call for help.

Their beds are yet less commodious than their houses; they are made of a great many sticks about two inches thick, set at two fingers distance one from the other, joined together by a rope almost like a hurdle; thick twisted sticks (as is all their wood) fill betwixt every two, and seem only placed to break one's sides. These beds, as well as the roofs of their houses, are supported by forks; and thus they lie on them without any more to

Their
beds.

to do, only the better sort have a mat, which serves them for a quilt.

From what I have said, it is easy to conclude, that, if this country suffers not its inhabitants to be happy by reason of its barrenness, they themselves too contribute to their misery by their sloth.

But to return to our journey, which this digression has interrupted: after six days fatigue, we came to a town called *Bieure*, which stands at the mouth of the river of *Senegal*. As there are as many customs as countries, we observed that, in this, the men concern themselves with nothing, it is the women who manage all the traffic; who, under pretence of carrying the merchandise, held a dishonest correspondence with our seamen.

We left our beasts in this place, and monsieur *Dancourt* sent from thence to the habitation, to send us a vessel to carry us the other five leagues, which yet remained, to the island of *St. Lewis*; where we arrived two hours after midnight.

This island, situated in the middle of the river, five leagues above the mouth of it, is about a league in compass. Messieurs of the company have their magazines there, and a commandant and commissaries. It is thither the negroes bring their skins, ivory, slaves, and sometimes ambergris; as for gum-arabic, it is brought to us by the moors, as I shall say hereafter.

They give, in exchange to the negroes, linnen, cotton, copper, tin, iron, *Aqua-Vitæ*, and some glass trifles; the profit derived from this commerce, is eight hundred for one. The skins, and ivory, and gum, are carried to *France*; the slaves are sent to the *American* islands, to make sugar.

The best are bought for ten pieces frank, and sold again for a hundred crowns. For five or six pots of *Aqua-Vitæ*, one may have a good lusty slave; so that they are bought cheaper than they are transported, for their transportation is very chargeable.

The river of *Senegal* is a branch of the *Niger*, coming out of this river about six-hundred leagues above the mouth of it, and runs through the kingdom of *Cantorfi*, and thence divides itself into several branches; of which, the chief are *Gambia* and *Riorgande*; of the last of which, I am wholly ignorant.

The *Senegal* separates the *Azoaghes*, *Moors* or *Bazanez*, from the *Blacks*; so that of one side of the river are *Moors*, rather white than black; and of the other, men perfectly black. The first have no certain abode, but wander from place to place, camping where they find pasture for their cattle; whereas the second, that

is, the negroes, are fixed, and have their certain towns and habitations.

The first are free, and acknowledge no superior or head, but whom they please; the last have kings, who tyrannise over them, and make them slaves. The *Moors* are little, meagre, and of a bad mien, and a crafty subtle genius: the negroes, of the contrary, are tall, thick, and well proportioned, but dull and stupid. The country, inhabited by the *Moors*, is a sandy waste, wherein no green thing is to be seen; but that of the negroes is rich in pasture and mill, and abounds with trees ever green, but scarce bear any fruit that is fit to eat.

From these *Moors* we have gum-ara-bic, they gather it in the deserts of the *Inward Lybia*; it grows on the trees as that from cherry and plum-trees; they come to sell it about a month or six weeks before the overflowing of the *Niger*.

They give them, in exchange, blue cloth, linnen of the same colour, and a little iron; they will come five or six hundred leagues to sell a half quintal of gum, and some farther. They ride quite naked on their camels, horses, and oxen, on which they often bring their merchandise. The most considerable amongst them wear a sort of a cloke made of furr skins; the rest have only a wretched piece of a skin that covers their nakedness. They all live on milk, in which they dissolve some gum.

It is the custom, partly, to subsist them when they come to traffic; and, to this end, to buy their oxen of them; but they must slaughter them themselves, or they will not touch them; and they have some amongst them appointed for this work. yet, tho' they abound themselves in cattle, they seldom eat of them, except when likely to die of distempers or age.

It is an incredible trouble to trade with them; for in all their dealings they are either insolent or false. The traffic being managed on the river, they cannot play their tricks so easily, for they embark the merchandise as they receive it from them. It is managed in the months of *May* and *June*, thirty leagues above the factory.

When all is over, they put a thousand affronts on you; when they catch a *Frenchman*, or any other white, they will kill him to revenge a quarrel of twenty years past. About two months ago, they took a mariner that understood *Arabic*; whom one of the captains of the company had sent to *Arguin*, and demanded no less than fifty slaves in exchange for him.

They
dread
fire-arms.

Never was nation more false and perfidious; they are very dexterous in the use of fire-arms, the effect of which they dread to that degree, that three whites, one day, hindered four-hundred of them from seizing a vessel with which these came to traffic, a shot that fell amongst them having frightened them from the execution of their design.

It was understood afterwards, that the greatest part of them were *Moors* of the side of *Mount Atlas*, who came to depose *Cheiratic*, one of the most powerful negro princes of these countries; and of which I shall speak hereafter. They retire into the inland parts as soon as ever the *Niger* begins to overflow.

The kingdom of *Senegal* is very inconsiderable.
Its extent.

The kingdom of *Senegal* was the chief of the negroes countries, and was formerly very considerable: at present it is not so, tho' they have a king truly brave, for, through want of strength, he is become tributary to another. Its power extends along the water-side, the space of forty leagues, without reckoning some little feignories near, which are tributary to it, and about ten or twelve leagues up the land.

Brac.

This king is called *Brac*, which is a name of dignity: absolute as he is, he is exceeding miserable, often wanting mill to eat. He is so delighted with horses, that for the most part he will content himself with a pipe of tobacco, and a little *Aqua-Vitæ*, to spare the mill to his horses; he uses them in plundering the weakest of his neighbours, and driving away their oxen, in which their riches consist; and sometimes makes them slaves, and sells them for *Aqua-Vitæ*.

Character of the king of *Senegal*.

How he spares his *Aqua-Vitæ*.

When it grows low, he shuts up what is left in a coffer, and gives the key of it to one of his favourites, whom he sends thirty leagues off, on some trifling message to his wives, that he may not drink in the mean time; and so makes it last as long as he can.

How he tyrannises over his subjects.

But, whatever he does by his neighbours, he makes his subjects feel him, running up and down his own country, remaining two days in one town, three in another, obliging them to maintain himself and his whole train, which is composed of about two-hundred subtle fellows, refined by their conversation with the whites, from whom they only learn what is bad. When they have ruined the villages, they make slaves of whom they please on the least pretence.

The treachery of his subjects in selling one another.

But, if the prince is perfidious, his subjects are no less, for they will sell one another without regard to proximity of blood or relation; so that the father shall sell his son, and the son his father and mother, as

it happens. When they have such a design on any person, they will desire his help to carry their merchandise to the factory, and when they have them there they sell them privately, and deliver them when they do not understand the language.

Behold an example of this kind, which happened some time ago, and confirms what I have said. One of these *Barbarians* had formed a design against his own son to sell him; the son perceived it, but dissembled the matter; understanding the *French* tongue, while his father was absent a little, he comes to the magazine, declares he had a slave, treats, and agrees for the price, and delivers him up. This pretended slave was his father, who, when he was going to be ironed, rages, and cries out, he was his own son who offered to sell him; the other denies, and marches off.

A particular instance of this kind.

But his guilt was not long a punishing; for, returning home with his goods, he meets a chief lord, who stripped him of all he had, made him a slave, and sold him to the factory.

After the states of *Brac*, we meet those of *Cheyratic*; that is to say, the thrice great, the emperor. On this last depend ten little kings, and other little sovereigns; his empire extends itself on both sides of the river *Senegal*, and contains near three-hundred leagues of country. His lands bear dates and mill, and yield good pasture, in which great numbers of beasts are nourished. His people are called *Foules*, they are not black, nor so white as the moors, but are of a middle colour.

Extent of his empire.

They are more civilised than the other negroes, and receive strangers very kindly; and when any of our mariners are ill used by their captains, as it often happens, they run to *Cheyratic* for shelter, who receives them very kindly.

His ordinary food is mill, beef, and dates, and drinks milk, and never any wine or *Aqua-Vitæ*, observing the law of *Mahomet* more exactly than the other negroes. He is able to bring fifty-thousand men into the field, but for want of provisions cannot subsist there long.

His food.

Passing beyond the states of *Cheyratic*, you come to the countries of the *Faregotts* and *Enguellands*, three-thousand leagues from our habitation; we traffic too with them; they differ in nothing from the *Foules*. As I did not go any higher, my knowledge is bounded here, and I know nothing beyond it.

The countries of the *Faregotts* and the *Enguellands*.

After this river has rolled from *Cantorfi*, and divers great islands, it casts itself into the sea by two openings, in fifteen degrees thirty-two minutes of south latitude. Between the sea and the river, there is a fort

Concourse of the river *Senegal*.

fort of dike, or hill of sand, which in the widest part is not above a little cannon-shot; this obstacle occasions continuing its course for six leagues, before it rolls into the sea, tho' their waters run even. But, at length, this dike is pierced in two places, three leagues distant one from the other, through them, and it loses itself, at last, in the sea, between which an island is formed.

At each of these mouths, several banks of sand are gathered, which the river drives down, and the sea drives back, and make a very dangerous passage for shipping. The continual motion of the sea, finding a resistance from these banks, causes it to rise to an incredible height, and strands or shatters the ships to pieces; and then there is no escape for the equipage, for, if they swim for it, the requiems are sure to devour them; else this passage is not dangerous, but when the tides are low, and not then when the *Niger* overflows.

That which is singular in its inundations is, that they still force new passages through the dike into the sea; it is about twenty years since, that it forced a passage over-against that island which is the habitation of the *French*; they were obliged to remove up higher. This mouth is stopped now, making its passage in other places; and they so fill one another up, that none ever remain but the two last.

Several *European* nations traded formerly to that river; at present none but the *French*.

Having spoken several times of the inundations of the *Niger*, it will be proper to observe when, and how this happens; yet without insisting on physical causes, if happily they may be discovered by particular circumstances. Behold such as have appeared to me.

The heats are excessive in the *Torrid Zone*, for it does not rain there at all, or, at most, but very little, unless in the months of *July*, *August*, and *September*. To the south of the equinoctial line, the rains fall earlier, and in greater abundance, during that time, and are accompanied with raging storms, and followed with so great a calm, and such excessive heats, that it is as much as one can do to fetch one's breath. Two or three hours after, the tempest rallies, and so alternately during the three months. This causes violent distempers, fevers, *Choloræ-Morbus*, ulcers in the legs, worms of four or five feet long in the extremities, and frequent convulsions, followed by paralysees and death.

All, that is said of the causes of the inundation of the river *Nile*, is well

known of all, and therefore I shall not repeat it here. That of the *Niger* must have the same cause, which I believe is, that the sun, in repassing the line of *Cancer*, which in *France* makes the summer solstice, and here the winter, amasses the vapours, which dissolve afterwards in heavy and continual rains; and, probably, cause these overflowings. The cause.

These rains commence in *Ethiopia*, in *April*, and continue *May* and *June*. Here it is about the 15th of *July*, they increase for forty days, and decrease for as many. This inundation, which enriches the country, is not general, nor extends beyond the neighbourhood of the river. At this time, the bed of the river is not known; its channel neither being deep enough to contain its waters, nor having current enough to sweep them into the sea, they drown the vallies and the lower grounds, and cover all.

It is dangerous at these times to sail on these rivers, and chiefly on the river of *Senegal*, unless you understand the channel very well; for, when the waters come to retire, a vessel may be left on an eminence, or in a deep place, from whence it cannot be drawn out.

It is about fifteen years since a thing happened that confirms the truth of what I say: Messieurs of the company, willing to take the advantage of the inundation, sent barques to discover the country, about the place of the separation of these arms of the *Niger*; they were willing to try if it was practicable to pass from the river of *Senegal* to that of *Gambia*; the trade of which, the *English*, who are masters of the mouth of it, hinder others from, by the means of a fort which they have there. And, as there is no attempting this discovery but at this time, when, by the advantage of the inundation, you pass over rocks that are dry at other times, they manned their barques with thirty men, who passed almost four-hundred leagues from our habitation, but they encountered so many difficulties, that but five returned; having once lost the bed of the river, their barque, amongst others, sat dry on some trees, but happily, it was not far from the channel; so they made a shift to hale it into it again.

After monsieur *Dancourt* had dispatched, in these quarters, what he judged was most for the advantage of the company, finding the *Barbure*, or entrance, was free to pass, by reason of a gentle easterly gale that blew then, he passed it in a barque designed for that use, which put us aboard the ship called the *Fame*, which waited for us in the road, being willing to avoid the fatigue of a land journey.

The

Sort of fish.

Particular of the overflow of the *Niger*.

When, and how the overflow of the *Niger* happens.

An attempt to sail from *Senegal* to *Gambia*.

1683.

The 10th of *June* 1683, we weighed anchor, and sailed for *Goree*; we coasted it all along, and the prospect was very charming, of long extended groves of trees ever green. After he had run along all the coast, and given his orders in all the coutoirs, we returned to our course which we had held, and spent eight days in coming back. Mark what I have observed of these places in the little time I was there.

What people they are who inhabit the coast from the mouth of the *Senegal*, as far as *Gambia*.

The people who inhabit the coast, from the mouth of the *Senegal* to the river of *Gambia*, are divided into three, namely, the *Geloffes*, the *Sereres*, and the *Barbesins*; they are governed by several little kingdoms, but very absolute in their several governments. The most considerable of them all is the king of *Amel*, sovereign of the *Geloffes*; the name of *Amel* is not appropriated to him, it is a name of dignity. As all their governments are much alike, (as are the people, and the country) I shall, by an account of this one, give you an account of all the rest.

The *Geloffes*.

The *Geloffes* inhabit from the mouth of *Senegal*, going south, within six or seven leagues of *Cape-Verde*; this makes from north to south forty leagues of coast, and from east to west one hundred up the land.

The *Sereres*.

The country of the *Sereres* has, for its king, him whom we name *Portugady*, from a town of that name, which belongs to him. *Jain* is the name of his dignity, it includes ten or twelve leagues of coast, and almost one hundred up the country.

The *Barbins*.

The kingdom of the *Barbins*, otherwise of *Jovialle* (for the same reason I alledged concerning that of *Sereres*) is governed by a king whose name I have forgot: he has no more country than the precedent, with whom he is often at war.

Besides these three nations, there is another, who are a sort of *Portuguese*; a nation who name themselves so, because they were formerly subject to them, and are descended from those who first inhabited this coast, after the discovery of it. From the *Negresses*, whom they married, were born the *Mulatto's*, from whom are descended a more swarthy race: they may also be fugitives too of *cape Verd*, or *Cacheau*, another colony of this nation, on one of the branches of the river *Gambia*, distant thence three days journey. As they have followed the religion of their old masters, they are partly *Jews* and partly *Catholics*; they wear a cope like our chaunters. No one is greater than another, but at the same time they are false and malicious, having all the

vices of the *Portuguese*, without any of their virtues.

Almost all these places are sandy and barren; the heats are more violent there the soil. Nature of in *January*, than in *July* and *August* in *France*. It rains there in the manner as I have said already, speaking of *Senegal*.

The country is peopled, and abounds with trees: they begin to cultivate their grounds at the end of *June*, and sow a little after the rains; they gather in their harvest in *September*; so that in three months time they manure, sow, and reap. This shews the good nature of the soil, and, if better improved by the inhabitants, who are very lazy, that it would produce grain in abundance: I mean their mill. At what time they cultivate their grounds.

Their manner of cultivating is pleasant: they go four or five together into the field, which they call *Cougan*, or *Cougar*, and, with a sort of a round shovel of iron with a wood head, they break up the earth, which they cast before them, not entering the sward of the ground above three or four fingers deep, still with the pipe in their mouths, and talking two hours for one they work. And, when the ground is thus cultivated, they sow it as they do pease in *France*, without taking care to lay up any grain; and are so excessive careless, that they do not gather half what is necessary for them, and then they live on a black insipid root which they dry, and on another called *Gernot*, that tastes like a hulse nut: if their harvest chances to fail, they die of hunger. How they cultivate their grounds. The little care they take to live.

It is not above five years since such a thing happened, seduced by the promises of a *Marabou*, the name of their priests. He was of those *Azoages*, or *Arabs*, of whom I have spoken: under a pretence of religion, he made himself master of the whole country, from *Cheyritic* to the *Sereres*; telling them, He was raised up by heaven to scourge the tyranny of their kings; he offered to prove his mission by miracles, and particularly by that of making their grounds bring fourth more abundantly, and that without any labour of theirs. A cheat of one of their priests, or *Marabouse*.

Their laziness was sufficiently charmed with such a promise; they all side with this impostor, particularly those of the kingdom of *Damel*; their king was deposed, and their neighbours plundered in this revolt. They lived still in hopes of the miracle, and passed two years expecting it, but to no purpose; so that they eat one another for want of food, and were obliged to give themselves up for slaves: time at last disabused them, and they drove away the tyrant and impostor, and It causes a revolt.

and *Damel* was restored. They entertain no *Marabou* ever since; and, if they catch any, they make them slaves.

Besides, they have white and black beans very like *French* beans, and melons full of an insipid water. They make use of corn in making their *Couscouse*, as they call it in *Arabic*; or *Laguere*, in their own language, which is their most common food. The fruit which we call *Bananes*, and in the *Canaries*, the apple of *Adam*, is common amongst them; they rear oxen, and cows, and goats; and he who has the largest stock is the most esteemed of. Their beeves are no larger than a calf of eight or nine months in *France*. I believe the drought is the cause; for, along the river of *Senegal*, they are as large as in *Europe*.

In what their riches consist.

How many sorts of palm-trees.

How they get the wine out of the palm-trees.

There is great numbers of palm-trees, of which I have observed three sorts; one is like the date-tree; the second like that which you may have seen in *France*; and the third is a sort of latiner; as to that which bears the cocoa, there is none of it here.

Through the incisions which the negroes make in the palm-trees, there distills a liquor of a pearl colour, which is called palm-wine; it is sweet and pleasant to drink the first day, but it will intoxicate; and afterwards it loses its sweetness, sowing every day more and more; though, the older it is, it still the more affects the head. One of these trees may yield about three pints of this liquor. They commonly regale strangers with it, and the most considerable persons are never without it: this same tree produces a sort of little cocoa's, from which they draw the punic oil, of the smell of violets, of the taste of olives, and the colour of saffron. It enters into the composition of *Musselin* oil, and *Alexandrian Nicolas*. These trees pay custom to the *Alzair*, or lord of the town.

As the palm is high and without branches, and that it is necessary to make incisions in two or three places below the leafy tuft (which is the glory of the tree)

they climb up after this manner; they have a sort of a hoop made of brass, which may be tied or loosened as one will, into which they enter; they, as it were, sit upon it, and placing their feet against the tree, supported behind by this hoop, as firmly as if they were on the ground, they reach the top, make their incisions, and fasten the bafles to receive the liquor which distills; it would frighten one almost to see them so high, and supported by so slight a thing.

All along the coast, there is a prodigious variety of animals, of which I do

V O L. II.

not pretend to describe all the several sorts, being little versed in this sort of learning; I shall only speak of those I know, of which one may see a great number in *Europe*, by the care which divers princes have taken to have them transported, as they are seen there in their natural wildness, before they are tamed; what I am about to say of them, will, perhaps, give a more particular idea of them.

The greatest numbers of those fierce creatures are seen about ponds and pits which the rains have filled; morning and evening they come thither in droves, as do the tamer sorts: there you may see elephants, lions, tygers, leopards, ounces, wolves, tyger-cats, civet-cats, foxes, wild goats, &c.

That which is remarked of the elephant is, that he is not to be attacked in a place where he may freely turn himself, else he throws all down with his trunk, and treads them to death. I do not know at what time the female brings forth her young, but she has often three at a time: he lives on grass and leaves, which he conveys to his mouth with his trunk; they often pass the night in towns, and so little fear frequented places, that, instead of avoiding the negroes houses, they will go directly to them, and toss them out of their way like nutshells.

The lion seeks his prey with art, he never sets directly upon it, but fetches a compass, creeping along on the ground; and, when he is within reach, leaps upon it; he is so mild and manageable, when young, that we have had of them as tame and familiar as dogs.

The tyger is more fierce than the lion, and is much of the same height and length with the greyhound, he sets indifferently on men or beasts; the negroes kill a great many of them with their zagaies and their arrows to get their skins, but, though wounded never so much, they still defend themselves, and seldom fail of killing some before they fall.

The leopard is fierce and active; unless he meets a man in a narrow place where he cannot avoid him, he will not set upon him; but, if he does, he flies upon him, fastens his talons in his face, and tears away as much flesh as he can grasp, and so kills them. He is a mortal enemy of dogs, and devours them wherever he meets them.

The ounce, which is said to be fiercer than the tyger, is, in my opinion, the same species, or at least that which we call a panther; his skin is more beautiful than a tyger's, though he is spotted alike.

7 Q

The

The tyger-cat. The tyger-cat is so named by reason of his white and black spots. He is shaped like our cats, only four times as big; he is of a devouring nature, and eats apes, rats, and other animals.

The civet-cat. The civet-cat has the head and snout of a fox; he is large and spotted like the other, and very wild; every two days they take the civet from him, which is a certain muscosity, or clammy sweat which he has under his tail in a hollow place.

I have seen no rhinoceros's, though there are some here.

Apes, how many sorts. There are several sorts of apes, as the monkey, with a long tail, and the baboon, who has none at all: I have not seen of this last sort; as for the first, they abound every where: of these there are three sorts, of which two are very low, and do little mischief. Of this little sort, there are some they call weepers, having a lamentable sort of a cry. Of the other sort, there are some almost as big as monkeys; not only their hands and feet resemble a man's, but their very actions; so that the negroes say of them, That they can speak if they will, but that they will not for fear of being forced to work. They know that we take delight in them, though they are so mischievous; which I believe gave occasion to the negroes of *Senegal*, to bring us rats in cages; as if we took delight in none but mischievous creatures, saying, That, as our humour resembled theirs, it was not much to be wondered that we loved them.

Their waste and cunning. It is incredible what waste they make, when the mill and other grain, which they live on, is ripe; they assemble forty or fifty together, and then go to the *Cougan*; one of them stands centry on a tree out of the field, and hearkens and looks about on all sides, while the others are gathering the harvest; as soon as ever he perceives any one, he cries out as loud as ever he can, to give notice to the rest; who presently, at the signal, fly with their prey, leaping from one tree to another with strange agility; the female, which carries her young ones against her belly, leaps too as the rest, and as if she carried nothing.

Deer in abundance here. They eat a great deal of venison here, and boars are common; but have no taste like ours, and their flesh is white like pork. The wild goat, the kid, and the hare are found here in great store.

The stag. I have seen none here like those in *France*; but some others, who have horns like the capricorn; on the mountains in *Switzerland*, only they are strait.

Several sorts of birds. A great many sorts of birds are seen here, that are not known in *Europe*, of

which a great many live only on fish; amongst the rest, there is one named the *Great Throat*; it is twice as big as a swan, having a beak of a cubit long, and a skin hanging below, that makes the throat look like a sack. It swallows whole fishes as big as ordinary carps. The cormorants and the vultures are the same as in *Europe*; of the last there are some as big as eagles, that devour young children when they can meet them alone.

I have seen strange birds, and of such various colours, as I am not able to describe: the nightingales do not sing there so agreeably as in *Europe*. Nightingales.

I have already spoken of the ostridge, of which some are of a prodigious size; those that fly are delicate meat, and several parts of them are of several tastes; they are as thick as a swan, their feathers grey and black. The wild geese are very good; but the teal, above all, are of incomparable relish. On the river *Senegal* the grey exceed the rest in goodness.

The partridge peaches on the trees there like other birds; as do the hens which the *Portuguese* call *Pintades*: these hens are speckled white and grey, having a little red crest above the ears; they are larger than ours; and I look upon them to be a sort of a partridge.

The parrots there are of two sorts, the Parrots. one little, and all green; the other bigger, have a grey head, a yellow belly, green wings, and the back partly yellow, partly grey: these never talk, but the small ones have a sweet clear voice, and learn whatever they are taught.

Of all these several sorts of birds, I have seen none so industrious and careful, as a certain little one that builds his nest in the palm-tree after a singular manner, and, by a marvellous instinct, secures it from the serpents that creep up the trees; they build at the very extremity of the slightest branch, to which they fasten a stalk of a rush or straw, the strongest they are able to carry, and about a foot and a half long; and at the end which hangs down in the air they build their nests, leaving an entrance at the top a little of one side: it looks like a ball hanging in the air. The branch to which it is fastened is so weak, that it can bear nothing that would approach to hurt it, and so they are out of fear. Observation on the industrious care of a little bird.

The sea is very fishy all along the coast, and almost all sorts are there; of which the most devouring have broad and long teeth, in two or three several rows; those which they most commonly eat are *Parqueuse*, the *Gold-Fish*, *Vieiles*, *Tunny*, *Mullet*, and *Racoas*, of the shape of a salmon, The abundance of fish.
Negers,

Negers, Sales, Sardes, and a multitude of *Sardines*, that fill the sea at certain times.

The requiem. The requiem, the monster of the sea, that is shaped like a sea-dog, is in length from three or four feet to eight: she parts with her young alive, and has a matrix like our dogs, and the rest like a fish: this is the most dangerous of all, and eats whatever comes in its way: it is dangerous swimming near the place where they are, for there is no escaping.

Marfouin, or sea-pig. The marfouin, or sea-pig, is of the bigness of the requiem, and good to eat; but will not meddle with a man: it has fat, but of an ill taste; its ribs and intrails are like those of a hog, except that they have two stomachs; the one at the end of the oesophagus, the other adhering to one side, almost as big as the first; and to this last there is a little opening, which performs the communication from one to the other: it is filled with little cells, like those in the wax before the honey is separated from it; the *Duodenum*, if I remember right, has its rise in this last; I had not time to examine it thoroughly, because the seamen had quite mangled it.

The whales. The whales, as vast as they are in length and thickness, so that they are often as big as a vessel of twenty-six tons, yet do not overset any ships, as is commonly reported of them, unless it be little barques or sloops.

Souffleur. The souffleur, almost like a whale, but much less, casts water like it, but through one passage only, which is above his snout, whereas the other has two there.

Observations on a fish. There is another, the name of which I do not know, that has a bone four feet long in his upper jaw, traversed on the sides with others that are less, but very sharp, ranged like the steps of a ladder within, which he uses to catch others withal.

Spronton. There is one which the sea-men call spronton, that has a great bone in the same place that the precedent has, with this difference from the other, that it is straight, and sharp-pointed; I believe it is the same with that which we call *Naruvul*: this bone of which I speak, resembles the pretended horn of the fancied unicorn: he can pierce a ship with it, so as to make it take water, if it does not happen, that in drawing the bone out again he breaks it; in which case he stops the hole he has made.

Sucker. The sucker, so called from his fastening himself; as he is of the bigness of a foal, when he fastens himself to the helm, he retards the ship, but does not stop it, as is falsely reported of the remora.

The amphibies are not common on these coasts; nor are the crocodile, the sea-

horse, the sea-calf, the lemantine, or the tortoise often seen here, unless at the mouth of the rivers *Senegal* and *Gambia*.

In the marshes and ponds are found little crocodiles of about five feet, of which some are venomous, and some not. There are some that are perfect serpents; they retire thither where there are most ants, because these little creatures make them a sort of forts, in raising from space to space little hillocks of earth, of ten, fifteen, and twenty feet high, hollow below like an oven, and so disposed, that at a distance one would fancy them to be a village.

In *Gambia* there are crocodiles of thirty feet long, and thick in proportion, so that they will swallow a buck whole; they are very dangerous; their tail is as long as all the rest of their body; their skin is so hard, that a zagage will scarce pierce it. There are some of them that live on fish, and others that devour men; and, in order to surprise them, they will keep themselves at some distance in the places frequented, and when they get near those who swim, or are in canoes, or come near large oxen swimming, they clasp them with their tails, and eat them: they move only the upper jaw, the lower not stirring; they do little mischief out of the water; when the negroes kill them they eat them; they leave their eggs on the land, and cover them with sand; as soon as they are hatched, they return into the waters, or the woods.

The sea-horse, such as is seen in the *Niger*, is as big as an ass, and is shaped like a horse; his skin is as hard, and without hair; he lives on the land as well as in the water, out of which he does not go but to feed. He ruins the mill and rice, for he destroys ten times more than he eats; he is dangerous to the negroes canoes, which he is apt to overturn, yet without hurting the men; he has two great teeth that serve the same use as the ivory does.

The sea-ox, that lives on the land as well as in the water, resembles a calf of six months old.

There are more lamantin's in the river *Senegal* than in that of *Gambia*: he is like the marfouin for bigness, for flesh, and fat. When he is out of the water, he makes use of his fins instead of feet. This is all the knowledge I could get of this kind. I now proceed to speak of the manners and genius of the negroes.

The negroes are all well made, and proportionably tall: you see none lame nor crooked amongst them, unless by accident; they are stupid and without address, even in the least things; great lyars, but greater thieves; thievery is the only thing they are dexterous in, and are such masters at it, that

that they will steal from us before our faces, without our perceiving them, drawing with one foot to them, what they would be at, and taking it up behind.

Their de-
ceit in
raffic.

When any mountaineers (for so they call those who live up land) come to traffic with us, there is no sort of cheat which the negroes of the coast do not put upon them; for, under the pretence of helping them to carry their goods, and serving them as interpreters, they retain half from them of what we pay them, as though they had a real interest in the goods.

They have
no fear of
punish-
ment.

The severity with which their kings punish those who steal in the night, and such as are taken in the fact, cannot cure them of this distemper, notwithstanding the greatness of it; which is no less than to be slaves to those whom they have robbed.

How kna-
vish they
are.

Whoever is obliged to make use of the negroes for interpreters, are very unhappy, and exposed to all their knavery; they scarce interpret a word honestly, and in the sense it is spoke, and always contrive it to our disadvantage; which often makes our markets litigious.

They are
trouble-
some, in-
temperate,
and brutal.

They are every way insupportable, but chiefly when they think themselves necessary in any affair: their intemperance is excessive, still swallowing *Aqua Vita*, for palm-wine is not plentiful enough amongst them to be always at hand. Their drunkenness is accompanied with a total deprivation of reason, and a furious brutality.

Their ig-
norance.

They do not know what belongs to restitution, and have no shadow of civility: their ignorance is so great as not to know that twice two makes four, or their age, or the day of the week; for which they have no names.

Their *Maraboux*, who have some little tincture of *Arabic*, write their *Griz-Griz* in that tongue: I shall explain this word hereafter.

Their
good qua-
lity.

These people have but one good quality, which is hospitality; for they will not let a stranger of their nation pass without making him eat and drink, and that, sometimes, for several days. Having a mighty value for their *Aqua-Vita*, when they would drink of it, they do it privately, and out of the sight of their guests, that they may not be obliged to give them share; they make the mountaineers pay for their hospitality towards them, by cheating them of the *Aqua-Vita* they receive in exchange for their goods, and generally send them away with half of what they brought.

Their po-
verty.

They are all extremely poor, having no other riches but a few oxen; the richest may have forty or fifty, or three or four

horses, with as many slaves; but they are extraordinary, when they have any bracelets of gold, to the value, perhaps, of eleven or twelve pistoles each.

Though they have neither wit nor sense, they love praise to that degree, that they have a sort of people called *Guiriots*, who have nothing else to do but to perform this piece of service; the *guiriots* carry a sort of a drum, of four or five feet long, made of the trunk of a hollowed tree, which they beat with their hands, or with small sticks; they have timbrels too of the *Morisco* fashion, which resemble our ball-baskets, crossed with little strings, which they touch with one hand, while they strike with the other.

I observed they made use of another instrument that is sufficiently harmonious, if they knew how to play on it; it sounds like a harp, and consists of a range of several calabasses or strings of different sizes, ranked under stops, and disposed in a tuneable order, like those of the harpsichord.

I have seen another of their instruments that would be proper in the chamber of a sick person: it is a sort of a lute, made of hollowed wood, covered with leather, with two or three strings of hair. It is covered on the stops with little plates of iron, and adorned with little bells like a tabor.

The *guiriots* tune these several instruments to their own wretched voices, and so sing the panegyrics of the most considerable persons: which commonly run thus; that they are great lords, rich, powerful as the *Whites*, who are the chief slaves of the king; and a great deal of this kind of stuff.

These are transported with these praises, and recompense them largely; nay, they go so far, as to strip themselves of their very cloaths, to reward them for them, though never so groundless and extravagant. And, indeed, when they do not reward these fellows, they are for taking their revenge, crying them down again, and vilifying them up and down as much as they had extolled them before; which is looked upon as the greatest affront imaginable.

It is their highest honour to have their praises sung by the king's *guiriot*, and he is sure to be well rewarded for it; for they will give him no less, perhaps, than two or three bullocks; and, in a word, the best part of what they have.

These *guiriots* employ themselves sometimes in singing our praises too, but they find but little encouragement for it, leaving the negroes to enjoy and pay for this sort of happiness: they praise us in these terms, that we are great, rich, and lords of the sea.

The

The habit
of the
Blacks.

The habit of the *Blacks* is very plain ; the poor have only a cotton rag, about half a quarter of a yard wide, to cover their nakedness : it is fastened with a string that serves them for a girdle ; they let the two ends of the cloth hang down behind and before, which they reckon very honourable, and a great ornament.

Habit of
the most
considera-
ble.

The lords, and considerable persons, are better habited ; they have a cotton frock made like the cordeliers robes, with long and large sleeves ; they are not platted in the neck, having only a hole for the head to pass through, like the shirts of the *Europeans* ; they wear them of all colours, some blue, some yellow, some fillimot, &c.

Since these jackets reach but half way down the thigh, they wear withal a sort of breeches of the same, which reach from the waist to the knee : these breeches are so large, that they take up no less than five ells of linnen ; they resemble a woman's petticoat that is gathered at the bottom, and in which only two holes were left on the sides to put the legs through ; the largest are the most fashionable.

They wear on their heads a sort of bonnets that are streight at the entrance, but wide at the other end ; almost like the cowls of the *Capuchins* of the *Jacobins*. The common sort go bare-foot, but the people of quality wear sandals made of a piece of leather beneath, in the form of a sole, and fastened at top with a thong, which ties them to the foot, like the sandals of the ancients.

Their hair, though short, is very well platted ; they set it out with gris-gris's of silver, leather, coral, copper, &c. They wear rings at their ears of tin, silver, and copper ; but they, who are of the race of slaves, are not allowed to wear their hair.

How the
women
and maids
are habi-
ted.

The girls and women are naked from the waist upwards, unless the cold obliges them to wrap themselves up ; they cover the other part of their body with a paigne ; that is, a cotton cloth striped after their fashion, and of the bigness of a little towel, that reaches down to the mid-leg : their hair too is tressed and set out with coral, and other little ornaments : their coifs make a topping on their heads of half a foot high : the higher they are, the more they are esteemed.

The boys
and girls
go quite
naked.

The boys and girls go quite naked to the age of eleven or twelve. The women and men adorn their arms and legs with coral, and bracelets of gold, silver, tin, and copper, according to their ability.

The cotton, with which these people cloath themselves, would be very plentiful amongst them, if they bestowed that pains

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on it, which they should ; but they content themselves what is just enough, and sometimes with less : the women spin the cotton, and the men make the cloth, which is not above five fingers breadth in the piece, for want of necessary utensils to make it wider ; for, otherwise, they are as good weavers as in *France* ; but forced to join ten or twelve pieces together, to have a paigne of an ell wide.

Mill is the ordinary food of the western Their negroes ; the women, who make it ready, food called make *Sanglet* or *Coscouse* of it ; which *Sanglet* and *Cos-* are their terms to signify two sorts of *couse*. meats.

They begin at break of day to make How the their sanglet, for it requires full six hours women to make it ; they go two or three together to prepare it, and pound it in wooden prepare the sang- mortars that are high and deep, not hav- let. ing any mills for that purpose : when mill has quitted its husk, they winnow it with fans made of palm-leaves, to separate it from the chaff : then they boil it with milk, or butter, or a bouillon of flesh, or dried fish, or with water.

The coscouse, which is their best victu- How they als, is made too of mill beaten very fine, make the which they fan as before ; when it is clean, coscouse. they put a little into a very narrow bowl, and sprinkle a little water on it ; after which they knead and turn it, then sprinkle a little more water, and then knead it again, which they repeat till they have reduced this mass into little balls ; afterwards they dry them, and then put them into an earthen pot full of holes, on another in which they boil meat seasoned with spice and palm-oil : this ragou is very fine, well prepared, and the sand well dressed out, which is seldom done.

When they go to war, they carry a lit- Their prob- tle sack of a foot long, and the thickness vision for of one's arm, full of coscouse thus dressed. the war. As the women dress it every day, they take no small pains. And, if the wives of *Europe* were to take the same care of their husbands, they would think they were very hardly used.

They drink palm-wine, which is not Their very plentiful, and stinking water of the drink. pits ; and often of the salt-water of the sea, where it has strained through ; they drink milk too when they have it.

As ambition is a vice or a passion unknown to those people, they little mind the building of cities, or castles, or houses of state and grandeur ; nor have they materials for the doing of it, if they take the pains : they live but in villages, where the houses are such as I have already described, which differ according to the quality and ability of the person. They who

7 R

live

live near the palm-trees, inhabit in the best, though they too have neither windows nor doors.

They have several houses.

The house of a great lord shall consist sometimes of thirty pavilions, which they call *Combettes*, and sometimes of forty or fifty: an ordinary person shall not have above two or three: the kings have above a hundred, though covered with straw like the rest.

Houses of the great.

Those of persons of quality are inclosed with palisadoes of straw or thorns, supported from space to space with stakes; the combettes communicate all one within another, by ways disposed in the form of a labyrinth. Round the house, according to the capacity of the owner, are seen beautiful trees, but in another order than nature has placed them.

The house of king *Damel*.

The palace of king *Damel* exceeds all the rest; before you come to the gate of the palisadoes, which make the first inclosure, you see a spacious field, where his horses are managed, of which he has no great number: without, by the side of this palisado, are the apartments of the great lords. From this place you go into the palace by a large aviary; it is adorned with a great number of trees, which we called *Calbassiers*, because their fruit resembles a calbass.

Persons, who are employed nearest the king, have their apartments by the side of this avenue; and their nearness to, or distance from the combette royal, shews their degree. Each of their apartments being also inclosed with palisadoes, you must pass a great many courts before you come to the king's; few persons daring go into his apartments.

The apartments of the king's wives.

All his wives have their distinct lodgings, and each five or six slaves to wait on them. The king may lie with which he pleases, without creating a jealousy in any of them: there is one commonly whom he loves above all the rest; and, when he is weary of her, he sends her to some village with her slaves, and gives her sufficient lands for her maintenance; to her succeeds another. Of thirty, which he keeps, one half are in the country.

The religion of the negroes.

The negroes, from this coast to *Gambia*, observe the law of *Mabomet*; but, in the parts towards *Siera*, *Liona*, and the *Golden Coast*, they have, for the most part, no religion at all; or, at least, worship the first thing they meet in a morning. Formerly they were idolaters, worshiping the devil, to whom they sacrificed bullocks; and, though they eat flesh, yet they believe a transmigration of souls.

Their *Pagan* opinion.

And there are some of them who would not have certain lizards killed, that run about their houses, saying, they are the

souls of their fathers or their mothers, that come to make merry with them; which they call *Folgar*.

They derive their religion from the *African* *Azoughes*, of whom, I have already told you, the ordinary people have very little, as having but small knowledge of it; the great ones are more religious, having commonly a moorish *Marabou* to live with them, who have a great ascendant over them: they say their *Sala* or prayers three times a day, morning at sunrise, about noon, and in the evening, some in the afternoon; the ordinary people pray little, and do not trouble themselves with the building of mosques.

The king and the grandees have mosques; they are covered with straw like their other houses. They first stand a long while in them, looking towards the sun-rising; then they advance two steps forwards, muttering some words to themselves; then prostrate themselves all along on the ground, with their faces to the earth; to raise themselves on their knees, make a circle round them on the ground, and twice or thrice about their heads: they afterwards kiss the earth at several bowings, putting sand on their foreheads with both their hands; and repeat the same ceremony again for the space of half an hour.

One prays that he may have no enemies, but such as he may be able to defeat; that their deity would do them no harm; another, that he would give them handsome wives, and plenty of mill, and so-forth. Nothing being able to divert them while they are at prayers; nay, though they saw their very houses a-fire.

They believe predestination, and, when any misery befalls them, they say it comes from their God; so that, if one negro is killed by another, he says, that their God has killed him: yet, for all that, they seize the homicide if they can, and cause him to be sold for a slave.

They are so superstitious, that they imagine, having certain spells about them, they cannot be touched by any wild beasts that approach them; and, while they are thus defended by incantment, they believe nothing can cause their death nor draw them into misfortunes.

They have a certain character, which they call *Gris-Gris*: they are billets, the characters of which are *Arabic*, intermixed with necromantic figures, which the *Marabous* sell them. Some, as they imagine, preserve them from being wounded, enable them to swim well, and procure them good success in fishing; others to have a good many wives and children, to prevent their being made captives, and for whatever they love or fear.

They

From whom they derive their religion.

At what times they say their daily prayers.

Mosques of the king and the great ones.

Their exercises and ceremonies in their mosques.

Their ridiculous prayers.

They believe predestination.

Their superstition.

Their *Gris-Gris*, or relics.

They have so strong a confidence in them, that there are some of them that would stand the shot of an arrow without fear : they are cuirassed with them, having them on all parts of their bodies, that often a zagage will scarce enter them. The great lords, above all others, have their vests and bonnets covered with them, and are so loaded with them, that they are often forced to take horse, as not being able to go a foot : they likewise put some of them upon their horses, to make them the more lively, and hinder them from being wounded.

These *Gris-Gris*'s are lapped up in linnen, handsomely folded, and covered above with red leather neatly dressed : there are some not above an inch thick, worked with the point of a diamond ; of which they make necklaces, into which the *Marabous* often put nothing at all, as I have found upon opening of some our slaves had : they have of them before and behind, over-against their stomachs, large ones, and about two inches thick : they make some of them of a horse's tail, or the horns of a deer, or a wild bull, covered with red cloth ; they set two of these last on the forepart of their caps : thus equipped they have a horrible air, and exceeding fierce, and engage one another with the utmost confidence in their combates, but not in those with us, and against our musquets ; so that it is a saying amongst them, that there is no *Gris-Gris* against the *Pouffe* ; for they call the musquet so.

The *Marabous* ruin them with these *Gris-Gris*'s ; for there are some of them that cost them three slaves ; others four or five oxen, according to the virtue they ascribe to them. The opinion, the negroes have of these *Gris-Gris*'s, has made some of our ignorant *French* believe there are a great many conjurers amongst them ; there are certain times when these pretended forcerers make a thousand grimaces, singing and roaring : as they say, when the devil beats them.

When they think any person is insulted by the devil, if it be a woman, they put her into men's apparel, with a zagage in her hands, and lead her singing with a dismal voice ; and, by this ceremony, they believe they drive him away. I have often observed, that these supposed forcerers are mere cheats ; for, when we take a cudgel and beat the possessed person, we find it has the same effect, and that the devil returns no more.

During their *Ramadan*, which is the lent of *Mahomet*, and which lasts the whole month of *September*, they use the ceremony of circumcision, which they do not perform till the child is eleven or twelve years

old : a *Marabous* cuts the foreskin, which the person circumcised eats ; who must not complain, whatever pain he feels, whilst it is a cutting ; nay, they often laugh while they are searing them with a red-hot iron to stop the blood.

As long as the *Ramadan* lasts, they have *Folgar*, or their *Folgar*, or feasts of joy every night ; but, during the whole day, they neither eat, nor drink, nor so much as smook ; nay, some of them will not even spit ; but, when once the sun is set, they make a vast noise with their drums, and continue eating and drinking till sun-rise.

Though, according to the *Alcoran*, it is not lawful to have above four wives, yet they take as many as they can maintain. As soon as they meet with a young woman they like, they demand her of her father ; if he consents to it, they agree on the price ; her quality or beauty raises her value. Her dowry are so many oxen, which turns to the profit of the father ; which never exceeds five. The agreement ended, they bed without any more ceremony. If they give her for a maid, they lay a white cloth on the bed in which they are to lie, on which, if blood be found, she is allowed to have been a virgin.

Then they produce this cloth publicly in the village, accompanied with several *guiriots*, who sing the praises of the woman, and the happiness of the husband. But, if she proves otherwise than she was given for, the father is obliged to take her again, if the husband requires it, and to restore him his oxen. But this rarely happens ; for, by an unlawful knowledge before marriage, they are assured what she is : But, if she is returned again, she is not the more despised ; for, though she be not a wife for one, yet she may be a concubine for another ; so the father still gets more and more by her : so, by this accursed gain, he might as innocently murder his daughter. If afterwards the husband grows weary of his wife, he puts her away, and is quit of her, losing his dowry : and she may part from him too, restoring her oxen.

When the king would gratify any great lord, he gives him one of his wives ; but he cannot turn her off, though the king may take her again when he pleases.

The funerals of the negroes are performed with great state and ceremony. A *Marabou* washes the corpse of the dead, and adorns it with the finest callico he had in his life. All the relations and neighbours come to bewail him, and ask him a great many ridiculous questions, If he was not well with them ? What harm they did him ? If he had not riches enough ? If he had

Folgar, or their feasts of joy.

Their inclination to many wives.

Ceremony on this occasion.

The funerals of the negroes.

Their confidence in them.

How they are made.

Ramadan, or lent.

had not handsome wives enough? and the like: and, seeing he makes no answer, they depart, and make room for others, who repeat the same questions, while the guiriots incessantly sing his praises.

And, because it is the custom to make much of all those who come to compliment the dead, they kill oxen, and sell his slaves, that they may have *Aqua-Vitæ* to be merry withal. When the assistants are well satisfied, they bury the dead in the house where he died, of which they open the dome. Afterwards, when the corpse is in the ground, the mourners redouble their cries, and four persons, making a square, with four calicoes which they hold, hide him so as he cannot be seen.

The *Marabou* comes afterwards, and speaks some words in the ears of the dead, and covers him with a callico; and afterwards they put the dome in its place; on which they hang some clothes, white, red, or any other colour they fancy. Hard by they set up a pole, on which they hang the bow, the quiver, and the zagages of the defunct. They set him a pot of coscouse, and another of water, which is his provision for one year; for they fancy he eats after he is dead.

In some places they compass the house with thorns, or a deep ditch, to secure the corpse from wild beasts; who, notwithstanding, sometimes devour it. This being finished, the mourners still continue their cries eight days longer.

When it is a boy that is dead, the women and the maids sing, and the boys run with all their force one at another, with their naked sabres in their hands, clashing as they meet, and striking one another's sabres; with a great many other actions, that would be tedious to mention.

The negroes have few artisans amongst them, the most common are smiths, weavers, and potters; the first make knives, slaves fetters, and bracelets of gold, silver, copper, and iron, and ornaments for knives and sabres, and covers for *Gris-Gris's*, and the handles of sabres. They have no farriers, because they never shoe their horses.

When they are at the forge, they are always two or three together, under the shadow of a tree, sitting on the side of the forge, the pipe in their mouths. They use so little fire at it, that you could scarce boil an egg over it; they light it with a bellows made of two skins, which they press to make it blow, and resembles a bladder filled with wind. Their anvil is almost like the stone which the mower makes use of to sharpen his scythe with; when they beat upon it, it is so sunk in the sand at the third or fourth blow, that they must raise it again, which spends most of their time, to little purpose.

Their weavers are little employed, wearing but few cloaths, as I have already said. Their kitchen utensils.

The potters make but one sort of pots; the greater of which serve for kettles, and the lesser for pipes; the bole of which only is made of clay, the shank of it being a little hollow stick, fastened to the earthen head.

They are generally idle, and spend most of their time in unnecessary discourse; and, if necessities be wanting, they are not much concerned, but rub on, unless they go and live on a neighbour.

The management of the house gives the wife very little trouble, except it be the eating part; for the kitchen furniture of the greatest lords consists only of some earthen pots, a few wooden vessels, and calkasses half broken, which they make use of instead of cups.

Their children, though young, do not incumber them much, for they leave them naked on the sand, where they creep all day long: those who are very young indeed, they carry always on their backs, with their legs against their sides, drawing their feet before, and binding them behind with a callico cloth, with which they gird themselves withal. How their children are nursed.

Whatever they are a doing, their little ones are always tied up behind them, even when they are pounding their mill; whence it is, that they have all great bellies and flat noses, for the mother, bowing and raising her body as she beats, makes them strike their noses against her back; which the children endeavouring to avoid (which notwithstanding they hardly can) holding themselves back, they advance their bellies: I believe this is the only reason that the negroes are flat-nosed.

They value beauty as much as we, and particularly in the eyes, mouth, lips, and nose: allowing for their blackness, there are negresses as handsome as any of our *European* ladies; and are more witty than the men, but very subtle, and smooth-tongued. The caresses of white men please them wonderfully. But, in the mean time, these dames, being very mercenary, will not grant them favours for nothing, although their husbands consent to their debaucheries.

But it is not so amongst one another; for, if one lies with another's wife, they will kill him if they can with their sabres, or their knives; or, if it be with their concubines, they will have their revenge.

The women are always smoking; they are very merry, and above all things love dancing in the evenings, and at the new moons: they dance in around, clapping their hands without stirring, except it be those in the middle, and sing the first thing that How the women dance and sing.

Of their
artisans.

Their way
at the
forge.

that comes into their mouths, sense or nonsense. These last in dancing hold one hand on their heads, and the other behind, advancing the upper part of their bodies, and clapping their feet on the earth: their postures are lascivious and infamous, and chiefly when boys dance with them; a cablass or a kettle serves them for music; for some sort of noise they must have.

The exercises of the men.

The men exercise themselves in wrestling, and, in approaching one another, use many ridiculous postures, in holding out the finger, the fist, or the foot one at another. On this occasion there is always one who acts the *Guiriot*, and who makes some sort of music to encourage them. Being naked, they hardly come to the ground without being hurt. And, when one receives a fall, the *Guiriot* extols him who gives it, encouraging him to more victories over his adversaries; who flees from him.

Their fishing.

Their canoes.

The greatest part who live by the water-side are fishers; they train up their children early to this art, and make use of canoes; they are little boats, made of the hollow trunk of a tree, and all of a piece: of which the largest may contain ten or twelve men, being about thirty feet long, and about a foot and a half wide. When the wind is high, and the water rough, the canoe often overturns, but they little mind it, for they are good swimmers, and it does not sink to the bottom; so they easily set it right again in the water, and then get into it as if nothing had happened: but row in them with such speed, that the lightest of our sloops cannot overtake them.

Their way of fishing.

When they go a fishing, commonly they do not go above two in a canoe. They launch out as good as six leagues into the sea, and for the most part fish with a line; but, as there are great fishes which will not bite at a bait, they strike them with irons pointed like the head of an arrow, or with long sticks sharpened at the end, and of the length of a half-pike, with a cord fastened to it, with which they draw them to land, after wounding them.

Their neglect to preserve their fish.

They dry the little fish like fardins, and open the great ones, as they do cod. As they do not salt them, they commonly stink before they dry; but it is then they reckon them most delicious, for they do not love fresh fish. They sell it to those who live up-land; and would from them make great advantage of it, if they would take the pains of carrying it to the towns; but, the others being as lazy to fetch it, as they are to carry it, betwixt them both the fish stinks, and becomes useless.

Their markets.

Besides their trade with us, they keep particular markets for themselves, but trivial; I have admired to see them come six or seven leagues with a little cotton,

some callicoes, beans, gourds, palm, pallets, &c. Another time I saw a man come six leagues to bring a bar of iron half of a foot long.

Not but that sometimes one meets there with goods of greater value, as rings of gold, and gold ear-rings, named by them *Dougaret*, of the same metal; but it is in so small a quantity, that in the whole market you shall not find to the value of fifty pistoles. Formerly they dealt wholly by the way of exchanging one thing for another, but, since their commerce with the *Europeans*, instead of money they trade with raffade, and little glass baubles, and iron bars. The best things they bring us in these markets, (which they keep at the end of some town) is elephants teeth, bullocks hides, and some slaves, which they come to *Goree* to sell; and for which messieurs of the company give them iron, *Aqua-Vita*, raffade, &c. by which they make a considerable gain.

The government there is hereditary and monarchical, yet it is not the sons of the king who succeed, but his nephews, his sisters sons. This custom, which may seem a little odd, is grounded on this reason, that it is not certain that the children the prince has by his wives are really his; whereas it being undeniable, that the children of his sisters are certainly her's; and so it follows, that they are rather of the blood royal than his own.

Their government hereditary.

When the prince comes to the throne, every body strives to congratulate him, because he has carried it from his brothers; of whom there being commonly many, the empire always becomes contested, and falls to him that has the greatest force and the best success.

The king is approached with difficulty and reverence; and few are admitted into the heart of his court. When any great lord, though he be his relation, would have audience of him, he pulls off his frock at his entrance into the court, being quite naked from the waist upwards; when he draws near the place where the king is, he throws himself on his knees, afterwards bows his head, and with both his hands strews sand on his face and head; then rises, and repeats the same ceremony often at such a distance, till he comes within two steps of the king: being there, he stops, and declares the motives he had for demanding audience: his compliment ended, which is made on the knee, he rises without daring to look at the king, resting his hands on his knees, and from time to time flings sand on his forehead.

How the king is approached.

The prince, who carries it very high to his subjects, makes a shew as if he scarce heard him, and so diverts himself with something else; yet, however, at last, he vouch-

vouchsafes him a short answer, with excessive gravity. And then the suppliant rejoins the courtiers who are found there.

How absolute and respected he is.

I do not believe there are any kings in the world more absolute, and more respected than the negroes, which proceeds from their severity; for, on the least offence of the subject, an order is sent to behead him; all his goods are confiscated, and his whole family enslaved. The middle sort are happier than the great, being subject only to captivity on these occasions.

Who are well received by the king.

The *Azoagbes*, the *Marabous*, and the *French*, have much more liberty than the negroes; and we a great deal more than these. When the *Europeans* approach him, they salute him with reverence; and he presents them his hand to lay it on theirs. At this time he either sits or lies after the fashion of the negroes, on a bed, spread with a quilt, covered with red leather, with a pipe in his mouth; he makes them sit down by him, and asks what they have brought along with them.

How much he loves presents.

What presents are brought him.

As we never have these audiences but when we have some favour to request of him, or to complain of his officers, or of some injuries offered the whites, we never come without presents; which commonly consist in ten or twelve pots of *Aqua-Vita*, a little sugar, some garlic, five or six ells of linnen, and some bits of coral.

Remark on the reception of envoys.

When an envoy has any thing about him that pleases the king, as coat, stockings, shoes, sword, or hat, he desires to try them, and then makes them his own; he did thus a little after our arrival to an envoy of monsieur *Dancourt*; from whom he took a brocade waistcoat, his stockings, hat, and shoes; so that he had been forced to return naked, if by chance he had not carried other cloaths with him, that were of a lesser value than the others.

The presents of the king of the negroes.

While the *Aqua-Vita* lasts, he is never sober; so that there is no expecting an answer, till it is all out; when he is sober, he dismisses the envoy, giving him two or three slaves, which he sends to his guards to take away at the first village. Miserable are they who fall under their hands at that time, for they never stand to chuse, but the first at hand serves the present occasion.

Whatever care you take to supply yourself with provisions, when you come to solicit any thing at this court; yet you run the risque of starving; for the king demands them, and eats above one half himself; and, in return, he gives you a kid, or a quarter of a camel, which is very ill food, a little coscoufe, and some palm-wine.

While I was in this country, a pleasant thing happened; which shews the power that presents have over these kings, and what little regard they have to justice: two little tributary kings to *Damel* were at strife concerning the succession to a little poor sovereignty; they were brother and son to the late prince, and bottomed their pretensions on divers reasons, too tedious and too inconsiderable to be mentioned here. They proposed to end their difference by force, or the king's decision; the king having forbid the first, they were forced to stand to his judgment.

On the day appointed for giving judgment in their difference, the two parties met in the great place before the court, accompanied with great numbers, that seemed to form two battalions, about thirty yards distant from one another; they were armed with darts, bows, zagages, javelins, and morisco knives; the king, followed by six-hundred men, accoutred with their *Gris-Gris's*, appeared mounted on a fine *Barbary* horse, and so placed himself betwixt the two rivals.

Though they all spoke the same language, yet they made use of interpreters, who told the king again what they heard. The son of the deceased ended his discourse, in remonstrating to him, That, seeing it had pleased GOD to bestow the sovereignty in dispute on his father, the right of it now belonged to him, which he hoped his majesty would confirm to him. The king, having heard him attentively, said to him with an air full of gravity, GOD has given it you, and I give it you again after him.

Such an answer presently dispersed the party of the uncle, who retired all alone. The *Guiriots*, with their instruments and drums, celebrated the praises of the victorious, saying to him, You deserved it, the king has done you justice; for you are more handsome, more rich, and more valiant than he.

While this poor prince thought to enjoy his happiness, he was surprised to see himself stripped next morning of this sovereignty, with which he was newly invested; for his uncle, losing no time, made such a noble present to the king, that he forgot that of his nephew, and dispossessed him in the morning of that which he had given him the night before, installing the other in his place. This change of fortune made the *Guiriots* change their note, who now bestowed all their praises on him whom they despised before: such is the perfidiousness both of prince and subject.

What is the conduct of the king when he goes a progress.

To return to what concerns the king in particular; when he goes a progress, he has no need of vivandiers, for he is provided for, by the several villages through which he passes. They serve him up sometimes fifty wooden dishes of *coscoufe*, seasoned after several ways; he receives those which agree with his palate, and gives the rest to his attendants, who are frequently as hungry after dinner as before; for you must know, they have all great stomachs.

The negroes manner of eating.

They all eat very nastily, lying along on the ground, taking it up by handfuls; making no use of either napkins or plates. No body eats with the king but the grand *Marabou*, or one of the most accomplished lords, and very often he eats alone.

He will by no means suffer the *Thoubabes*, (for so he calls us) to see him at meals; I believe he conceals himself from us, as believing we eat better, and with more decency than his custom will allow; or rather, that he is ashamed of his poverty. Amongst the meaner sort, all of a family eat together: their first dish is *coscoufe*, and, when they have done with that, they fall a-board the flesh, which they tear in pieces with their fingers, making no use at all of their knives; and, after they have gnawed it, they put it into the dish again for the next. They use only their right hand in eating, which is always at noon and night; for they reserve the left hand wholly for labour, and on that account they esteem it an indecency to eat with it.

The officers of king *Damel*.

The king has several ministers of state under him, who assist him in the government, and in the exercise of justice. *Condy*, who is a tributary sovereign, is after the manner of our constable, and is general of his forces; the grand *Geraff* is the chief justice throughout all the dominions of king *Damel*; he goes the circuits from time to time to execute justice, and hear the complaints of the people; and he generally does justice out of hand, for he punishes a thief with slavery. It being a rarity for a man of a mean condition to be inflicted with the punishment of death.

The king's *Alzari* exercises the same employ as the *Geraff*, but his power is more limited: he has under him *Alkaties* or *Alkairs* of great villages, that are as particular lords of them.

When a negro is accused of any crime, of which he cannot easily be convicted, in order to his justification, they oblige him to lick a red-hot iron three times: if it burns him, he is reputed guilty; if not,

he and his accuser leave the court, and the process falls without costs.

The negro kings go to war with one another on every small pretext. And, when any such occasion happens, the *Condy* assembles all the great lords, and the rest of the subjects; of which he composes his cavalry and infantry. They seldom have a body of above twelve or fifteen-hundred men, so that their war is only a sort of skirmishing excursion. In all the kingdom of *Damel* you can scarce raise two-hundred horse: the men of quality in the army, especially the horse, are loaded with *Gris-Gris*, as I have already observed; so that, when they are once dismounted, they are not able to march four paces on foot.

Their horse are armed with *zagages*, which is a sort of a dart, long and large, with three or four spears, bigger than those of arrows, and have several small hooks, that tear open the wound when they draw it. They can cast these *zagages* a great way, and go very rarely without them: besides these, they have a *scymetar*, and a *morisco* knife, about half a yard long, and two inches wide: they guard the blows with a round buckler made of thick leather; and, though they are encumbered with so many utensils, yet they have their hands and arms at liberty, and can fight smartly.

The foot are armed with a *scymetar*, a javelin, and a quiver filled with fifty or sixty poisoned arrows, that wound mortally, if they are not immediately seared with hot irons.

The teeth of their iron-headed arrow produces another miserable effect; for they cannot be drawn back, without making the wound more dangerous than before.

Their bow is made of a cane, resembling that which we call a *Bamboo*. That, which they make use of for the string, is another sort of wood, curiously fitted up for that purpose. They are so dexterous in shooting out of bows, that at fifty yards distance they will hit a mark, the breadth of a crown-piece. They march without any order of discipline, even in the enemies country. The *Guiriots* excite them to battle by the sound of their instruments.

As soon as they are within shot, the infantry discharge their arrows, and the horse cast their javelins. This discharge is followed with blows of *zagages*. They spare their enemies as much as possible, that they may make the more slaves; from which their persons of quality are not exempted. And, as they are naked and

How and for what the negro kings make war upon one another.

The arms of the horse.

The arms of the foot.

and expert in the using their bows, &c. their wars are always very bloody. They are very resolute, and had rather lose their lives, than be guilty of the least cowardice. The despight that is shewed to a coward amongst them, and the fear of losing their liberty, does very much augment their courage.

Their first shock being over; they often renew it again for two or three days together; afterwards send a *Mara-bou* of each side to treat of a peace. When they have agreed on the conditions, they swear upon the *Alcoran*, and by *Mahomet*, to the observing them; though they know very little of the one or the other. The prisoners on either side re-

Their way of making peace.

ceive no benefit of the treaty, but continue slaves as if the war was eternal.

See here the best account I could give of these countries; if I can discover any thing farther, before my return into *Europe*, I shall give you an exact account thereof, in compliance with the desires of my friends, who enjoined me to communicate my observations to them. My little knowledge of writing, and my indifferent stile, will soon let them see, I am not capable of transmitting to them these relations. All that they must attribute to me, is fidelity and truth in them, which I prefer before all the romantic amusing accounts in the world.

The Bookseller's Advertisement to the Reader.

A Particular person that is very knowing, having travelled the coasts of *Africa*, and seen the author of this voyage at *Gozee*, has sent me these following relations: I thought myself obliged to publish them, for the benefit of the public, and affix them to this; withal, acquainting you, that they are not the remarks of the *sieur le Maire*.

Relations of the Islands and adjacent Places of the Rivers of Bresalina, Gambia, Zamenee, St. Domingo, Geve, &c.

The kingdom of the Barbasines.

THE kingdom of the *Barbasines*, who are almost all *Mahometan* negroes, is of small extent, having not above six or seven leagues of coast: it joins with that of the *Foloffes*, beginning at a village called *Fovalle*, situated on the sea-coasts, and inhabited by some *Mulatters* and *Portuguese*. There is another small village which they call *Coringua*, which is nearer to cape *Verde*, and a dependant of *Fovalle*, where commonly they drive the greatest trade.

The river Bresalma.

About six or seven leagues hither, you meet with the river *Bresalma*, whose mouth is very large, but choaked up with sandbeds, that nothing but canoes, shallops, and little barques can go into the river: the trade of this kingdom is very inconsiderable, the country affording no valuable commodities; yet the *Portuguese* buy salt and provisions here.

The river of Gambia.

On the same coast, two leagues higher, is the river *Gambia*, which has two channels for vessels, one to the north, and another to the south, where ships of four hundred tons may easily enter. You must first find the passage with a sloop, for fear of striking upon the sands: being passed, you meet, bending towards the north, the kingdom of *Baria*; whose king lives a quarter of a league from the sea. The

The kingdom of Baria.

inhabitants are called *Maudingues*, and are for the most part *Mahometans*.

The *Isle of Dogs*, to which you may go dry-foot at low water, is directly opposite, in the river. The *French* did formerly inhabit it, but they had their throats cut by the negroes. Since which it has been wholly deserted, being of no consequence.

The *Floupes* negroes, of whom I shall speak hereafter, are directly at the entrance of the south-side.

Six leagues farther up the river to the north, is the town called *Albroda*, where, before the war, the *French* had an establishment: but the *English* have one now, at a village called *Zeelfray*, about a league higher on the same shore.

They have also a regular fort in the island over-against it, which is not above half a quarter of a league about, built on a gravelly rock.

This fort has above fifty pieces of cannon mounted, which are of no great use, for want of men to manage them: they are forced to fetch all their water and wood from the main land. These are they who have the best share of all the trade that is driven on this river; which chiefly consists in negro slaves, ivory, and wax. It is navigable above two hundred leagues.

A Descrip-

A Description of the River Zamenee.

THE river *Zamenee* is inhabited by several sorts of negroes; those at its mouth, towards the north, call themselves *Floupes*, a people extremely savage, with whom no nation has any commerce. They are all *Pagans*, having every one his god according to his particular inclinations; one worships a bullock's horn, another a beast, or a tree, to whom they offer sacrifice, according to their own manner.

Idolatry
of the ne-
groes.

Their ha-
bits.

Their dress is like those of cape *Verde*, and the inhabitants of the river *Gambia*, which consists in a piece of cotton cloth, striped after the manner of the country, which barely covers their nakedness.

Have no
kings.

They have no succession of kings, the most absolute and most powerful amongst them commands.

Their
riches.

They understand cultivation very well, and make very good improvements of their lands, which they sow with mill and rice. Their riches consist in bullocks, cows, and goats; of which some of them have great quantities. They possess the coast all along as far as the river *Gambia*, and about six leagues into the land. Their towns

are well peopled, and about a quarter of a league distant one from another.

The negroes or floupes that inhabit the south entrance of this river, are exceeding barbarous and cruel; for, when they can catch any white men, they give them no quarter; and some say they eat them. The cruelties of the negroes or floupes.

These are in possession of the country all along the coast, to a town called *Boulol*, which stands at the mouth of the river of *St. Domingo*. This coast is much better peopled than that of *Gambia*: The villages are about two leagues distant one from another, and about half a league from the sea.

About seven or eight leagues farther, the ebbing and flowing of the sea makes a little river, which leads to the town of *Jam*, where the *Portuguese* make great quantities of wax, which they traffic with by land to *Gambia* and *Cacheaux*.

The adjacent countries are inhabited by negroes, who are called *Bagnons*; and these have a king, that lives twelve or thirteen leagues from the sea.

A Description of the River St. Domingo.

THE river of *St. Domingo* runs from east to west, winding the length of two-hundred leagues. It is also inhabited by different sorts of negroes, and by the *Portuguese*, who have several towns there.

The river
of St. Do-
mingo.

At the north entrance of it, there is a small fort belonging to the *Portuguese*, mounted with four guns, and commanded by a serjeant and four soldiers.

Four leagues higher, on the same shore, near the village of *Boulët*, is the little river of *Linguim*, which runs the length of nine or ten leagues under ground, and then loses itself. It is possessed and cultivated by the *Bagnon* negroes, who are all idolaters, and very much dreaded by their neighbours.

The village of *Quongain* is directly at its entrance, where abundance of *Portuguese* and *Gourmets* inhabit, who make great store of wax there.

The river *Boguinda* is on the same coast, about three leagues higher than the tide comes: it spreads itself twelve or fifteen leagues into the land, inhabited by the same sort of people; who, as I have told you before, traffic altogether with wax. It is the ordinary passage from *Cacheau* to *Jam*.

The river
Boguinda.

On the entrance of the river of *St. Domingo*, to the south, is a large wood called *Matteformose*; and a village inhabited by the floupes, much more civilized than those I have mentioned before: with whom a trade is maintained for slaves and provisions, but chiefly for great quantities of rice. The wood of Matteformose.

Going up the river about two leagues, you meet with a small rivulet, which is not navigable, but separates the floupes from the *Papels*.

The *Papels* are *Pagan* negroes, all idolaters, as the former. They have a king who dwells five or six leagues from them: when any considerable person dies, they sacrifice bullocks, cows, kids, and capons to their gods, which are for the most part one or more trees, the horn of an ox, &c. The Papels sacrifice.

In the same road, about four leagues higher, you find the town of *Cacheau*, now in the hands of the *Portuguese*, who have three forts there; the chief of which may have about ten or twelve guns, and the other two, three, or four each. A captain-major has the government of it, who has a dependence on the governor of cape *Verde*; they are every year recruited with thirty or forty *Portuguese* soldiers, who are generally

The town
of Cache-
au.

generally banished criminals ; they supply the places of those who die for want of wholesome diet, by necessity, or by an over-addicting themselves to women. It is designed them a place of exile, though they often find it happy enough. There may be about three-hundred inhabitants in the town, who are for the most part *Mulatto's* ; the other may have wives or concubines.

There is in the town a receiver of the king's customs ; for the ships that come to traffic there pay ten *per cent.* for coming in and going out. There is a *grefferi*, or writer, who holds the place both of publick notary and sheriff : it is the governor who administers justice. There is a parochial church, a curate, and a visitator, who is in the nature of the great vicar of *France* ; for he always makes visitations on behalf of the bishop of *St. James*.

There is also a convent of *Capuchins*, where there are seldom more than three or four religious.

The inhabitants of the town have little boats and barques, in which they trade on the rivers of *Nonne*, *Pougues*, *Serlione*, and to the islands of the *Bezagots*, where they have a great commerce with wax, slaves, and some small pieces of ivory.

The *Portuguese* have yet another town, a great way higher up the river, about one hundred and fifty leagues from *Cacheau*, called *Farim*, pallisadoed round ; the inhabitants are not so numerous as at *Cacheau* ; though the greatest part of them have summer-houses here, where their gourmets make callicoos, and some small quantities of wax. There is also a curate, and a captain-major, who is dependent on the town of *Cacheau*. The negroes that inhabit the adjacent countries are all called *Maudingues* : all the villages, from *Cacheau* to *Farim*, are peopled by the gourmets of the *Portuguese*, who gather cotton, &c.

Going southward out of the river of *St. Domingo*, you meet several islands ; the first is called the *Three Islands*, which effectively has that figure : possessed by the gourmets or negroes, who have freed themselves from the slavery of the *Portuguese* ; and most of them, though they are baptized, have renounced the catholic faith. They cultivate this island, which produces great store of cotton, of which they make their cloth. They have canoes to serve them in their traffic with the negroes of the continent. The place which they pass is called the *Bott*. They are very careful not to let any vessels or barques approach their island.

Over-against it is the island of *Bussi*, in possession of the papels, who have a king

not very absolute. The sea is so shallow there, that one may pass to it without being up to the mid-leg.

It is dangerous trading with them, till their ways are thoroughly known ; for their strange mistrust makes them believe there is no sincerity in us. I know that several *English* and *Dutch* have been massacred for endeavouring to trade with them. They abound in provisions, as oxen, fowl, fish, mill, &c. but they are of a very indifferent relish. Their island is about ten leagues in circuit, and has two ports ; the one to the east, which is called *Old Port* ; the other the south, which is called *White-stone Harbour*.

Right over-against it, is the village of *Cazelut*, and many small islands which are not inhabited. Very near it you will find the island of *Bisseaux*, about two leagues distant. A vessel of three hundred tons may pass betwixt them both, if the channel be well known. It is about forty leagues in compass ; the papel negroes that inhabit it are almost all pagans. There are in this island nine kings ; one of which is superior to the other eight, which properly are no more than deputy-governors.

When any of the kings die, they take care to strangle above thirty persons, chiefly the young girls, and those slaves that have been the most faithful to the deceased, whom they bury along with them. They put with him into his tomb all his riches, as his gold, silver, ambergris, stuffs, &c.

When they chuse another, it is after this manner, they are only the gearges that make pretensions, which are, as I may say, the dukes and peers of *France*. They gather in a ring, in the middle of which is the tomb of the deceased king, made of reeds and very light wood, which is sustained in the air by several negroes, who in dancing toss it up, and him on whom it falls, they chuse for their king in the room of the deceased : they often sacrifice to their gods, bullocks, capons, kids, &c. There are several good harbours in this island, the best of which is called *Port-Risseaux*, where ships of sixty guns may ride at anchor in safety. The king's palace is within half a league of it : there is one parish and a convent of *Capuchins* ; several of the *Portuguese* are married to the negresses of the country.

There are several of those heathens sons have received baptism, and embraced the catholic doctrine. The king has his guards, his army, and several women of all ages. He has about fifty canoes of war, manned with about thirty men each. For their arms they have only a scimitar hanging on their

their shoulders by a short belt: and are cloathed only with the skin of a kid, which hangs loose behind, and is fastened before betwixt their legs, to hide their nudities. They go to war against the *Biaffares*, who inhabited the continent, twice or thrice a year.

Their
arms and
habits.

The *Portuguese* formerly built a fort there, mounted with eight guns, to hinder strangers from coming to that isle, that they might engross it all to themselves: but the negroes will not suffer it, for they are all sticklers for the liberties of their country; which occasions a welcome to all

manner of strangers that come to traffic in their ports, who may negotiate in the island with all imaginable security, without dreading any insult, if you offer none. When you arrive at their ports, you are not suffered to land till the king has sacrificed a bullock; which done, you have liberty to disembark.

Just over-against the port is an island called *Sortiere*, full of trees, where the negroes make their grand sacrifices every year, in which the king himself assists. Vessels anchor very safely there.

A Description of the River Geva.

The river
Geva.

THE river of *Geva* winds itself about seventy leagues into the continent, from north-east to south-west. All the villages of either side (which are about a league from the sea) are inhabited by the *Biaffares*. At the entrance of the river, towards the north, is a village called *Gouffode*, about a league from the harbour: there it is where bullocks and poultry are to be sold; and they also traffic for some slaves.

On the same river, about five leagues higher, is the town of *Geva*; the greatest part is possessed by the *Portuguese* and *Gournets*, which is incompassed with palisadoes.

They have a parish-church, a curate, and a captain who commands them, and is dependent on the governor of *Cacheau*: the adjacent places are inhabited by the negro *Biaffares*; most of the *Portuguese* have barques in the port, in which they trade to *Serlienne*, with a sort of fruit called *CoËters*, which both in shape and

taste resembles the *Marous* of *India*; they are both white and red, for which they drive a great trade, especially with the *Biaffares* and *Mandingues*. They also send their barques to trade with the *Bizagot* negroes on the river *Nounne* for elephants teeth, &c. Indigo in the leaf, which they dye their cloaths with.

The barques can go no higher than *Goree*; but their canoes will go up several little rivers of small note. Just over-against the port you meet with several little islands, especially that of *Boulam*; well stocked with trees, and about six leagues in compass, lying just at the entrance of the river *Rio-grando*, but not inhabited. The other islands are so inconsiderable, I do not think it worth while to mention them. I shall say nothing of *Cape-Verde*, *Senegal*, or the *Canary Islands*, understanding that the *sieur le Maire*, with the assistance of *monfieur Dancourt*, has said more than I am capable of saying.

The isle of
Boulam.

A B R I E F

Discovery or Description

Of the most famous Island of

MADAGASCAR, or *St. LAURENCE*,

In *Asia*, near unto the *East-Indies*.

W I T H A

Relation of the Healthfulness, Pleasure, Fertility, and Wealth of that Country, comparable to, if not transcending all the Eastern Parts of the World; a very earthly Paradise; a most fitting and delicate Place, to settle an *English* Colony and Plantation there, rather than in any other Part of the known World.

A L S O,

The Condition of the Natives, their Inhabiting, their Affability, Habit, Weapons, and Manner of Living; the Plenty, and Cheapness of Food, Flesh, Fish, and Fowl; Oranges and Lemons, Sugar, Ambergris, Gold, Tortoise-Shells, Drugs, and many other Commodities, fit for Trade and Commerce, to be had and gotten there, at cheaper Rates than in *India*, or elsewhere.

A L S O,

The Trading from Port to Port all *India* and *Asia* over, and the great Profit gained thereby; the chief Place in the World to enrich Men by Trade, to and from *India*, *Persia*, *Mocho*, *Achin*, *China*, and other rich Eastern Kingdoms: It being the fittest Place for a Magazine or Store-House for Trade between *Europe* and *Asia*, far exceeding all other Plantations in *America*, or elsewhere.

L I K E W I S E,

The excellent Means and Accommodation to fit the Planters there, with all Things needful and superfluous for Back and Belly, out of *India* near adjacent, at one fourth Part of the Price, and cheaper, than it will cost in *England*; yea, fat Bullocks, Sheep, Goats, Swine, Poultry, Rice, Wheat, Barley, &c. exceeding cheap; for the Value of twelve Pence, or one Shilling *English*, will purchase or buy, of the Natives, as much as five, six, or seven Pounds, or more, in *England*, in this famous Island, at their first Arrival, which no other Country hath afforded.

By RICHARD BOOTHBY, Merchant.

To the R E A D E R.

Courteous reader, this book was intended to have been published in *August*, in the year 1644, but many lets have impeded the same; my own weakness of body, the hindrance of a captious licenser, blaming the rudeness of the stile, and my placing *Madagascar* in *Asia*, which he would needs have to be in *Africa*; but, whether in *Asia* or *Africa*, I yet rest unresolved, some mariners accounting it in *Asia*. It has been also delayed by some principal members of parliament, to whom I committed the perusal, whose multitude of more weighty affairs would not admit time for that purpose; and lastly, it was occasioned by the visit, in my long continued sickness, of an *East-India* merchant, mr. *Francis Lloyd*, my loving friend, whom I had not seen, for seven years or more before, who, hearing of my intention, desired to have a sight of the rough manuscript; which, after some time, he returned me, offering to add somewhat thereunto, touching the encouragement for a plantation at *Madagascar*, and the certain great benefit by commerce from thence to all parts of the world, by making or settling there a magazine or store-house for trade into all Christian and Heathen kingdoms. This his free offer I thankfully accepted, knowing his intelligence, in the eastern parts of the world, to be second to none of this nation, he having been often employed as factor and purser of the admiral-ship into *India*, and five times to *Madagascar*, and frequently visited those many rich kingdoms, and got great experience in the trade, traffic, and commerce of them all; which now he having performed, I have inserted his observations; yet, not desirous of attributing vain-gloriously to myself, nor to detract from his deeper judgment, far beyond my own, who never was but once in *India*, and that but one year and half; and, during that space, a close prisoner, not for any crime, but through the malice and revenge of a lewd president and consul in *India*, I have caused his advice and intelligence to be marked, with his name in the margin, thereby to be distinguished from what is the product of my own weak capacity, and so to give him his due desert, far surpassing mine, and second, in that kind, to none in *England*. Therefore, gentle reader, I intreat thee to accept both our endeavours and hearty well-wishings, to God's glory, his majesty's honour, and the welfare of our indeared native country, in good part, which we refer to thy charitable censure.

Excellent Encouragement for Settling an English Plantation at Madagascar in Asia.

C H A P. I.

The Occasion of Printing this rude Treatise or Pamphlet; Prince Rupert's Intent to plant at Madagascar; Mr. Walter Hammond's Book, in Praise of this Island, will give good Encouragement for a Plantation; he, that is Lord or King of Madagascar, may easily, in Time, become Emperor of all the Indies; also the Cheapness of Necessaries both for the Back and Belly to be had out of the Indies, for the present Relief of the Planters.

FORasmuch as great talk and rumour hath happened, this last spring, 1644, about divers of his majesty's subjects adventuring to *Madagascar* or *St. Laurence* in *Asia*, near unto the *East-Indies*, and there to plant themselves, as in other parts of *America*; and seeing some, by report, are already gone upon that voyage, and myself have been desirous to deliver my opinion thereof, in regard of my being and abode upon that island, three months or more together; as, first, about eleven or twelve years past, by the right worshipful dr. *Henry Gouch*, master of *Trinity* college in *Cambridge*, who himself, in his passage into *Persia*, in company with the right honourable sir *Dodmore Cotton* and sir *Robert Sherley*, ambassadors from his majesty king *Charles* of *England* to the king of *Persia*, was in that country, whom I satisfied, the best I could, out of those brief notes which I had taken, not expecting to have been required my opinion thereof, for, otherwise, I would have been more exact and diligent in my observations; yet I gave him some content, chiefly, I think, with a book I lent him to take a copy of, the writing of the priests or religious men there, which dr. *Gouch* told me, was the ancient writing of the *Egyptians* in hieroglyphics, or characters of strange shapes like beasts, fowls, worms, serpents, &c. or like unto utensils or tools of labouring men in several vocations; which having perused and copied out, he returned to me again with thanks. Secondly, about six or seven years past, the honourable *Endymion Porter*, and that excellent gentleman,

tleman, captain *John Bond*, well affected to that plantation, desired me to give him some of my observations in writing (it being at the time when the right honourable the earl of *Arundel*, and other honourable persons, intended to persuade prince *Rupert* to undertake that business; which, no doubt, had he performed, would have been more effectual to God's glory, more advantageous, and more honourable and beneficial unto himself and his brethren, than to countenance a civil war in this kingdom, so much, at all times, respectful to him and his family) which, though rudely and defectively, for want of my lost papers, I performed, was acceptably by them also received, with the book formerly mentioned, which they presented to his majesty, as a valuable present; and, though the book was grossly charactered, and bound up by the savages, yet it cost me the price of six or eight fat oxen: I also gave mr. *Porter* some of the savages weapons, as darts, and a long knife about two feet long, the blade and haft together being much of an equal length; and also a curious *India* painted bow and arrows, with a quiver lined with crimson velvet; for all which, they offered to bring me to his majesty, to kiss his hand; but I refused, not thinking my present worthy so great an honour, and therefore desired to be excused. *Thirdly*, because I understand that mr. *Walter Hammond*, surgeon, who was, at the time of my last being at *Madagascar*, with us in company, hath lately written a book of the worthiness of that country, and the benefit thereof, to the encouragement of adventurers, and dedicated the same to that worthy gentleman, captain *John Bond*, which yet I have not seen. I have, for the reasons premised, adventured to deliver my opinion in writing to public view, though rudely, being far inferior, in such abilities, to that honest able person, mr. *Hammond*, to the further encouragement of the worthy adventurers and planters that shall think fit to adventure their purses and persons in that excellent and famous action; and, perhaps, I may hit upon such inducements, by way of trade, or commerce, more proper to my vocation, as may give more encouragement for the proceedings herein, than in any other already settled in the parts of *America*: for, as our *English* proverbs observe, There is no service like to the service of a king, and no fishing comparable to the fishing in the sea; so I will

add a third true proverb, That there is no trading or commerce equivalent, for profit, to that of the *East-Indies*, and the parts adjacent; and more beneficial, by the commodity of the fruitful rich island of *St. Laurence* or *Madagascar*, situated near *India*, *Persia*, the *Red-sea*, *Achin*, *Java* major, *Bantam*, *Jombee*, *Macassar*, *Malabar*, the five kingdoms, as I take it, of *Decanii*, *Golicunda*, *Bengala*, *China*, &c. and multitudes of rich kingdoms in and near *India*; which, being inhabited with Christians, would prove the magazine for trade to all the oriental parts of the world, as of late *Ormuz* in *Persia* was accounted, and at present, with us in *Europe*, *Amsterdam*, or *Holland*, is esteemed. And it is, in my humble opinion, very possible, that whatsoever prince of Christendom is once really possessed of, and strongly settled in that brave, fruitful, and pleasant island, by computation, three times as big as *England*, may with ease be emperor or sole monarch of the *East-Indies*, with all the multitude of its rich and large kingdoms; which, no doubt, but the eyes of many *European* princes are fixed upon; but that great disturbances, in most parts thereof, as at present unhappily in *England*, hinder and give impediments to their wished designs; which, in zeal to God's glory, my gracious sovereign's honour, and my native country's welfare and prosperity, I from the bottom of my heart wish, that some more learned and persuasive pen than mine, rude and ignorant, might prevail with his gracious majesty king *Charles*, the right honourable high court of parliament, and all true-hearted able persons of the nobility, gentry, &c. to take in hand, even in these obstructive times, to adventure each man some small proportion of means throughout this kingdom, which, though but small to every particular person, yet, undoubtedly, would amount to a considerable sum of money, sufficient to undertake that action as a business of state; and, for the better accommodation therein, that plantation may be served, for a time, with all necessary food and raiment, and even superfluity, out of *India*, for a fourth part of a penny, or three parts in four, cheaper than out of *England* to other plantations in *America*, as far distant, if I be not deceived, from *England*, as that country is from *India*, or further. That I may give the best advice and encouragement, in this affair, that my weak capacity will allow, I shall descend to the following particulars.

The Country's Situation under the Tropic of Capricorn; the Healthfulness of the Country; Augustine's Bay, a chief and excellent Harbour for Multitudes of Ships; the Pleasantness and Fertility of the Country; a second Land of Canaan, or Paradise of the World; and the Portuguese rich Trade to Muffamberg on the Coast of Malindia.

AND, first, as to the situation of the place, I mean *Augustine's bay*, the chief harbour in that island, it is situated near the tropic of *Capricorn*, in twenty-three degrees of south latitude. The country, as all those parts so near the line are, is hot, but yet, in my opinion, not so hot as *Surat* in *India*, which lies in twenty-one degrees north latitude, near the tropic of *Cancer*; during my abode there above three months, in *June*, *July*, *August*, and *September*, 1630, I could ever endure to wear an *English* suit, and that of cloth, which I could never so well brook in *India*; and it is of so healthful a condition or constitution, that, in almost four months of our abode there, being about four-hundred and sixty persons in two ships, the *Charles* and the *Jonas*, we did not bury one man in all that time, nor, to my knowledge, were there any sick; and, besides the company, we met with four ships out of *England* at that place, which continued with us making merry, refreshing and feasting about three weeks, in which ships could not be less, by my computation, than six-hundred men at least; and also another ship that came with us out of *India*, and abode with us a longer time, and departed from us to return into *India*, three or four days or some short time before the *English* fleet came in, containing in her one-hundred and fifty men; yet not one of all these great numbers died, or were sick, during their abode there, to my best remembrance. The haven, that we all anchored in, is called *Augustine's bay*, a very large and safe harbour for shipping, which skilful seamen can describe better than myself, and may contain, by report of some, a thousand or more, or many hundred sail of ships in good and sure hold for anchoring, of great depth, within a bow-shot off shore or thereabouts. The country about the bay is pleasant to the view, replenished with brave woods, rocky hills of white marble, and low fertile grounds: what is within the land, I can say little of, having never been a mile from the sea-side, but many of our men, which have straggled further, have given a good report thereof; and it is likewise commended by others that have either read or heard of

the riches of this country, that the same abounds with mines of gold and silver and other minerals: moreover, that in the island is a large plain, or champaign country, of meadow or pasture ground as big as all *England*: which if it be so, though I am somewhat doubtful of its great extent, yet, without question, very large in many places, must, by reasonable consequence, afford multitude and variety of fowls and beasts and other creatures for food, cloathing, necessary use and delight, and questionless such low grounds afford store of large and small rivers, pools, and ponds replenished with multitudes of good fish, water fowls, &c. and it is apparently manifest, or very probable, by the quantity of brave fat oxen, cows, sheep, and goats brought down and sold unto us by the natives, for refreshing so many people, that the country is very fertile, they selling us brave fat oxen for about eight, nine, or ten-pence an ox, worth by computation, in *England*, six, seven, eight, or ten pounds a head; and, after that rate, for goats and sheep, or a little dearer; they sold also good capons for three-halfpence or two-pence a-piece, and excellent good oranges and lemons reasonably; and the common men drank good store of milk, though out of their callibashes, not very cleanly. The bay, or creek near it, affords us store of excellent fish of many sorts, as, pikes, mullets, breams, and many others, whose names I cannot recollect; and shell-fish, as, crawfish, shrimps, prawns, and some lobsters and oysters; and sure the place affords abundance and variety of shell-fish of strange sorts, as appears by the abundant different shapes of their shells curious to behold, and the shells of esteem in *England*, by *John Tredecant* and *mr. Slade* dwelling about *Lambeth*, who treasured up such to please curious people, and to adorn rocks and water-works in gardens of great persons, of which sort *mr. Slade* had of me, *gratis*, a considerable quantity. And, without all question, this country far transcends and exceeds all other countries in *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, planted by *English*, *French*, *Dutch*, *Portuguese*, and *Spaniards*: and it is likely to prove of far greater value and esteem to any Christian prince and nation, that

that shall plant and settle a sure habitation therein, than the *West-Indies* is to the king and kingdom of *Spain*: and it may well be compared to the land of *Canaan*, that flows with milk and honey; a little world of itself, adjoined to no other land, within the compass of many leagues or miles, or the chief paradise this day upon earth.

Mr. Lloid's intelligence. This gallant island of *Madagascar* affords these several rich commodities following, viz. ambergris, gold (the old earl of *Denbigh* brought from this island of *Madagascar* gold sand, which he presented to the king's majesty and the council-board; and I was at the council-board, when this gold sand was in question and approved of) and tortoise-shells, which sell at *Surat* for twelve shillings per pound; copper, bitter aloes, excellent good rice and wax, dragon's blood, divers rich gums, ebony, sanders, and *Coboe* wood, which sells at *Surat* for fourpence per pound; tamarind, and divers rich drugs: you may get, by slaves of both sexes, and timber, either to *Persia* or *Mocha* in the *Red-Sea*, fifty-thousand pounds per annum; and your slaves will put you to little charges, for they live upon rice and water. This island of *Madagascar* is about nine-hundred miles in length. There are many kings upon this island, the south part whereof lies in twenty-five degrees and thirty-five minutes, and the northern part is short of the equinoctial; the inhabitants go handsome in their accoutrements, and speak the *Arabian* tongue; and they have junks in which they trade to and from the four islands, which lie about thirty leagues off, viz. *Joanna*, *Malalo*, *Combro*, and the *Majottes*; and to the coasts of *Malindia*. The island of *St. Laurence* is a gallant place for a magazine or rendezvous, for

the coast of *Malindia* lies off this island forty or fifty leagues. The *Portuguese* have a great fortification at *Mussamberg* therein, and upon these coasts they get most of their riches, and drive all their trade in *India*; otherwise it was impossible for them to hold out so long, because of their great loss both by the *English* and *Dutch*. The *Portuguese* drive a brisk trade upon this coast; from twenty-six degrees south latitude to three degrees north, they get great store of gold, elephant's teeth, wax, ambergris, and divers sorts of rich gums and commodities, which cost them a very small matter, for they trade with knives, bells, pentathoes, barber's-aprons, coarse calicoes, looking-glasses, &c. I have been at taking of a junk twenty-eight years since, which came from this coast of *Malindia*, laden with elephant's teeth, ambergris, and rich gums. The *Portuguese*, coming from *Mussamberg* and bound for *India*, always touch at the island of *St. Laurence*, and there buy slaves for their plantation. I have been, about seventeen years since, at taking of a junk, laden with slaves of both sexes, and sanders wood which came from *Mussamberg*, and so to *St. Laurence*, and then reladen and bound for *Goa*, as we found by a *Portuguese* pass.

If I may be worthy to advise, after a trade is once settled at *Madagascar*, what a brave gallant trade may be had upon the coast of *Malindia*, three or four small ships may be employed all the year long, coasting and trading along the coast, from twenty-six degrees south latitude to three degrees north; and, putting off coarse *Indian* commodities, you may lade your ship with rich commodities, very acceptable and vendible in those parts, so that you need not carry any money out of *England* into *India*.

CH A P. III.

Hogs in Malindia have Stones in their Maws as precious as rich Jewels; the Affection of the Inhabitants to our Nation above all others; Portuguese Friars slain, to accompany the King of Madagascar at his Death to Heaven; great Store of wild Fowl and Turkies; the Envy of the East-India Company, against a Plantation, may give the better Encouragement thereunto; no Gold, Silver, nor any rich Commodity of so high Esteem in Madagascar, as red Cornelian Beads.

THE *East-India* company have sent out, about twenty-five years since, elephant's teeth in the ship by me, for they are in great request all over *India*; the *Portuguese* put two-thousand tons yearly off, which they get on the coast of *Malindia*: also on this coast there are many wild hogs, and in the maws of them there grow stones, which the *Por-*

tuguese call *Petra le Porco*, that are esteemed, in all *India* and *Asia*, for expelling of poison. The like is not to be had in the world, for that purpose; for the bezoar stone is not in such request by many degrees, and little valued in those parts, for the *Portuguese* drive a very great trade in *India* and *Asia* by this excellent gem, *Petra le Porco*. I have read

of it, and likewise in a manuscript of the right honourable sir *Thomas Roe*, when he was employed as lord ambassador by his majesty king *James* into the *East-Indies*, to settle the trade for the *East-India* company in those oriental parts, wherein he writes far more at large than I have expressed. It is thought by divers wise men, that, where these hogs are on the coast of *Malindia*, the soil is very good; and that it affords excellent good grass, herbs, fruits, and drugs; which is the chief cause of the extraordinary excellency and vertue of the stones that grow in the said hogs maws; which are in so great esteem all over *India* and *Asia*, as not to be paralleled. This said coast of *Malindia* is adjacent to *Madagascar*: likewise there are above fifteen hundred tons of wax yearly brought, from the coast of *Malindia*, to *India*, which is in great request; rich gums, and divers sorts of drugs; also the *Portuguese* bring plenty of very fine gold and ambergris from *Mussamberg* to *Goa*.

So that all the world may understand, what a rich trade the *Portuguese* have on the coast of *Malindia*, who, for these many hundred years, maintained a very strong garison at *Mussamberg*, for there are an hundred pieces of ordnance in their castle. I am confident the richest and best trade, the *Portuguese* have in *Asia*, cannot parallel this on the coast of *Malindia*; besides, if *St. Laurence* island had once a plantation settled, what a brave gallant place of commerce would it be? For this island stands in the very center of the world for trade, and you may build small ships, for there is good store of timber; and the natives build junks of two-hundred tons a-piece at the northermost part of this island.

The country people love and much affect our nation, and *Andrew Pela*, who is one of their kings, living near the bay of *Augustine*, offered, both to captain *Weddall* and myself, if we would come and live with them, that they would let us have so much land as would serve or maintain one-hundred thousand men; we had this king a-board the ship *Charles*, made much of him, and gave him a present at his return. In this king's discourse, we found how cruel the *Portuguese* had been to them, coming a-shore and carrying men, women, and children by force away; they cannot endure the *Portuguese*, telling me how they betrayed them with pictures.

At any time, when our seamen shew a picture to truck for a sheep, or the like, they start back and run away, crying out,

Portuguese, Portuguese, Portuguese, for they cannot endure images. But, at the northermost part of this island, there were priests and friars who lived with them for a time, thinking to convert them; the king of that place departed this life, and the natives of that country put the friars and priests to death, telling them the reason, before they put them to death, because they were religious men, that they must prepare themselves to die, to keep the king company to God; this trick they put upon the *Portuguese*, for they are generally hated. I dare say no man can give a better or more perfect account than myself; I have sailed round about this island, and have been a-shore five several times; and, for commerce, I was the man that dealt for all, or whom I should appoint in my absence, because we would keep to our price, and not under-rate our curious commodities, that is, the long cornelians; five or six whereof purchase an ox's worth here in *England*, ten, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen pounds an ox; fifteen good sheep, for the value of ninepence; I have caused the steward of the ship to weigh the rump of a sheep, after it was flayed, and it weighed thirty pounds and odd ounces.

The tropic of *Capricorn* lies twenty-three degrees thirty minutes, south latitude, off *Augustine's* bay; our ships road is just under. In this bay there are three banks of very good ground to anchor upon, and many sail of ships may ride in fifteen fathom water very secure; for I have a draught of the bay.

There is good store of refreshments, fish, flesh, and fowl. I gave leave to one of our men to lie a-shore one night to kill fowl that come to roost, towards the evening, in the woods; he killed thirty-five wild turkies in one night, for there is great plenty of wild fowl. The place is very healthful; I have been there, when we have come out of *Europe*, five ships together, and landed at the bay eighty sick men, and forty of them were lifted in blankets out of the ships into the boats, and so carried a-shore, for they were able neither to go nor stand; and, after they had been but three days a-shore, they were all well, and able both to walk and run. At this bay I have been many times; there is good water and wooding; our carpenters cut down good timber, which they sawed and made both planks and boards, that were used a-board our ships: I have been seven miles up in the land from the bay. I presented Mr. *Endymion Porter* with some novelties which I got at this bay

bay of *St. Augustine*, viz. tortoise-shells, that he promised to make himself combs with; I also gave him some dragon's-blood and divers sorts of other gums; after which, he sent his coach for me, and carried me to the council-board. Prince *Rupert* was there, at that time, and I then delivered my opinion, and since too; which business was concluded upon, and past the broad seal, for the island of *St. Laurence*.

Sir *Maurice Abbot*, alderman *Garway*, and four more of the *East-India* company did oppose this affair of *Madagascar* at the council-board, saying this island was very unhealthful; but I, Mr. *John Cartwright*, and *Bartholomew Churchman* maintained, that the said island of *St. Laurence* was the healthiest place in the world, and the *East-India* company were blamed, for disparaging the same.

The northern part of this island is excellent good pasture ground, and better harbour for shipping than *St. Augustine's* bay; and there the best commodities may be procured, viz. rice, great plenty of sugar, cocoa-nuts, plantains, pomegranates, woshee, which we call in *India* *Toddy*, and fine materials for building houses, by which means a very considerable traffic is to and fro carried on in their junks. I have sailed two days and a half, about three or four leagues from the shore; we found and had twelve fathom water; we sailed, in this two days and a half, two-hundred and thirteen miles, from the northernmost part towards the southern part of this island; and, at this distance, it appeared to be green and full of trees, and fine, low, level ground: this I affirm, upon my credit, and am ready to make good; likewise there do lie off this island many small spots, rocks and islets, between *St. Laurence* island and *Mauritius*; and there is a great current which sets you to the westward.

As for the inhabitants of this island of *Madagascar*, without question, it is well peopled, though, about the sea-side, we, by computation, saw not above two or three hundred, who live not there continually, as we supposed by their ill-accommodated houses, or booths made of boughs and sticks, small and low like hog-sties, or calves-coops; the people are affable and courteous unto us, whatsoever they are unto others; and, finding our men straggling abroad, and not knowing the way back to the ships, would peaceably conduct them to their tents; but yet it is dangerous to trust them too far; for experience hath taught our nation the treachery of the savages in *Virginia*, *New-England*,

&c. Ten or twelve of our men, made a motion to our admiral, captain *John Weddall*, of their willingness to continue there, until more shipping came, to discover the country, if he would furnish them with arms and necessaries; but he and the rest, chief of the fleet, thought it not expedient to adventure them, although the natives desired captain *Weddall* to abide there, and be their king and governor, and to take their parts in battle against other savages, whom they accounted their enemies.

They live, as we conceive, by tribes or families, and the eldest are most in esteem with them; their captain was *Andrew Pela*, the chief of note at the sea-side, who sold us but indifferent cattle, at our forementioned prices; but our long abode there caused more, further inland men, to come down and trade with us, bringing us better cattle, and at cheaper rates, with capons, oranges and lemons, which before we wanted; and among the rest was *Massy Chora*, whom *Andrew Pela* would have had us to make war against, telling us he came to rob them of their treasure and jewels; being *Indian*, red, cornelian beads, both round and long-squared, which are of most precious esteem with them, slighting gold, silver, brass, iron, or other metals, or glass-beads, coral, amber beads, or any other toys, unless they may have them gratis.

These long, red, cornelian beads, &c. must be provided before-hand in *India*, or else the people, that come thither for refreshment, or a plantation, must not expect their desired accommodations. At our voyage outwards, we wanted them, and could get none or very few cattle, and they old and lean, for silver and coral beads of forty times the value of cornelians, which they call, at *St. Laurence*, *Haranga*, and were to be bought in *India* for eight or ten shillings per hundred, or thereabouts, for which, about six, seven, or eight of them, a fat ox, as aforesaid, might be bought; but, at our return, we were well furnished with them, and wanted not, in exchange, excellent sustenance for ourselves, and the four *English* ships that met with us, which otherwise must have missed of their refreshment, and have been forced, as we were outward bound, to sail to the islands of *Combro*, *Joanna*, or *Malalo*, where, from a savage nation about two-hundred leagues distant, we were forced to buy worse cattle, for forty or fifty shillings a-piece, in royals of eight, than at *St. Laurence*, for a few beads, as aforesaid.

C H A P. IV.

The Comeliness of the Natives, though naked, being personable and of a pleasant Countenance ; their Weapons not dangerous or of great Annoyance ; their small Use and Unskilfulness in Labour or Manufactures ; great Probability of Sugar and Spices at Madagascar ; the Praise of the Island, comparable with the Land of Canaan.

THE inhabitants, both men and women, are of comely features, in person, and of as amiable countenances as in any places of *Europe*, only black, or rather tawny, naked and without cloathing, except a small covering to hide their shame, by a girdle or skin about their loins, or a rag or clout tacked in before and behind between their legs ; but some of their principal women have a piece of striped callico cloth, or pintado, tacked about their loins, and reaching down to their knees, or shorter. Their haranga, or cornelian beads, they wear about their necks, and in their ears, stringed so long, that they reach below their breasts, or lower ; some, according to their abilities, having more choice, clear, red cornelians than others, whereof, in their bargains, they are very curious to pick out the clearest and freest from spots ; their hair, both of men and women, is decently cut, and formed not much unlike to our cavalier fashion at present in *England*, short before, long on the sides, and longest of all behind ; which, both short and long, being plaited or breaded, as gentlewomen have their hair, in three plaits, well becomes them ; and they have on the tops of their heads a parcel of hair, almost or about half a foot long, standing upright, by tying or rolling it about with a thread or silk, or some kind of string.

Their weapons are darts of several sorts, some bigger, and others less ; some broad and pointed like lances, and others less, bearded like fish-hooks, or broad arrow-heads ; with the smaller that are bearded, I have seen them dart fish, swimming in a shallow place of the sea near the shore, and, by a line tied to their dart, draw them up out of the water ; they also have knives long and narrow, though not fit for stabbing, but rather to cut with, as a bill ; of these I saw not many, not above two or three ; though some men may and do carry with them, of both sorts, half a dozen or thereabouts ; yet few carry above one, two, or three, which are not dangerous, unless at a near distance, and, even then, cannot come with such violence or swiftness, but they may be avoided, by stepping aside, putting by with a staff, or

the like ; and their bodies, being naked, are subject to all annoyance of the like or better offensive arms. Their heads being uncovered, and the mornings cold, till about eight o'clock, or later, they hover together about fires, which they quickly kindle, by taking of a small round stick no bigger than a tobacco-pipe, at the middle or thicker end, which setting with one end upon a broad piece of wood or chip, and rolling the longer round stick hard in the palms of their hands upon the other piece of wood, the heat thereof, with other dry combustible stuff ready at hand, presently kindles a fire to warm them ; and also to dress their meat, which is a very slovenly way, taking it cut out of an ox, with the head of a great dart (with which they speedily quarter an ox, and hit the joints so exactly, as is not to be conceived, unless we saw it) and laying their pieces a little upon the coals, and eating it, the better half, raw, and full of ashes ; yet some, I think, they boil, for I have seen among them a kind of pots or kettles ; but, whether of earth or metal, being very black, I cannot tell, for I never handled them ; and, whether made in the country, or brought unto them by the *Portuguese*, or some Heathen nation, is uncertain. The fat or suet of their cattle they save, and the better sort of them rub their heads and hair every morning therewith, which lieth in lumps upon them, until the heat of the sun melt it, and then it moistens their heads, and descends their bodies, which they also grease or anoint ; and are smooth, plump, and decent, tho' strong of smell ; but the poor, or slaves amongst them, that want those means, have their bodies of an ill aspect, dry and scorbutic, parched with the heat of the sun ; and, feeding harder and more coarsely (of what we know not, except of dirty guts and puddings) have their bellies swelled, as if they had the dropsy : and, tho' they have good store of fat cattle, yet the poorer sort of people suffer hunger, who lie about our tents, and gather up the worst scraps we cast away ; and, in their canoes, frequent the ships, calling out for *Tellabenna* and *Tellaffunga*, as I take it, meat and bread ; and the mariners and others,

thers, for their pastime, will fling them out neats-feet, which they despise, and dry marrow-bones, or the like, that speedily sink, for which they suddenly leap out of their boats, dive a great depth after them, and bring them up in one hand. Their canoes, or boats, are made of one piece of timber, long and narrow, like a hog's-trough; upon the upper part whereof, they fasten two sticks a-cross their-boats, half a yard or more from each end, about two yards long or longer; and upon each side, to meet with the ends of these staves or sticks, they fasten two more that stay up their boats from overturning; which leak so, that they sit in water, and continually lade it out; one or two more sit therein with little paddles, not much bigger than shuttle-cock battle-doors, to row withal.

They make little use of labour or manufactures, and those are of small value; I have seen a carpenter, for so I term him, making a canoo, or boat, of a piece of timber like a hog's-trough, as aforesaid, having no better tool than a little ax, such as children, or youth, may play withal, the iron, or bit thereof, not above two inches broad, which must needs make long labour. I have also seen a smith at work to make dart-heads in a strange manner, having no other tool, that I could see, but a stone for the anvil, and another for his hammer; and, for his bellows, two hollow canes about three quarters of a yard long, and near as thick and round as a man's leg or thigh, which they place together close to a little fire, with small holes to let the wind out at the bottom; they had, to expel the wind, two staves like churn-staves, wrapped about half the length, at the bottom, with a sheep's or goat's skin, the wool-side outward, like a sponge that gunners use at sea, to wipe their guns, and make them clean, which being lifted up, and pressed down again, force out the wind. I also, as I remember, saw one weaving, like our poor people or beggars in *England*, who sit in high-ways weaving coarse tape; so he wove narrow striped stuffs of cotton yarn, about a quarter of a yard broad, which, I suppose, they sew two or three breadths together, to make, for the better sort of people, coverings for their shame and nakedness. Where they have their materials is uncertain; whether in the country, or from the *Portuguese*, or other nations. What other food they have, besides flesh and fish, as, corn, rice, and other sorts of grain, is doubtful; yet there we saw

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some of them have small quantities of rice and *Gravances*, so called in *India*, which are a kind of smaller sort of beans, and of great use for diet in *India*; and, in the *English* house at *Surat*, they eat them, being young, buttered, instead of green pease; but they are not so pleasant as our pease, when they grow old or at the worst. I have likewise seen some, at one time, gnawing and sucking green sugar-canes; whence it is certain, that sugar-canes grow there, and, perhaps, quantities of sugar may be made thereof; and, doubtless, there are vines in the country, for I have seen some wild vines growing upon the rocky-hills in *St. Augustine's bay*. Some of our people have said, that they heard it from the *Portuguese*, that the country affords pepper, and other spices; which our *English* also affirm, who have been far within the land, sailing some days journey in a large navigable river, where they met, as they reported, many people offering them cattle, for a half or fourth part of the price we paid for them at *St. Augustine's bay*; and, having shewed the natives pepper, cloves, mace, and nutmegs, they signified to them, that there was plenty of those commodities in that country, certain days journey, or nights-sleeps distant, by winking and putting their heads under their hands, and pulling them back again; they talk also of large plain pastures and meadows, replenished with cattle of all sorts, beeves, sheep, and goats feeding thereon; and, questionless, the country, lying in or near the same degree of latitude, or distance from the line as *India*, produces the same fruits, as, cocoa-nuts, plantains, musk-melons, and other pleasant melons as great as our *English* pumpions; and likewise the toddy-trees, which produce as good liquor, as white-wine and sugar, with which, in regard of the cheapness thereof in *India*, our *English* and *Dutch* mariners drink so much of it, as to be often intoxicated therewith. The country extends itself, in length, from about eleven and a half degrees south latitude, to twenty-six degrees; in which large extent, it comprehends many famous countries that lie either under the line, or under or near both tropics, and so, by consequence, must, in all probability, participate of the fertility, pleasure, and wealth of them all, if not surpass them, being, indeed, the paradise of the world; especially if once inhabited with Christians or civil people, skilful in agriculture and manufactures, and all sorts of mechanic arts and labours.

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In further commendation thereof, I will take the liberty of extolling it, I hope, without offence, as *Moses* did the land of *Canaan*: "It is a good land, a land in which rivers of waters and fountains spring out of the vallies and mountains; a land of wheat and bar-

ley, of vineyards, of fig-trees and pomegranates; a land of oil-olive and honey; a land wherein thou shalt eat without scarcity, neither shalt lack any thing therein; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose mountains thou mayest dig brass."

C H A P. V.

The idolatrous Worship of God, or the Devil. The Natives addicted to Theft and Robbery. A Project of the deposed Bishops to plant at Madagascar. A Specimen of the Language of that Country.

THUS, without dissimulation, have I shewed what my memory doth at present call to mind, having lost, or given away, such brief notes or papers as I had taken at my being there; yet one thing more I recollect, which I should not forget, touching their manner of idolatry, or devilish worship and sacrifice, which, some of our people conceive, was rather to the devil, not to hurt them, than to God. However, I am not altogether of their opinion, but rather think the contrary, by their feasting and rejoicing, a little before our departure, as a kind of thanksgiving to their idol god or gods, for the benefit they received by trading with us, and praying for our prosperity, and frequent return, as some thought; the circumstance whereof I will declare, as briefly as I can, and as my memory will allow: One morning, the savages killed an ox (and I do not remember, that I saw or heard, that, during our abode there, they killed any other) and a post, about eight or nine feet high, was set up near their booths, upon which the head and horns of the bullock were placed, and the post all over daubed with the blood thereof. The ox was cut out and divided among the better sort of them, and eaten half raw, and half broiled upon coals, and full of ashes; and, whether before or after their feast, for I have forgotten, they came out of the woods from their booths into a plain, a bow-shot or two from their habitation, where were stuck up in a row fifty or sixty great poles as big as the larger sort of hop-poles, all the bark being pilled off and made white, and placed, by computation, about four yards asunder; and between every pole, about three feet distance, a stone near as big as a great turnep or apple placed in a straight row; and, in the middle of the poles, a cross pole laid, about a yard or an ell high, whereon they hung all or many of their

chains of beads or haranga. Near unto this cross pole, having an altar of beads, as I term it, before them, sat all the ancient men, women, and children; and on the other side of the altar and poles were two companies of young men, about twenty or thirty, or more, in a company, each having a dart in his hand, and ranked, as I take it, by three in a rank or row, each company being distant from the other, about four or five rods, or more. Being thus set in a comely posture, they sung and danced, keeping a regular stroke and action with their feet and hands, according to the tune; as I have seen, in a market town in the country where I was born, divers gentlemen, &c. associated together, having, for their pleasure, music playing before them, with every one a cypress hat-band, then in fashion, put over their faces, dance regularly through the market, and chief streets in the town, and so into an inn and tavern, to make merry together; these savages observing time as exactly, in proportion to their sound or singing, as the others do to their music.

In many postures of their dancing, they make a shew of fight or defiance, one company against the other, presenting their darts, and sometimes, of a sudden, both sides gathering themselves into a ring, and laying their heads together, as at a consultation, and then suddenly falling again into their posture of dancing, as decently as a company of trained soldiers into their several postures; and each party hath, on their side, a trumpeter sounding, with a confused harsh noise, a large crooked ram's-horn.

Their priests, as I call them, of one of whom I bought a book, as aforesaid, laying their fore-fingers upon one of the strange shapes or characters therein, preach or read a lecture or homily upon that text, a good space, and then remove their fingers to another. This feasting,

ing, dancing, or sacrificing was, upon a sudden, dissolved, by reason of the multitude of our men on shore, who, hearing of these sports, came flocking thither apace to see them; but the savages fearing, as I conceive, lest our men should rob them of their haranga, which they prize as dear as we do diamonds, and other rich jewels, took them all from their altar, and departed to their tents or booths, and so this exercise ended; yet a word or two concerning the justice or punishing of offenders: Their chief captain or commander had lost out of his booth some of his jewels, which were found stolen by a young maid or girl, belonging to another man, either his daughter or slave; the father or master of the maid, to clear himself innocent of the fact, took his lance or great dart, and presently slew the girl (surely, it was not his own daughter, but rather, his slave, else, though a Barbarian, he could not have been so cruel to his own flesh and blood.) This shews that they have some kind of government or law among them: but that, notwithstanding, they are addicted to theft and robbery, is no less apparent; for, when they met our men in the woods, although they did them no harm, they used to search their pockets for beads, and rob them of them, and yet would bring them down to their ships, when they could not well tell how to find their way.

As I was myself standing among our purfers and others, buying cattle for the ships provision, and having a chain of beads in my hand, a young man snatched at them, to have gotten them from me, but, being disappointed, ran away; and, though one of our men in company shot an arrow after him, he missed him, and we never saw his face again.

It is a great pity so pleasant and plentiful a country should not be inhabited with civilised people, or rather Christians; and that so brave a nation, as to person and countenance, only black or tawny, should be so blindly led in their devotions, being, as some suppose, *Mahometans*, in regard of their manners and custom of circumcision, or rather, as some suppose, descended from *Abraham* by his wife, or concubine, *Keturah*, whose children begotten of her, because they should not be a lett or impediment to the promised seed by *Isaac*, *Abraham* sent them away to inhabit in the east, as the scripture mentions. A happy thing it were, both for them and this kingdom, if that project had or should go forward, which a gentleman of *Hunting-*

donshire, bred a merchant, in love told me; which he heard from others, or rather, as I understand it, from bishop *Moreton's* own mouth, that, if the bishops of *England*, lately dismissed from voting in parliament, and tyrannising in temporal authority, should still continue in disrespect with the king and parliament, they, or most part of them, would go and plant a colony in *Madagascar*, or *St. Laurence*, and endeavour to reduce those ignorant souls to Christianity. God grant that, by them or others, such a pious design may speedily take effect; and that there may be, among Christians there seated, more harmonious concord in religion than in *Virginia*, by report, hath lately happened; where disagreeing in points of religion, as at present unhappily in *England*, they have taken up arms, one side against the other, there being slain of themselves, or killed by the natives, seventeen-hundred; and it is doubted the *Virginians* will make ill use of such dissension, and cut all their throats on both sides, to the irreparable loss and ruin of that famous *English* plantation; though so excellently accommodated, after forty or fifty years, or more, sufferings of many of the first planters; which God forbid, and grant better news to succeed; and that these countries already planted, and this most hopeful one at *St. Laurence*, may be special receptacles and succours to truly religious *English* protestants, if it shall please God to punish the nation, for the crying sins thereof, by the prevalence of malignants and tyrannous papists. By loss of my papers, in which notice is taken there of things convenient to the furtherance of a plantation at *St. Laurence*, I am deprived of some considerable parts of their language or speech, which, in my opinion, was not difficult to attain; but, perusing an old table-book, I found a few words of their language, penned down for my remembrance, which are somewhat difficult at present to read, being fourteen years ago written in an imperfect manuscript.

However, I thought it not amiss to recite what I have lately found, which, with the help of others, especially of *William Casey*, late purser of an *Indian* ship, who took more pains therein than myself, if his papers can be found, will give some light therein, to the help of others, who desire to attain the knowledge thereof; and the particulars, which I have discovered, I will here, in the best manner I am able, set down:

Viz. (*nooroon no zeff*) how call you this?
Tona, a man.

Codex,

Codez, a woman.
 Tope, a child.
 Coma, a house.
 Ose or Angomba, a cow.
 Gose, a sheep.
 Cowhee, bread.
 Camba, water.
 Bingta or Sooa, the head.
 Nunqua, the eye or ear.
 Toee, the nose.
 Umqua or Songe, the lips.
 Coonqua or Niffa, the teeth.
 Goma or Soca, the chin.
 Coaquua or Effena, the arm.
 Cabed, the elbow.
 Unaqua or Tanga, the hand.
 Hongko, the finger.
 Chamkee or Noeno, the breast.
 Oncoma, the neck.
 Hicuma or Toa, the belly.
 Coa or Ungoot, the knee.
 Noo or Vote, the leg.
 Iqua or Kambo temba, the foot.
 Hica or Vota, the yard or viril.
 Charaquua, the cod.
 Anatnicke, the little finger.
 Voylee, the buttock.
 Lemboshe, the back.
 Sowkee, the shoulder.
 Mife, yea.
 Maligna, a root that smells sweet, and
 is like a bulrush.
 Moade, a chain of small beads.
 Voylea, hair.

Maca, an eye.
 Saffee, an ear.
 Leela, the tongue.
 Hobo, the thumb.
 Fala tanga, the palm of the hand.
 Choroqua, the nails of the hand.
 Syra, salt.
 Humeray, to-morrow.
 Soo, a pot.
 Pingbara, a gun.
 Vyra, a sword.
 Fajaro, a little dart.
 Leffo or Mura, a lance or great dart.
 Caba, a hat or cap.
 Lomba, cloaths.
 Memma, a cloke or skin.
 Hoboqua, shoes or slippers.
 Aqua, an arrow.
 Fenga or Talle, a rope.
 Siffe, a knife.
 Hicba, a bow.
 Heboo, a turnspit.
 Acuto, to dart.
 Renova, milk.
 Hiboo, a small fish.
 Longora, a great fish.
 Hirboree, brags.
 Chichata or Ruttee, naught.
 Chara, good.
 Longasba, a good man or friend.
 Laga Rattee, a bad man or foe.
 Cheruse, nay.
 Calibus, a bottle, cup, or basket.

C H A P. VI.

Great Encouragement to the Plantation; the Cheapness of Cloathing or Apparel to be had out of India for the Use of the Planters; the rich Attire for Persons of Quality to be had there exceeding cheap; all Sorts of Herbs, Roots, Fruits, and Fowls to be had in Abundance in Madagascar; Trees yielding great Store of pleasant Liquor, nothing inferior to Wine and Sugar in England; the excellent Vertue of Indian Mirobalanes.

TO the furtherance of this renowned plantation, the following advantageous commodities and accommodations, far above other plantations, are sufficient to persuade pious, virtuous, and wealthy men, and others, that desire the advancement of God's glory, the honour of their sovereign prince, the welfare of their country, the enrichment of themselves and their posterity, and the charitable relief of God's poor elect upon earth, to undertake this worthy enterprise.

In the *first* place, the country is healthful and pleasant. *Secondly*, it is already, of itself, furnished with the principal things necessary to the sustenance of men, especially beef, mutton, goats, poultry, fish, and fowl. *Thirdly*, it affords oxen for present tillage, the chief of wants, in

all other plantations, which no other hath done, or can afford. *Fourthly*, it is as near or nearer to *India*, than other plantations to *England*, where all things, either for necessity or superfluity, are to be had, for the fourth part of the price, and less, than in *England*, or other Christian kingdoms; as, rice, an excellent dainty food, as it is cooked in *India*, whereof kings and great men daily eat, with pleasure and contentment, and never surfeit therein; wheat, barley, and other sorts of grain; good arrac, and excellent strong drink made of rice, which, mixt with sugar, water, and lemons, or syrup of lemons, or drank alone, all which are to be had exceeding cheap, with all kinds of spices, make a pleasant, wholesome drink, surpassing any wine to be

be had in *London*, of which good use may be made (though water there gives more content, it being so good, and even better than in *England*) until beer, brewed from malt, may be brought to perfection, which may soon be effected, as I shall shew hereafter.

Also from *India* may be had cloathing fit for those warm countries, to keep a man or woman neat, comely, and clean, for twenty shillings a year and under; nay, I dare affirm it, for ten shillings a year. Bedding is exceeding cheap, either of extraordinary fine cotton-wool, or silk cotton, far better, and more to be desired than feather or down-beds; and coverlids, whereof, in those warm countries, they use but few, of the most curious sorts, even the choicest quilts, may be had, for five shillings a-piece; and such are the sheets, and all kinds of linnen, both for cheapness and curiosity, that no part of the world affords the like. Moreover, good shirts, white and fine, mean people may procure at eight, ten, or twelve-pence a-piece, and cheaper; and not so fine and white are to be had in *England*, for three or four times that price: I myself have worn no other than *Indian* shirts, these sixteen years, of which six, of three shillings a-piece, have lasted me continually three years together; whereas those of like fineness are not to be bought under twelve shillings a shirt, or dearer, in *England*; shoes of *English* fashion are no more than six-pence a pair, and boots two shillings; caps or mouteirs, light and easy, and far better than stiff heavy hats, made of sattin and taffety, fine painted linnen, &c. quilted or embroidered, are much cheaper than hats.

The better sort of people, that affect to cloath themselves, their wives, and children, in a rich genteel fashion, may do it of sattin, taffety, wrought damask, black, or coloured, and rich stuffs mixt with gold and silver thread, at cheaper rates than with our coarse *English* cloth or stuffs. Jewels of all sorts, pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones, with curious bracelets for gentlewomen, and others of chrystal, agates, jasper, cornelian, red and white, and elutropean stones, &c. are at a low rate, with rings and pendants of the same; so cheap, that I have sold that in *England*, to be sold again by exchange-men and goldsmiths, for five or ten shillings a ring or pendant, which have not cost me, in *India*, above a penny or two-pence each; likewise ostridge feathers, for women's fans, or for the use of gentlemen, captains, soldiers, &c. with

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curious paper or leather fans, gilt and painted; brave cabinets of ivory, ebony, and sanders wood, &c. artificially inlaid with mother of pearl, agates, and other stones and ivory, so cheap as cannot be imagined; with all dainty perfumes of civet, musk, ambergris, and rose-water in abundance, extraordinary cheap; which, I hope, will induce lords, ladies, knights, gentlemen, gentlewomen, farmers, artificers and handicrafts-men to resolve upon a pleasant easy voyage of three or four months. The *Portuguese*, *Dutch*, *Danes*, &c. have undertaken extremely dangerous voyages to far remoter parts, to plant themselves, not to be compared, for profit and pleasure, with *Madagascar* or *St. Laurence*. I pray God the king's majesty and the estates of this kingdom may take it into speedy consideration, lest they be prevented by some other nation, who, doubtless, have curious eyes and thoughts employed on this design; as of late the right honourable the earl of *Southampton*, and the honourable gentleman, mr. *John Craven*, brother to the lord *Craven*, who, intending to send out ships and planters to the island of *Mauritius* beyond *St. Laurence*, had disbursed many thousand pounds, with that view; yet, neglecting a proper opportunity, the *Dutch*, hearing of their project, made more haste, and prevented them, having now planted in that island, to their great renown and accommodation, in time, and heavy loss of those honourable persons and this nation, in general.

All sorts of fruits, herbs, roots and flowers, of great esteem in *India*, of what nation soever, may be transported thither, and will infallibly grow in so rich and fruitful grounds; and, for more speedy growth, if those transported out of *Europe* or *England* fail, at the first, for want of skill to preserve the seed, &c. in regard of the length of the voyage, yet those out of *India*, not above a fourth part of the way, may be brought good, both to sow and to plant, as, radish, lettuce, carrots, turneps, onions, mustard-seed, and many others of greater value, than those in *England*. This island, questionless, affords (if not, they may easily be transported thither) those excellent trees, for good and pleasant liquor, as toddy and palmetto-trees, which distil, by art taken from them, plenty of excellent drink, no way inferior to, if not better than white-wine and sugar, especially the palmetto wine; but the toddy wine, except some of the best sort, tastes as if it came out of horns; and therefore, if not there already, may be transported

thither

thither the cocoa-nut tree, which yields a nut as big as a child's head, whose kernel is excellent meat; and of that fruit are also made oil, vinegar, and other dainties, the tree itself yielding thread or yarn, fine and coarse, to make ropes, cordage, and cables for ships, and many other uses. There may be also had many other trees of excellent fruits, as, mirobalanes and plantains, which our *English* term *Apples of Paradise*, wherewith the serpent beguiled *Eve*; the mirobalanes and plantains from the trees are far daintier, in taste, than our apricots; and, that they are preserved, for health and pleasure, is well known to confectioners and physicians. The plantain grows by clusters, an hundred more or less together, as big as a large bean-cod, and is as pleasant, in taste, cutting it in small pieces, as buttered parsnips; and they use to eat it continually at meals, with vinegar, pepper, and salt, to abate the sweetness. The tree, being of the bigness of a middling apple-tree, bears no boughs, but great leaves an ell long, or longer, and both leaves and body are excellent meat for cows; for the body is no harder than a well grown cabbage, and may be cut down by a good sword at a blow; I myself have cut down many at *Malalo*, to carry a-board the ship, to feed cattle that we bought there to preserve.

Mr.
Lloyd's in-
telligence.

There are five sorts of mirobalanes; the one is like our apricots or great plums; the stone is eight-square, an excellent preserve, and in great request, and sells very dear in *Persia*, and elsewhere; the other four sorts are used in physic; the doctors and druggists can tell the several names, virtues, and qualities, with respect to the four elements of man's body. In *India*, there are some of these mirobalanes worth fifty or a hundred pounds a-piece, which, held in a sick person's hand, will suddenly, if not immediately, cure him of his disease, either of the bloody flux or fever, and two other diseases which I have forgotten.

Now, the curious vertue of these four sorts of mirobalanes, which cure diseases,

by holding them in the hand, appears thus: At the time of the year when they prune or lop their trees, they cut off all the branches and boughs, except one sprig; and it is a hundred to one, if the tree afterwards bears, for, if one bears, a hundred will not, but die, though commonly one in a hundred will bear; only one or two mirobalanes, at the most, will grow upon that one sprig of the tree, for all the vertue grows out of the tree into one or two mirobalanes, which are of the size of an apple, that will cure several diseases, if held in the hand of the sick party. This is very true and certain, whereof divers *Banian* doctors and brachmans have assured me; they are very dear and scarce; for great men in the country buy them up; if any of our *English* doctors did but know the vertue of these great mirobalanes, one of them would be worth a thousand pounds, and a present for a king.

But, as for the four small sorts of mirobalanes, they are in great plenty in *India* and very cheap; for I bought three-thousand weight, at the rate of a farthing a pound, and sold them in *England*, for three shillings and four-pence a pound, by wholesale, which the druggists sell for six shillings and eight-pence *per* pound. I believe there are divers mirobalane trees, which grow on the island of *St. Laurence*, or else they may be easily planted, by reason the climate agrees with *India*: for there are many sorts of trees and plants, which grow in the island of *Madagascar*, that grow in *India*, and are of equal taste and goodness.

The defect of camels, horses, asses, mules, elephants, buffles, and *Persian* sheep, of high esteem in *India*, may be supplied from *Persia*, and bred up in *St. Laurence*: and, it being a rich and fruitful country, will yield a great price in *India*, and may be brought to *St. Laurence* by *English* or *Indian* shipping, at cheap rates; a horse, in *Persia*, bought for five, six, seven, or eight pounds, is, in *India*, worth twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, or sixty pounds, or more, according as they prove.

C H A P. VII.

The Cheapness of all Sorts of Cattle and Food at Madagascar; the Turkies, before-mentioned in Mr. Lloyd's Intelligence, are not so good as ours, and I rather account them Sants, or such like Fowl, being all over speckled black and white; our People give them the Name of Turkies. The great Benefit to be made by Dairies at Madagascar, with the Means to accommodate the Making of Butter and Cheese in that hot Country; as also for Powdering of Beef, and Brewing of good Beer.

TH E *Persian* sheep are of great price in *India*, and their skins, as soft as silk, curiously curled, of a mixt colour, black and white, inclining to grey, are of great esteem in Christian cold countries. I saw the elector *Palatine* sitting at dinner, in winter, with his majesty king *Charles*, having his coat lined with them; whereupon I desired a friend in *Persia* to send me a few, who sent me seven, which cost there about sixteen shillings a-piece; which *mr. Grantborne*, the king's furrier, seeing, would needs buy them of me, and gave me thirty-three shillings a-piece for them; and more I might have had, if I would have urged him. These sheep, once gotten, and bred in so rich a country, at no charge, must needs be very beneficial to the planters, besides the accommodation of their dainty flesh, excelling any other mutton in the eastern parts of the world, and equal to, or better than our *English* mutton, having a delicate meat in their great and weighty tails, weighing two or three stone, or more, in some, as I have heard reported; and *St. Laurence* oxen, especially the white, to be bought there for twelve pence a-piece, or thereabouts, would yield in *India*, the larger sort, twenty pounds a head. I myself had a couple of white oxen in *India*, to draw my coach, for which I refused forty-five pounds; and the tallow and skins of these oxen, transported for *England*, costing nothing there, will redound to the great profit of the planters. These oxen and cows, both of *India* and *St. Laurence*, have bunches upon, or between their shoulders, like camels, of dainty meat, like to, or as good or better than the brisket-piece of a young calf, which weigh three, four, or five stone, a-piece, according to the size of the ox. The flesh of these oxen is daintier and more pleasant than ours, cutting as white as veal; and, if a number of our *English* breed, and young calves, be carried thither, they will there mightily improve, and, in regard of their horns, far exceed, in beauty, those in *India*, &c. and white

will, doubtless, out-sel the *Indian* breed, especially if brought from *Lancashire*, or the adjacent counties. Hogs they may have in plenty out of *India*, for little or nothing, if the country affords none, for they regard them not, accounting them polluted: but turkies from *England*, bred in *St. Laurence*, and their breed carried into *India*, would be of great esteem; which many have attempted to transport, but failed, either for want of sufficient room to keep them in, or diligent attendance, or because they have killed them, to provide meat for sick or dainty people in the voyage. However, in an *English* fleet, that we met with at *St. Laurence*, in our return from *India*, I saw three or four preserved alive. Rabbits and pigeons would do well, if transported for breed; but, as for pigeons, *India* affords plenty of them. Garden pease and beans, and others, with oats and tares, are not improper for this plantation, and would be of great esteem in *India*; and butter and cheese, made at *St. Laurence*, would be an excellent commodity for *India*, as well as for the plantation and shipping. The country will soon supply them with cows enough to make it; but some may alledge, that the country is too hot to make either it or beer good, or to powder beef; all which, by art and industry, I conceive, may be remedied: to the furtherance of this, I will venture to lend my weak advice, with desire of pardon if I err; but, doubtless, had I made another voyage into *India*, which malice hath prevented, I would have made experience of these things; and whatsoever I have already said, or shall hereafter, in this discourse, make mention of to that purpose. I would first advise, to build a house in the coolest place, that can be found, and most in shade from the sun; then to place the dairy-house, on the north or coolest side, under-ground, or in a vault or cellar, paved all with the coolest stones that can be had, and the sides thereof also; and, if it be paved with stones from *Ormuz* in *Persia*, whereof all the houses are built there, which,

which, beaten to powder, make excellent good salt, perhaps, it would best answer the end. In the midst thereof should be a small pond of running or standing water; and, if it can be near a river, or well, to have the water continually running fresh in, though by a small stream, and so issuing out again, it is so much the better; if not, it may be done, as in *India*, almost in every house of note, to have water carried in leather sacks or barrels upon the backs of oxen, put into an earthen cistern, and from thence by pipes to issue forth, in small streams, into the pond, which, if it be lower than the cistern, will be, with

more ease, effected. The top of the dairy-house should be open, with a lower or open place, like a turret or pigeon-house top, boarded every way with boards standing out at length, to catch the wind, and drive it down into their dairy-house to cool it; as the *Cattahents*, I think the *Portuguese* call them so, use to let the air down into their chief rooms for coolness, of which I only saw the fashion at *Ormus*; and, questionless, many *English* who have seen the form thereof in *Spain*, *Portugal*, or other hot countries, can give good directions for the performance thereof.

C H A P. VIII.

The Accommodation and Means for Dairies, Brewing of Beer, and Powdering of Meat, for the Use of Ships at Sea. The Means to make Salt-petre cheaper than in India, or elsewhere. All Sorts of excellent Materials for Building to be had in Madagascar. Poor Artificers may live by their Labour, in all Sorts of Manufacture, and outstrip all Nations of the World, for the Price of the same. Trade and Commerce, to and from Madagascar, will exceed, in Profit, all others whatsoever.

THE dairy-house, or brew-house, especially for cooling of wort or liquor, being fitted, then, round the sides thereof, leave a passage sufficient to go between the same and the ponds; shelves or strong board planks may be framed to place leaden troughs, a foot or half a foot deep, more or less as shall be found most convenient, placing the troughs half an inch or more higher or lower, with a hole at one end, to be stopped and opened at pleasure, to let out water to be put thereinto, with which let there be put a sufficient quantity of salt-petre proportionable to the troughs or vessels. In these troughs or vessels, let the dairy-woman set their milk-pans of earth, wood, brass, or any other metal, as shall be found most expedient and necessary, which will keep their milk and cream as cool or cooler than in the *English* dairy-houses; the experience whereof I have seen, and it is well known to *Indian* merchants, by cooling of water to drink; for a bottle of water, set out a little while in a small tub of water cooled with salt-petre, will make the water in the bottle so cool, that a man can hardly drink it, it being almost so cool to the teeth as to make the chops to chatter. Accordingly, I think beef, laid in salt in dry vessels of stone, lead, or other metal set in salt-petre water, will keep it so cool, that it may easily take salt; and the coolers for wort, in brewing of beer so ordered, may, perhaps, cause good beer to be made; which if it

can, as I am confident it may, be brought to pass, will be such an accommodation and benefit to the plantation, both for its own usefulness, and to transport butter and cheese into *India* (where it is not good, and but of small quantity, and on the contrary, not stored with cows, which renders it as dear or dearer than in *England*, at the highest rate) and beef for victualling of ships to sea, that it will become of inestimable value.

At the island of *Madagascar* I verily Mr. believe, and am confident, there may a *Lloyd's* good dairy be made, to make excellent butter and cheese, which will sell *intelligence*. well in *India*, *Persia*, *Arabia*, and over all the south seas, in a hundred several places; likewise for victualling of ships, both *English*, *Dutch*, *Danes*, and *Portuguese*; and for the cheese, which we carry out of *Europe* to *India*, the *Banians* give us twelve-pence per pound. At *Mocho* in the *Red-Sea*, they make very good cheese, like to our *English*, and it is there far hotter, than at the island of *St. Laurence*. But, as to salting of beef, it will keep for three or four months; we have kept it so long, but it will eat very dry, because we press it with weights, to fetch out the blood, otherwise it will not keep. The best way to keep and preserve beef, or mutton, is to make it into jerkins: the flesh-meat, which the *Indians* carry for their sea-store, which is cut in little pieces, like unto steaks, they first salt a little, and dry it in

it in the sun, till it be as hard as glew; and then you may carry it in baskets to sea, and water it about an hour before you boil it, which will render it as fresh as if it was newly killed. It will keep twelve months at the least, and is far better for the health of men's bodies, as I know to be true from my knowledge and experience.

Now, as to an objection, that may yet be made, that salt-petre is so chargeable, that it will not quit the cost; I answer, that salt-petre is cheap in *India*, an hundred weight being worth a very small matter, and may be transported into *St. Laurence*, for a fourth part, or, perhaps, an eighth, of the charge it costs by transporting the same, in great quantities, into *England*; and salt also is, in *India*, extremely reasonable. Yet, to lessen the charge thereof, both may be had exceeding cheap, made in *St. Laurence*; for I myself have seen salt, naturally made of itself, lying in the cavities of the rocky hill in *St. Augustine's* bay, which the high water filling with salt water, and at the ebb, when the sun hath power over it, it hath been converted into salt. Moreover, the following accident seemed strange to me, which happened during our abode in that country: The *English*, for their recreation, had made a parcel of ground, by much treading and playing at nine-pins, bare as a bowling-alley, or much beaten highway; and, one day, it chanced to rain, the rain stood in small puddles in some lower places of the alley, which the next day, by the heat of the sun was converted into salt, brown as our bay salt in *England*; and that, by reason of the saltiness of the earth in that place so near the sea, not a bow-shot from it, which may be occasioned by the overflowing of the same, at some seasons of the year, in that low ground; and the grass growing thereon is salt, which, for my experience, I have also tasted.

Now, if salt-petre may there be made of salt earth (as I take it is in *England*, which I have seen salt-petre men to taste of, to know thereby, whether it were for their use or purpose or no) then assuredly salt-petre may be made there for a trifle, having a dainty brook of fresh water, issuing out of the rock in the bay, sufficient to turn a mill, if such fresh water be useful for steeping thereof (howsoever, for other occasions, it is exceeding useful, and especially for the business before premised, it issuing out of the rock eight or ten feet high, or more, at low water, and may, with ease, and small charge, be carried in pipes upon the land, within a

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stone's-throw thereof or nearer;) and there salt-petre may be made to send into *England*, much cheaper than out of *India*, brought down to the port-town a thousand miles, and upon camels backs; and, being a great deal nearer *England*, about a fourth part of the way, may be shipped home for less freight, especially by ships to convey planters into that country; and there they may, even at the first return, lade, perhaps, hides and tallow, which will not stand them in a penny, though for many thousands.

For building, in this brave island, there is abundance of good timber and stone; and, no doubt, brick also may be made, as well as in *India* and *Persia*, where many buildings are made of unburnt bricks, dried only with the heat of the sun. And, doubtless, in a short time, being planted, diligent skilful men will find out there, as well as in other the like, and not so likely countries, mines of gold, silver, brass, lead, iron, tin, and other minerals, with precious and costly drugs for physic; and some aloes, we made there, sold in *London* at six shillings and eight-pence *per* pound, and excellent materials for dyers uses, with a multitude of other commodities that cannot, at present, be conceived. And the country, being well planted with artificers and manufacturers, will outstrip all others in the world, for manufactures; which, though I should grieve to give encouragement to employ men therein, to the hurt of my native country, and to the robbing the poor therein of their labour, yet being wrought there by our own natives, or by the slaves of freemen, to the benefit of the *English* planters, I do not conceive any wrong done to the commonwealth; and it will draw abundance of poor people into that country, disburden our own of many unnecessary, idle, vagrant people, who think themselves born for no other use, but *consumere fruges*, and to live upon the labours of industrious men. But that is a business beyond my reach and capacity; and, therefore, I leave it to the deep judgment of judicious statesmen, for *ne sutor ultra crepidam*.

These encouragements, already mentioned, may induce all understanding, diligent, pious, and charitable men, to take opportunities to advance this unparalleled project; and yet what follows, may much more animate them to this undertaking.

And that is the exceeding great profit to be made by trade and commerce to, and from thence, in all parts of the world,

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far transcending all trade and commerce elsewhere; for this country, being once well planted and inhabited with *European* Christians, will draw trade from all the oriental parts of the world, as *India*, with all her multitude of rich and spacious kingdoms, and also those large and rich dominions of *Persia*, *Arabia*, *China*, *Achin*, and the countries adjacent to *Mocho*, *Bagdat*, or *Babylon* in *Persia*; and it will likewise draw trade and commerce from all the wealthy *European* kingdoms, as *England*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *France*, *Germany*, *Italy*, *Denmark*, the *Low-Countries*, and other principalities, and prove the best and chief magazine, or storehouse both of exportation and importation of trade, between all *Europe* and *Asia*, which must needs make that country rich, and to flourish above other kingdoms.

And, because I have proceeded thus far, with my rude and unskilful pen, to mention the benefit of commerce in general, I will descend a little to particulars, to give some persons better satisfaction; yet, before I enter upon this, I will endeavour to clear myself of aspersions, which I expect will be cast upon me by the unworthy governor and committees of the honourable *East-India* company, who, I presume, will tax me of perjury and falshood to the said corporation, whereof I myself am a member, for discovering that which may prove hurtful or prejudicial to that worthy society; yet unworthy government, as one already hath endeavoured, though he shall never be able to make his accusation good; but, by

stirring therein, shall rather discover his own shame and malignant spirit.

And I trust in God, that the discovering of any matter, the knowledge whereof shall tend to his glory, my royal sovereign's honour, the yet hopeful king *Charles*, and the welfare of the commonwealth, wherein I was born, and now live, shall not be accounted perjury, by any law, divine or human, though it tend to the prejudice of a company whereof I am a member, and have taken oath, to perform all good, and no bad service, to the detriment of the said society; for, as I take it, all oaths to corporations always include, that the greater good to God, king, and country, is to be preferred before the less.

And, because I have had experience of the envy and malignancy of *East-India* courts, to neglect their own, and the common interest, and yet hinder private persons from doing good to themselves in particular, like the dog in the manger, neither to eat hay himself, nor permit the ox to eat it; and also to take the children's bread, and cast it unto dogs, which I presume I am able to prove: I have rather thought it expedient to employ my talent, the best I can, to profit all men, but especially the household of faith, rather than hide it in a napkin, or bury it in the earth, to the loss or offence of any: and, to this purpose, I most humbly and submissively, intreat all virtuous men to accept of my weak endeavours and abilities, in as kind and charitable a manner, as they are submitted to their perusal.

C H A P. IX.

The Riches, accruing from the Trade between England and India, may all be converted, by a free Trade, to the Planters at Madagascar. The Benefit of particular Commodities, to and from India and Persia. The piscash of a chain of gold, given by Podomsee, though of five-hundred Pounds Value, not comparable to the Benefit he received by Freight and Custom, in the massy rich Trade of Pearls, and Diamonds, from Persia into India, &c.

I Have already said, that there is no trade like to the trade and commerce of *India*, which the planters at *St. Lawrence* may reap to themselves, if they pleased; and I prove it thus: The trade, directly to and from *India*, generally produces, in eighteen months time, and less, three, four, or five for one, in some particulars; but the trading in several kingdoms of *India* from port to port, and from *India* into *Persia*, the *Red-Sea*, *Achin*, *China*, and other parts, produces, in six

months, thirty, forty, fifty, and sixty per cent. and more. The particulars of several commodities, from *India* into *Persia*, and from *Persia* into *India*, I will only instance in, having been an eye-witness thereof; and the others merely by report, which others, upon examination, can and will, no doubt, give better intelligence of, to whom I refer the reader, especially to mr. *Richard Wylde*, who told me he had made seven for one, from *Surat* to *Bantam*.

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A Valuation of certain Goods bought at Surat in India, in December 1629, and sold at Gombroon in Persia, February 1629, viz.

Sugar, ninety *per cent.* profit.
 Green Ginger, seventy *per cent.* profit.
 Indico, fifty *per cent.* profit.
 Rice, fifty *per cent.* profit.
 Cotton-wool, one-hundred and twenty *per cent.* profit.
 Mirobalanes, seventy *per cent.* profit.
 Shashes, fifty *per cent.* profit.
 Saraie Benjamin, double money.
 Cardamum, sixty *per cent.* profit.
 Soap, eighty *per cent.* profit.
 Blue Canches, forty *per cent.* profit.
 Tobacco, four for one.
 Gunderoon, forty-seven *per cent.* profit.
 Blue Chundres, or Arse-clout, forty *per cent.* profit.
 Pentadoes, thirty-five *per cent.* profit.
 Dry Ginger, seventy-five *per cent.* profit.
 Narrow Bafta's, forty *per cent.* profit.
 Broad Bafta's, forty *per cent.* profit.
 Blue Bafta's, forty *per cent.* profit.
 Sugar-Candy, seventy-five *per cent.* profit.
 Nofar or Sal Armoniac, sixty-five *per cent.* profit.
 Pincades, thirty-five *per cent.* profit.
 Red Selaie's, seventy *per cent.* profit.

A Valuation of Goods bought at Gombroon in Persia, in February 1629, and sold at Surat in India 1629, and in March 1630.

Runa's, fifty *per cent.* profit.
 Walnuts, double money.
 Wormseed, thirty *per cent.* profit.
 Cheekens in Gold, four *per cent.* profit.
 Almonds, fifty *per cent.* profit.
 Galls, fifty *per cent.* profit.
 Royals of Eight, eight *per cent.* profit.
 Raisins of the Sun, eight *per cent.* profit.
 Almonds large, thirty *per cent.* profit.
 Pistaches, five *per cent.* profit.
 Rose-water, twenty *per cent.* profit.
 ABC or Abcees, a Persian silver coin, one and a half *per cent.* profit.

With multitude of other commodities, both outward and inwards, between *India* and *Persia*, especially spices, as, pepper, cloves, mace, and nutmegs, which malice and revenge prevented me from knowing, being most injuriously confined a prisoner in *Persia*, and not allowed to carry one penny-worth of goods, on my own account; while others, far inferior to myself, made their voyage, in three or

four months, worth unto them, one, two, three, or four thousand pounds a man.

There is no trade like that of the *East Indies* and *Asia*; and, if there was once a plantation settled at the island of *St. Laurence*, in seven years time, a fine and brisk trade would be established there; for the junks, from many parts of *India*, and divers other places in *Asia*, would come thither, for the sake of the commerce: but he, that should happen to be governor of this island, must have a special care, not to take above two *per cent.* for custom, which will encourage them to come the more freely, to trade there, from *India* to *Persia*. The next year after we had taken the islands of *Kishme* and *Ormuz*, in the gulf of *Persia*, in taking whereof, I was an actor, I sold, at *Gombroon*, tobacco, at twenty for one; stick-lack pepper, sugar, sugar-candy, dry ginger, preserved ginger, preserved mirobalane, preserved bills, cardamums, soap, and divers other commodities, at four for one.

Rice, cotton-wool, at ten for one; indico, shashes, narrow bafta's, broad baftas, birames, pintathose, pentolowes, and other commodities, for one and a fourth *per cent.* cloves, mace, nutmegs, long pepper, and cuburbs, which sell at *Gombroon*, dearer than in *England*; and likewise cassia lignum, cassia fistula, and *China* roots, sell at the like profit. From *Persia* to *Surat*, horses, at three for one profit; pearls, at twenty *per cent.* silk, at twelve *per cent.* carpets, at ten *per cent.* rhubarb, at twenty *per cent.* *assa fetida*, at twelve *per cent.* brimstone, at thirty *per cent.* *lapis lazuli*, twenty *per cent.* And, the last time that I was in *Persia*, one *Podomsee*, a *Banian* broker of *Surat*, whose brother was the *Dutch* broker (I called him brother) gave me a gold chain, which came six times about my neck, and under my shoulder, of very curious workmanship, which cost as much as the gold: this pishcash he gave me, to present to my mistress. This *Podomsee* loved me better than any *Englishman*, stiling me his great Brother, which is in their language *Marrabigee*; he was a good lapidary, and had great skill in pearls. *Vergenor*, and other *Banian* merchants, sent him to *Persia*, paying the president for his passage; and he, because he loved me so well, would go in the same ship with me, and divers other passengers; and, by all means, he and several other merchants would return with me in the ship *Charles*. Two days before we came away,

way, he brought to my house, at *Gombroon*, a *supeta*, and desired me to take great charge of it, and put it into my cabinet, not telling me what was in it; but, after we were at sea, and bound for *Surrat*, this *Podomsee*, with three other *Banian* brokers; opened the aforesaid *supeta* in my cabinet; and, for fourteen days together, did nothing but sort pearls, as my friend informed me, who shewed me pearls, each of them worth ten-thousand pounds; some round, and others pendent, of the bigness of a pigeon's egg, some of them weighing fifty and fifty-five carats a-piece.

I asked, what that *supeta* of pearls was worth; he told me ten-millions. This *Podomsee* bought some pearls at *Gombroon* for me, and also diamonds; I sold my pearls, in *England*, at five for one, and my diamonds, at six for one profit. Upon my credit, I affirm, this is undoubtedly true.

A man that hath any understanding may see, how the honourable company is wronged, and what able men their committees employ, for their factors, sending home raw silk, which hardly return two for one profit.

CH A P. X.

How greatly the Customs of the Portuguese were impaired, by the Loss of Ormus, which might have been turned to the Advantage of the English, who conquered it, and indiscreetly deserted it, to the Benefit of the Persians.

THE *East-India* company, at my last arrival from *India*, hearing that I, *mr. Clement*, and captain *Weddall*, had eighteen balls of silk, took us to task about it: I told them I bought twelve balls, and *mr. Clement* six. They asked me, what I paid for it; I told them the truth. They told me I bought it as cheap as their factors did at *Ispahan*; for *lapis lazuli*, wormseed, rhubarb, galls, and *assa fetida*, make four for one profit in *England*. There are divers other commodities, which will turn to great account, in this kingdom.

Now the merchants, which come many hundreds of miles, out of the furthestmost parts of *Persia*, to meet our ships at *Gombroon*, know we stay but five weeks; and they also know, that the *English* and *Dutch* will put off their goods, at very reasonable profit, rather than carry them back again to *Surat*; that is the reason, the price is so much fallen, for the *English* factors give as much as the *Persians*, *Banians*, and *Jews*, who double their money to *Ispahan*. *India* merchants send to *Persia* great store of steel, tin, and cinnamon, for which they reap very great profit. When the *Portuguese* had *Ormus*, it was the best place of commerce, and magazine of the world, none being like it, as *Heylin* reports; for, if all the world was a ring, *Ormus* would be the gem. Merchants come from most parts of the world to trade at it; all *Asia* did so, and brought commodities to this famous island; but the *Portuguese* took a small custom of all those, that brought goods thither. The *Portuguese* lost two-hundred

and sixty-thousand pounds yearly, when they lost the city of *Ormus*, for custom of goods; and they made the king of *Persia* pay custom for their own goods, otherwise they would let nothing pass into the gulph. The *English* went every year, with a great fleet of ships, to carry a small quantity of merchandise, to supply their factory; as, royals of eight, cloth, and tin; and brought back, some years, one-hundred and fifty, two-hundred and fifty, and three-hundred balls of silk. Had it not been for the *Portuguese*, a small ship would have been sufficient to have carried and recarried our small cargoes of goods; but the *Portuguese* kept the gulph by force from all nations, and every year met us with a great fleet of ships, at cape *Gascoffe* road, which is at the entrance of the gulf; and we have had many great sea-fights with them, which put the *East-India* company to a vast charge yearly; tho' the gulph did ever belong to the *Persian* king, and its being in the hands of the *Portuguese* gave that empire the greatest uneasiness.

The next year after the last fight at cape *Gascoffe*, we went with a great fleet into the gulph of *Persia*, expecting to have another trial of skill with the *Portuguese*. The names of the ships are as follow: in the *Jonah*, captain *Weddall*; in the *Whale*, captain *Woodcock*; in the *Dolphin*, captain *Stevens*; in the *Lion*, captain *Beaverstone*; in the *London*, captain *Bligh*; in the *Rose*, captain *Johnson*; and, in the *Richard*, captain *Davis*; with the *Robert* and *Shilling*, two small vessels, of the burthen of two-hundred tons each; all

which

which ships were of good force, and carried two-hundred and thirty-six pieces of ordnance, being extraordinary well manned, and provided for war. As these ships were entering into the gulph, a boat came out from cape *Gascoffe* road, with some refreshments, and a letter from our *English* factors, with another from the caune of *Persia*, and pilots to conduct our ships a great way down into the gulph, to a place, where our merchants, the caune, and divers sultans were, called *Custake*, where we received eight hundred bales of silk; and there the *English* and *Persians* entered into articles to this purpose, that the *English* would join with the *Persians*, in taking the islands of *Kishme* and *Ormus* from the *Portuguese*. The *Persians* promised that we should have all the trade of *Persia* to ourselves, and our custom free, and half the custom of all other nations that brought goods into the gulph; and the *English* to have all the Christians that should be taken at their disposal; and the *Persians* to have all the heathens; the mariners of our ships to have six months pay *gratis*; and what ammunition was spent in the siege, to be all made good; and the *East-India* company to have freight for their ships, and the *English* to have half the treasure, pillage, ammunition, and ordnance of both the islands of *Kishme* and *Ormus*, ships, gallies, frigates, cities, towns, villages, and to have the command of the castles. This, in short, was agreed upon, which was at that time on both sides performed. It will be too tedious for me to relate the whole proceeding. The *Portuguese* surrendered both the castle of *Kishme* to us, and likewise that of *Ormus*; we gave them two ships to carry both men, women, and children, with some provisions, and some baggage, to *Muskat*; but the *Persians* put all the heathens to death; I have seen a thousand heads for a breakfast cut off in a morning. Having had the possession of the greatest jewel in the world, as *Heylin* and other authors report; if the commanders, and those of the council at that time, had as much understanding as *Balaam's* ass, they would not have given it to the *Persians*, until such time as the king and state of *England* had been made acquainted therewith, and also the honourable *East-India* adventurers; for, *Ormus* being the chief place of the world, and the richest trade for the *Portuguese*, whatsoever they desired for their commodities they had; for none brought goods into the gulph but they, who served all *Persia*, and most parts of *Arabia*, with them, and from

those parts sent them into other countries by land; and most parts of *Turky*, and all parts of *Asia*, came to trade with them; from all parts of *India*, from the coast of *Cornidell*, *Bengall*, the river of *Ganges*, and from all parts of the island of *Sumatra*, which is the richest island in all the world, being there more gold upon this island than all the world besides; for, the poets call it, the gold of *Ophir*, and *Solomon* had his gold from this island, besides many rich spices, gums, and drugs; also from the streights of *Sindia*, *Java major*, from the coast of *Cochinchina*, *Borneo*, the *Molucca's*, and from all parts of *China*, and the *Manilla*; from all these parts they came with junks, very richly laden, to the *Portuguese* at *Ormus*; for the *Portuguese* made them come to trade with them, otherwise they would make prize of their junks wheresoever they met with them; for the *Portuguese* were as kings over all the oriental seas, for many hundred of years before the *English* ever knew them; at the taking of the island of *Ormus*, there was over the castle-gate the date and year of our Lord God, which was at that time five hundred years since they built the castle; as I and divers other *English* took special notice of, saying amongst ourselves, that the *Portuguese* had been many years in *India* before they built the castle of *Ormus*; and they were the first that did discover all these rich places of *India* and *Asia*. So all men may plainly see, that the *Portuguese* made choice of the best places of their plantations for magazines, and the hopefulest for commerce and rich trading. I do verily believe that the cities of *London* and *Amsterdam*, joined both together, could not parallel the rich trade of *Ormus*, when it flourished, before the *English* traded into *India*; and it hath been such a heart-burning to the *Portuguese*, since, that they have endeavoured to raise all their forces in *India*, the least galleons they had carrying forty-eight pieces of brass ordnance; besides, they had many more out of *Spain*, many frigates and gallies. And all the prime commanders, officers, mariners, and common soldiers, made a great fast; and all took the sacrament, before their great fleet went out from *Goa*, to fight with the *English* in the gulph of *Persia*. Though the *Portuguese* took the sacrament, to take, burn, and sink our ships, and to beat us out of the gulph of *Persia*, yet, at that time, they failed of their purpose: and we could not make great brags of our victory; so that, every year, we expected a meeting with the

Portuguese. The *English* and *Dutch* joined together in a fleet to overcome the *Portuguese*, and met once in two years in the gulph, and had a great fight; and the *Portuguese* had almost surpris'd the *Dutch* admiral, if it had not been for our vice-admiral, for which, afterwards the *Dutch* admiral gave him his gold

chain for relieving of him, so that there was no great victory at that time gained; but the *Portuguese*, seeing we were too strong for them, left us, and went to *Muskat* to recruit themselves, but never came into the gulph with their fleet of ships to meet us any more.

C H A P. XI.

A brave Sea-fight with the Portuguese upon the Coast of India; another gallant Sea-fight with one English Ship against many Portuguese in the Gulph of Persia; the Portuguese Cruelty to our men taken Prisoners, in cool Blood.

THE *Portuguese* endeavoured before to beat us out of *India*, because they first discovered it; and the last fight that ever they had with the *English* in *India* I was in, the *Portuguese* having challenged both the *English* and *Dutch* to fight with them. The *Dutch* had six sail of ships, and the *English* had the *Jonah*, riding in *Swallow* road; and the *Portuguese* had there seven great galleons, and twenty-four frigates, each frigate having two-hundred men a-piece in them; and the *Portuguese* rode on the other side of the bar, in *Swallow* hole, or road, where we load and unload our ships; so that the *Portuguese* could not come to them, for but one ship at a time can come over the bar, and at high-water on a spring-tide; so they could not come together. But, the *Palsgrave*, *Dolphin*, and *Lion*, coming out of *Europe*, and we had many sick men in these three ships, and falling on the coast of *India*, between *Bassine* and *Dabull*, in the morning at the sun-rising we espied two frigates, which we found to be spies; we called a council presently, and met a-board the admiral, and all concluded that the *Portuguese* had a fleet of ships near to *Surat*, which we found to be true; and we plyed off it up to *Surat* without wind and tide, being short of *Surat* twenty leagues, and in the interim fitted our ships for fight, which did weary and tire our men; and, the two frigates aforesaid keeping us company, without shot of our ordnance, between the shore and our ships, about twelve o'clock we espied the *Portuguese* great armada, containing seven great galleons and twenty-four sail of frigates; as soon as they espied us, they all weighed anchor, setting sail towards us, and we making to them, within three leagues one of another, and making their colours very plain; one admiral, two vice-admirals, a rear-admiral, and three other great galleons, with twenty-four frigates;

we did suppose and conclude that the *Portuguese* had another fleet, and had taken *Swallow* hole or road, where we lade and unlade our ships, because they had two vice-admirals, which was a great policy of the *Portuguese*; and, sending one of our men up into the main-top-gallant-top, who espied seven ships riding in *Swallow* road, we all concluded that the *Portuguese* had taken the road: otherwise, if they had been our friends, they would come out and help us; which said seven ships, as we heard the next year, were six sail of *Dutch* ships, and the ship *Jonah*, which the *Portuguese* had challenged to fight with; but the *Dutch* thought themselves too weak to fight with them. But captain *Kerredge*, then being president at *Surat*, would have come out with the *Jonah*, alone, to help us, but was persuaded to the contrary by the *English* and *Dutch*; so we tacked about to get sea room, and, about two o'clock, the *Palsgrave*, *Dolphin*, and *Lion* met the *Portuguese* great fleet, all the sails of their ships being crossed with red crosses: they shot at us, as if they had been mad; and, after they had discharged their ordnance, our men stood up and plaid about them like brave gallant soldiers, giving the enemy three broad-sides for their one; and, about four o'clock, we shot down the admiral's main-top mast, at which all our men gave a great shout; and, about twelve o'clock at night, two of their galleons clapped our rear-admiral a-board, throwing wild-fire into her, that the ship was all of a light fire, we doing our best to relieve her: being in that great distress, the master caused an anchor to be let fall, whereupon the two galleons broke off their grabnels from the ship *Lion*, by reason that the tide ran so strong, that the *Portuguese* and we drove to sea, and continued in fight all that night and the next day, the next night, and all the next day and night, so

so that we mauled them, and most of their masts and yards were shot off; and, in the morning, they were almost out of shot of us; we edging to them, I made a shot at the admiral, but he would not answer us any more: we had spent half our ammunition which we carried out for the relief of our ships which we had in *India*; we fought three days and nights; our ordnance went off as fast as small shot, that you could hardly see the sky for fire and smoke. The natives of *India* saw the light of our powder in the sky, and heard the report of our ordnance; and, captain *Weddall*, in the *Great James*, coming from *Bantam*, on the coast of *India*, met pieces of masts, yards, timber, and dead men swimming on the water; we were, at that time, about sixty leagues at sea, and yet they heard and saw the light of our ordnance. The *Portuguese* were glad to leave us, and went for *Goa*, and we steered our course for the island of *Sacatora*, to stop our leaks, and to mend our ships, being so very much battered, shot, and torn, that we had not a yard square canvas in all our sails, but there was a hole shot through; but, all this time, we did not know what was become of the *Lion*, which was our rear-admiral, till the next year; after the *Portuguese* galleons broke their grabnels from the *Lion*, they could not come up with her any more, because the tide would not suffer them, and the *Lion* rode at anchor, so that, in an hour's time, both we and the *Portuguese* fleet had lost sight of her; in the mean time, the *Lion's* company put out their fire, and threw the dead men overboard, whereof the captain was one, fitting their ship to steer their course for *Persia*, because they all supposed the *Portuguese* had another fleet at *Swallow* road, since they met us with two vice-admirals. The *Portuguese*, well knowing what condition the *Lion* was in, sent four frigates after her, into the gulph of *Persia*; these four sail of frigates went to *Muskat* for more help, to surprise the *Lion*; and, in the mean time, the *Lion* arrived over-against *Gombroon*, and had unladen all their goods and merchandise, and left it in the custody of *Thomas Joyce*, being purser's mate of her; and, the next day after, the *Portuguese*, coming with twelve frigates and gallies, set upon the *Lion*, and after half a day's fight, all the frigates and gallies laid the *Lion* a-board, and entered her with many men, and they blowed them up; the *Portuguese* entered them again several times, so that they were forced to blow up all their decks, with many hundred of the *Portu-*

guese: seeing they could do no good in entering the *Lion*, they fired her with wild-fire, and the mast burnt so much, that coals fell down on the deck. Our stout gallant *Englishmen* endeavoured still to put out the fire; and to put the *Portuguese* off, which lay round about her, our men threw fire-balls, and pots of powder, into them, yet could do no good, for our men could not use their ordnance; if they opened a port-hole, the *Portuguese* let a fly an hundred shot, so that our men could not rouse out a piece to do any execution, so that our brave *Englishmen* were put to their shifts, either to surrender, or to burn, or else to blow themselves up; so mr. *Johnson*, who went out purser, was, by the ship's company, chosen captain of her, after the other was slain in fight with us; so with unanimous consent, rather than yield to the *Portuguese* upon any quarter, saying, amongst themselves, Never any *English* ship was taken or surrendered to the *Portuguese*; and a gallant *Englishman*, who was both purser and captain of the *Lion*, seeing no hope or prospect of putting out the fire, the ship being so much burnt, that coals of fire fell down upon the deck from the top of the mast, our *English* were contented to die with their brave commander. They all concluded; and, in the first place, they commended their souls into the hands of the Almighty, their Creator; and, in the second place, agreed to lay a train of gun-powder to the powder-room, and so to blow up their ship, before they would be a prey to the enemy. This sad accident was performed in the twinkling of an eye; and four great frigates, which had two-hundred men, at the least, in each frigate, that lay a-board of the *Lion*, perished all together: some of our men, as soon as the fire was laid to the train, leaped over-board; and, after the blow was passed, the other frigates and gallies lying off our ship, seeing own men swimming in the water for life, shot at them, and darted at them with pikes. The *Portuguese* took up twenty-five of our men which were not slain, yet some wounded; and the next day, in cold blood, they put all our men to death, excepting one *Winterton*, who was steward of the *Lion*. *Hugh Frerow* being at that time admiral of those twelve sail of frigates and gallies, and formerly commander in chief of all the *Portuguese* sea-forces in the oriental parts whom, many years before, we took in the castle of *Kisbme*; and it was ordered by the sea-council, that *Hugh Frerow* should be sent a-board the *Lion*, to carry him a prisoner to the president
and

and council of *Surat*. And, on the coast of *India*, *mr. Beaverstone*, *mr. Wheatley*, purser, captain *Richard Swanley*, then master's mate, and other officers of the *Lion*, being very merry, *Hugh Frerow*, understanding that, took his opportunity, and, the ship's long-boat being close by the quarter of the ship, he and his two slaves that attended upon him, he lying in the round-house, went over the ship's quarter, and got into the boat, and cutting the boat-rope, got clean away, and landed near to *Surat* river, and so to *Daman*: the ship riding at anchor some five miles from the shore, two hours after, the officers, coming out of the great cabin, missing their boat, and looking for *Hugh Frerow*, found that he was gone, and the boat out of sight; the said *Winterton* at that time was steward of the *Lion*, and, bringing provision to the said *Frerow*, during the passage between the gulph of *Persia*, and the coast of *India*, *Hugh Frerow* came very well acquainted with *Winterton*, upon which he gave him his life, but put the rest of our men to death, as aforesaid, which was twenty-four, by cutting off their heads in the prow of the frigate, and letting their bodies fall into the water, holding them by the hair of their heads, because their heads should not fall over-board. And, after they had cut off twenty-three of our men's heads, the master's boy of the *Lion*, being very unwilling to die, making great moan, and begging upon his knees, to *Hugh Frerow*, for his life, the pretty boy saying, That he had no hand, nor any of his friends, in the taking of *Ormus*; yet all this would not prevail with the bloody-hearted *Por-*

tuguese, but, in cold blood, faith *Hugh Frerow*, Cut off his head, or else, in time, he will prove as very a rogue as the rest, that were at the taking of *Ormus*; and, after this, he caused a long stick to be put through the cheeks of our men's heads, and put on a raft, and so driven to the castle of *Ormus*, that the *Persians* should see and take notice how cruelly they had used our men, because we took *Ormus* from them; and, afterwards, *Hugh Frerow*, writ a base reproachful letter, but especially to captain *Weddall*, calling him *Piscadoris*, and sent this letter by *Winterton*, who was an eye-witness to this sad tragedy, to the merchants of *Gombroon*. At the *Palsgrave* and *Dolphin's* arrival, we understood, by good intelligence of the natives of *India*, of the *Portuguese's* inveterate devilish malice to us, for taking *Ormus* from them; and, how all took the sacrament, and swore to the *Virgin Mary*, that they would never return to their wives and children, till they had taken us, or fired us, or else sunk us. The *Portuguese* had many fasts for this purpose, to destroy us; and, whensoever they took the *English*, they would cut off their heads; and, as for the *Dutch*, they would hang them up by their members till they died. This was their malice, because we took *Ormus* from them, and hindered them of their trade in *India*. This fleet was the greatest that they have had in *India*; I do believe, and have been credibly informed, that they had in the fight fifty men for one, which was a great advantage; but it was the great mercy of God, to preserve us from our enemies.

C H A P. XII.

The Portuguese Mediation for Peace with the English Nation. The Persians Valuation of Ormus, at twenty Millions of Treasure, now they are possessed thereof, which the English might have enjoyed, if they had had wise Governors, Committees, and Agents, of the India Corporation. The exceeding Folly of the East-India Court, in sending Treasure into Persia, to touch at Surat, where the Money, being laid out in Commodities, would have turned almost to double the Value Profit. The unconscionable Custom of India Courts, in not shipping out our own rich native Commodities, which would yield good Profit, but transporting much Gold and Silver, to their Country's Loss, and Proof of their ill Offices to the Commonwealth. The Way to drive a rich trade into India, without Transportation of Treasure. Multitude of English Commodities beneficial for Transportation into India, to save Exportation of Treasure, if the India Courts were good Members of the Common-wealth. The beneficial Trade in India, between Surat and Goa, near adjacent. All Commodities from Surat to Bantam vendible, at great Prices.

THE *Portuguese* never since durst attempt to fight with us any more; but the *Portuguese* have endeavoured,

and sent many messengers to the president and council of *Surat*, to desire that a peace may be concluded between them and

and us, which since is performed between the president and council of *Surat*, and the viceroy of *Goa*, and likewise confirmed by both the states of *England* and *Spain*; but many of the *Portuguese* have told me, that the *English* have done them more wrong than the crown of *England* can make them satisfaction for, in taking *Ormus* from them, and giving it to the *Persians*. I must needs confess, the like was never known, that one Christian should war against another, and then give the prey, and all the benefit, to the Heathens.

The *Persians*, I am confident, will not leave the castle of *Ormus*, for twenty millions of treasure. I have been in *Persia* many times since we took *Ormus*, and the *Persians* have told me the same. They have flourished gallantly, since they have gotten *Ormus* into their custody; for *Gombroon*, when I first knew it, had but eighteen houses in it, and now it is as great a city or town, as most in *England*; it is so famous for commerce of trade, that there is not the like place in all *Persia*; also, it is become the best port-town, and doth bring more custom to the king of *Persia*, than all the port-towns besides; this the *English* might have enjoyed, if they had been wise, or had but good discreet factors and commanders, which hath brought exceeding loss to the adventurers, I may boldly say, many millions, since *Ormus* was taken.

And, herein, by the way, let not the *India* courts at home maliciously malign, as they have done a long time, to the utter ruin of me and mine, for my good service done them, and acknowledged by their own acts of court, for casting aspersions upon them (in information to my country in general, and to the honourable adventurers in particular) of their indiscreet and injudicious managing of the *India* trade, far from the repute of prudent merchants; which hath brought such exceeding loss to the adventurers of the second stock, and to myself, a poor member of the company in particular, which I manifest in these words:

The *India* court have shipped, for many years together, great quantities of gold and silver, viz. twenty, thirty, forty, or sixty thousand pounds *per annum*, into *Persia*, to buy silk, which money hath been at all times first brought to *Surat* in *India*, and from thence transported into *Persia* untouched; which being invested at *Surat*, in commodities, as aforesaid, would have turned to the company's great profit, at forty, fifty, sixty, or eight-

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ty *per cent.* but in money yielded them not a penny profit; for they might have had the same money in royals of eight for their commodities at the port-town of *Gombroon*, to have fitted their turn at *Ispahan*, where it was to be invested in silk; and, if they had carried up the commodities themselves to *Ispahan*, as the *Persian* merchants; that come to the port-town with ready money to buy the commodities, they might, peradventure, have advanced their profit as much more; for it is very probable, that merchants would not come down fifteen-hundred miles by land to buy commodities for ready money, but to their great advantage.

The *India* company transport but little of our native commodities, viz. cloth, and other woollen manufactures; which, though they vend not in great quantities, as in *Germany*, the *Low-Countries*, *Turkey*, *Muscovy*, *Denmark*, &c. yet, when they are sold, they go off at great profit, especially, if transported from the port of *Surat*, unto remoter parts of *India*; and I myself have made double, and almost treble money of cloth, above the price in *London*; but the main of their exportation is in gold and silver, which, whether they be good commonwealth's-men, or no, I leave to the judicious state of this land to examine and consider.

But I know, and am certainly assured, that a great trade may be driven in *India*, without any money at all exported (as appears by experience in the several rich factors returned, who carried small or no stock at all) of which I could nominate many, yet, by five or six years employment or some longer time, have brought home estates of five, ten, or thirty thousands pounds a man; their salary not paying their charge by a quarter part more or less, which I prove thus: A good stock once settled in *India* of one-hundred thousand pounds more or less by goods, of several sorts, exported from *England*, as, cloth, kerseys, fine light stuffs, quicksilver, lead, tin, iron, steel, coral, amber, ammel, tapestry, hangings, pictures, swords, blades, knives, scissars, sheers, rasors, looking-glasses, glass beads, spectacles, locks, keys, hinges, horses, bits, stirrups, and curry-combs for horses and oxen, and nails of all sorts; *French* and *Norimberg* toys, &c. iron wire, brass wire, shaven latten, red, white, and thin-plated iron, muskets, pistols, fowling-pieces, brass and iron ordnance, coney-skins, white lamb-skins dried in colours, fit for *Persia*, and cold countries, as, foot-cloths, sumpter-cloths for camels, and horse-cloths, for a trial; and to bring cloth

cloth in more use in these hot countries, lists of cloth, to make carpets for ordinary people to sit upon, remnants and tailors shreds of cloth and velvet, sattin and silk for embroidery, and to lay under carpets and coverlids of colours, leather curiously cut out in works, and usual in *India*, and to be brought home for many uses. Some silk out of *Europe* is of more esteem than that of *India*; as, coloured sattins, taffeties, wrought taffeties, unwrought grograms, tammies, durettees, saies, and other light stuffs, of each, some small quantities for trial, to bring them in use, with striped hangings, fit for paling to great men's tents, with a multitude of other *English* and *European* commodities, to save the exportation of gold and silver, which time and industry of men will find out, if an open and free trade was allowed for all men to make use of (or, in an interloping trade, leaving the quintessence and choicest commodities to the *India* company.) These commodities are the chief of them, with others to be found out, with some assistance of a reasonable quantity of gold and silver at first tolerated, which, if permitted, a standing stock may be raised and kept in *India*, that, with credit, will be abundantly heaped upon them, that have but a small stock in the country. A mighty trade may be driven to all the kingdoms of *India* and *Asia*, to great profit; and the surplus thereof still yearly, after one or two years, made hence into *England*, will much advantage the state of this commonwealth, in my simple opinion; and, for the better accommodation of this trading, small ships of one-hundred, two-hundred, or three-hundred tons may be kept in *India*, to make speedier returns than by their junks from place to place, which, notwithstanding, may be very useful, for lading and transporting off gross commodities, as, cotton, cotton-yarn, rice, tobacco, sugar, ruina's, galls, brimstone, allom, and such like, of small value, yet great in bulk, and profitable both for exportation and importation, to *Surat*, and other parts in *India*; and the other *English* ships, to be laden with finer and less bulky commodities, which, as long as peace continues in those parts between us and the *Dutch*, and *Portuguese*, there is little or no danger; the seas themselves, taking opportunity of monsoons, or trade winds, are as pleasant sailing in, as in the river *Thames*, or narrow seas, in fair or summer weather. And this course, as I conceive, will save an infinite charge of shipping, which now the company are, and

have been at, to pass continually between *India* and *England*, and abide in the country until they be worn out and decayed, and at length, to come home a long and dangerous voyage; whereas shipping, upon advice from *India*, sent out once a year strong, and in good case, to stay there a month, two, or three, for their relading and recreation, will be of much less charge and danger in their return. What I write here, is out of the little intelligence I have gotten, by being one year in the northern parts of *India*, and *Surat*, and half that time a close prisoner, most injuriously and wickedly oppressed for my affection and endeavours to do God and my country the best service which lay in my power. At *Bantam*, and the southern parts of *India*, I never was, and therefore cannot enlarge thereupon, but leave it to others of better understanding and abilities to act that part.

From *Surat* to *Goa*, trade produces Mr. thirty, forty, and fifty *per cent.* innume- Lloyd's intelligence. rable of many divers sorts of commodities, which the *Portuguese* bring to *Surat*; and at *Combay*, one-hundred sail of frigates lade yearly, which I have seen, and know to be true; and, from *Goa* to *Surat*, produce twenty, twenty-five, and thirty *per cent.* and for cinnamon and dolium-indium, fifty *per cent.*

From *Surat* to *Massalapattam*, *Persian* commodities, will produce thirty, forty, and fifty *per cent.* namely, the several goods before-mentioned, brought from *Persia* to *Surat*.

And, from *Surat* to *Bantam*, you cannot lay out your money amiss; for the worst commodities, which are saleable for *Bantam*, will produce seventy or eighty *per cent.* blue byrams and canekeens, one-hundred *per cent.* pentathoes and checked stuffs, striped stuffs, tapeseeks, pattowlowes of silk and cotton, coarse girdles, coarse sashes, indico, blue chundres, chaders, and bralls, at one-hundred and ten *per cent.* cotton-wool, soap, cummin-feed, mustard-feed, and wheat, eight, nine, or ten for one profit. There is, in most parts of the south seas, no wheat growing, that there might be many ships, laden with wheat, put off yearly at a very great profit: narrow and broad basta's, white, at eighty and ninety *per cent.* narrow and broad basta's, blue, at one-hundred and ten and one-hundred and twenty *per cent.* and other innumerable commodities, which will produce great profit.

This, to my knowledge, I know to be true; and *Persian* commodities do likewise yield one and a half and two for one profit:

profit: before *Bantam* was opened, I have sold all these particular goods at *Jacatra*, which the *Dutch* call *Batavia*, which is thirteen leagues beyond *Bantam*, at the several prices as aforesaid.

And, from *Bantam*, most of these commodities are transported to *Achin*, *Tickeo*, *Priman*, *Jambee*, *Japarra*, *Macasser*, and *China*, which produce one, two, three,

and four, for one, profit; so, he that doth intend to go to any of these places, I would advise him not to sell these commodities at *Bantam*, for there they buy most part of these goods to vend at these several places, yet *Java Major* vends abundance of these several particulars aforesaid; this is very true and certain, to my knowledge.

C H A P. XIII.

The exceeding rich Trade from Surat to China; and, also, a rich Trade from China to India, though this beneficial Trade be neglected by the English sluggish, injudicious Court-Committees. If a free Trade were open, diligent industrious Merchants would leave no Place un essayed, where there are great Hopes, or certain Assurances, of large Profit. The profitable Trade from India to Mocho, in the Red-Sea. The Way to enrich our Usurers, with more Security of Conscience, by letting out Money at Interest to Heathens, rather than to Christians, and at double the Rates, for their greater Encouragement. Industrious Men, in open Trade, will find out far more several Sorts of Commodities, than the India injudicious Courts, never exercised in the Practice of that Commerce, look into, and, no but as beneficial.

Captain
Matthew
Wills's in-
formation.

NOW, from *Surat* to *China*, *English* broad cloth and kerfies produce twenty, twenty-one, twenty-two, twenty-three, twenty-four, for one, profit; indico, narrow and broad bafta's, blue byrams, and cankeens produce six, eight, and ten, for one, profit: narrow and broad bafta's, white pepper, cloves, mace, nutmegs, and divers other sorts of goods, produce three, four, five, and six, for one profit.

This captain *Matthew Wills* told me, for he was commander of the ship *London*, which was the first ship that ever the *English* had in those parts; for the *Portuguese* freighted him by the consent of the president and council of *Surat*: the reason was, that the *Dutch* and *Portuguese* were at difference at that time; so that they were obliged to freight one of our ships presently after the peace was concluded between the *English* and *Portuguese*; and from *China* to *Goa*, and so to *Surat*, produced great profit in several commodities, as, *China* raw silk, and woven silk; in abundance of varieties of all stuffs, cobweb lawns, cloth of gold, tiffue, and silver, for a boult of rich damask, containing thirty-two yards, yields three or four rials of eight a-piece; of *China* earthen-ware, they bought for little or nothing, far cheaper than we buy our earthen-ware in *England*; *China* roots, and divers other drugs and commodities; for there is great store of copper, worth little or nothing, and great store of gold; for the *Portuguese* brought abundance of gold, cast in the fashion of sugar-loaves, which produce forty, forty-

five, and fifty per cent. profit in *India*; but *Bantam*, *Macasser*, *Japarra*, *Jambee*, *Achin*, *Tickeo*, and *Priman* yields many rich commodities, as, cloves, mace, nutmegs, tortoise-shells, long pepper, white pepper, and several sorts of round pepper, cucurbs, cassia-lignum, cassia-fistula, lignum aloes, rhubarb, *China* roots, *China* ginger preserved, tamarind preserved, *China* ware, musk, civet, and innumerable drugs and commodities, which produce two, three, and four, for one profit, in *Persia*, and *Mocho* in the *Red-Sea*; these commodities yield good profit at *Surat*, but not so much as at *Mocho* or *Persia*. I bought, at *Batavia*, six butts of tortoise-shells, which I sold at *Surat*, at two for one profit; and divers other sorts of commodities, as aforesaid, which I sold at *Surat*, for fifty, sixty, seventy, and eighty per cent. At that time we bought our commodities at *Batavia*, which was at the worst hand, because the *Dutch* made the *Chinese* and *Javaese* pay custom in their own country, and all other nations, both in and out, for *Bantam* was not then opened; and, after the *English* went to *Bantam*, the *Javaese* came within the *Dutch* court of guard, and entered into the town of *Jacatra*, and killed many of the *Dutch*, and made them fly into the castle, the *Javaese* pursuing them to the castle-walls, for they hate a *Dutchman* as the devil, and love the *English* extraordinary well; so that *Jacatra*, which the *Dutch* call *Batavia*, in *English*, *New-Holland*, is not a third part so big as it hath been, because the *Javaese* sally into the town, and burn it, being very desperate.

About

About twenty years since, the *Dutch* had three men of war riding in *Bantam* road; the admiral carried thirty-six pieces of ordnance, the vice-admiral thirty-two, and and the rear-admiral twenty-six: three *Javaese*, in a little boat, came a-board the admiral; two of whom went into the great cabbins, and killed the captain, master, two merchants, and three men more, and yet the three *Javaese* got off clear: I saw these ships in *Bantam* road: also the trade is very much decayed, the *Dutch* not having the sixth part of the custom, and other duties, as they had formerly. So much briefly for the southern parts.

From *Surat* to *Mocho* in the *Red-Sea*, tobacco produces ten and twelve for one profit; rice produces six and seven for one profit; *China* ware four and five for one profit; cloves, mace, nutmegs, and pepper produce two for one profit; narrow and broad *bastas*'s white, seventy *per cent.* narrow *bastas*'s blue, byrams, and canikeens, two for one profit; chaders, bralls, pentathose, barbers aprons, fallowes, fine and coarse sashes, fine and coarse girdles, produce two and a quarter for one profit; sugar, preserved ginger, sugar-candy, cotton-wool, cardamum, soap, and shoes, produce two and three for one profit; all *Persian* commodities yield very good profit at *Mocho*.

There, moreover, are several commodities brought from *Surat*, and the *South-Seas*, which produce two, three, four, and five, for one profit: this I know to be true, for I have sold many of these commodities, as aforesaid, at *Mocho*.

From *Mocho* to *Surat*, ostridge feathers, ruina's, opium, bezoar stones, cloth of tissue, and many rich gums and drugs, which produce two for one profit and upwards; but, as to ostridge feathers, I advise no man to sell them at *Surat*, but to bring them for *England*, where, in this article, I have made ten for one profit.

And now I return to the point, from which I began: the island of *Madagascar*, or *St. Laurence*, may be made a place of great commerce, in few years; if wise and discreet men had but the managing of it, in a very short time it might be made a second *Ormus*, for it stands in the very center of the world for trade with all nations, and nearer by two-thousand leagues, than *Ormus* was, to all parts of *Asia*; for the northermost part of this island lies within eleven degrees and a half of the equinoctial, which is very near to cape *Comrine*, the southermost part of *India*; so that most parts of *India*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, lie near to *Madagascar*, and many

commodities, which this island doth afford, are transported to the neighbouring countries, as is already mentioned; and all the countries, in *Asia* and *India*, would soon come and trade with us, the *Portuguese*, and other nations, if once a trade was settled.

Eccles. xxxiv. 9. *A man that hath travelled, knoweth many things, and he that hath much experience will declare wisdom.*

10. *He that hath no experience knoweth little: but he that hath travelled is full of prudence.*

11. *When I travelled, I saw many things: and I understand more than I can express.*

12. *I was oft times in danger of death, yet I was delivered, because of these things.*

1 Sam. xvii. 19. *What have I now done? Is there not a cause?*

There is yet another good way, in my weak judgment, to raise a great fortune and increase of wealth thereby, which methinks our rich usurers and money-mongers should look after; and that is by raising a bank or stock in *India*, to be put out at interest at the usual rates there, that is, one pound, and one pound five shillings a month, or more; accounting twenty-eight days to a month, the time of the moon's circumference, which makes thirteen months in the year, and so produces thirteen pounds *per cent.* interest, *per ann.* at the least rate, and sixteen pounds five shillings *per cent.* at the highest rate; which is double the rate in *Christendom*, and not so offensive to God in letting out money to the heathen and idolatrous people, and the hazard of breaking and losing of their principal nothing at all dangerous, or far less than in *England*, the name of a bankrupt being more odious, and stricter laws to bind men to the honest performance of such covenants: and the usurers, or money-masters in bank, may get more, and advance their estates by furnishing men with money (or wares at a dearer rate, provided in fitting season) upon their several voyages to *Persia*, *Bantam*, *Mocho*, &c. at twenty or twenty-five *per cent.* profit, or more, at the ships return, besides the over-ratment of their goods ten or twenty *per cent.* which in all will produce thirty or forty *per cent.* profit or more, which is usual in six months or a shorter time; and at sixty *per cent.* profit to *Achin*, upon a year's voyage or less, more than the over-ratment; and the superfluity of their stock may be returned home by exchange, either to the *English* at fifty *per cent.*

cent. profit, or dearer rates, especially to the *Dutch* and *Portuguese*, &c. and a way by exchange, may, peradventure, be found from *Persia* into *Turky* to *Constantinople*, at a far greater advantage; for the usual rates of the exchange, from *India* to *Ispahan* in *Persia*, at my being in those parts, was sixty *per cent.* profit, and sure from *Ispahan* to *Constantinople* will be an advantage gotten, and so also raised from *Constantinople* to *London*, to the bankers great improvement of their stock; and a good help or stay in those obstructive, dangerous, and plundering times, to have some part of their estates abroad, in security, to great advantage, rather than to hide it in the earth, where no doubt but much treasure is, at this time, hidden in *England*, to preserve it from the spoiling hands of malignant plunderers, as it is oftentimes, to their great grief, met withal, or utterly lost to their posterity, through great secrecy. Thus much for the trade outwards and in *India*, and now for the trade homewards from *India*, that is most beneficial and advantageous, making three, four, or five for one, or more, as before I have related.

The commodities from thence are innumerable, and of sundry sorts, all beneficial; yet the *India* company looks after none but the chief, as calicoes, or *bafta's* broad and narrow, white and coloured dimities, *necains*, *salloes*, *pintadoes*, and other sorts of linnen or stuffs made of cotton yarn, and cotton yarn itself, cotton wool, and spices of all sorts, as pepper, cloves, mace, cinnamon, and ginger; sugar, worm-seed, rhubarb, green ginger, *China* roots, and many sorts of drugs; salt-petre, indico, gumlack, musk, civet, amber-gris, pearls, and diamonds, &c. of which sorts some also they regard not, but permit their merchants, servants, and seamen to trade in also, excepting chiefly linnens, spices, indico, and some other of special note for most profit.

But *India* affordeth and would afford many more rich commodities to industrious understanding merchants, either in an open, free, or interloping trade, if men might have liberty and conveniency to pass into *India*.

Those my judgment leads me to conceive beneficial, and which if I could have obtained liberty for my passage into *India* with a considerable freight, which was maliciously denied me, a member of the company, and granted to aliens, and strangers, of foreign nations, enemies in religion and to the accord of commerce, *gratis*, I would have put in practice, and made trial to my own and country's welfare, according

V O L. II.

to that small insight I had attained by my short time of abode in that country, are these following, besides those before-mentioned and neglected by the *India* company, of which none have yet made trial of, or very few, and are not, nor should not have been prejudicial to the company in no degree: as gunpowder; soap for a penny a pound, better than our castle soap; dying stuffs, and the ingredients thereto, and skill to make the colours to hold as in *India*; *pintadoes*, which our *English* dyers much affect and desire, as I have heard say, the art thereof; and the art of laying on gumlack in colours upon turners ware, much desired in *England*; also camels hair; for beaver-makers and felt-makers, brought over rough and unpicked, and sold by the *Turky* merchants for about eighteen pence *per* pound, but might be had cheaper in *India* or *Persia* than in *Turky*; and the hairs thereof being picked out in *India*, as at home it costeth the beaver-maker nine pence *per* pound, may be done there for a penny the pound, or thereabouts, and takes away almost one half of the weight; then it is worth four shillings *per* pound, and is far less bulky and more fitting for transportation, and is better hair than that brought out of *Turky*, as a pattern of a felt made in *Persia* shewed to a beaver-maker, master *Rogers* by name, who valued the felt at thirty shillings, which cost me in *Persia* not above five shillings at the most; and from thence, by his advice, it is possible to bring felts ready fitted to the block for any fashion in request, at far cheaper rates than to be made in *England*; also, in these distracting, murdering, killing times of war, buff to be made in *India* would prove an excellent good and profitable commodity, to be made much better of their strong buffle hides, and far cheaper than at home.

Persian sheep-skins are an excellent fur; fine and warm, worn by princes in *Chriftendom*, and useful to make coverlids, like rugs, for great persons beds, being soft as silk, finely curled, and of a greyish colour, of which I know none but myself have ever made trial of, and sold them to good profit, and more I might have made of them, but that I sold them to a friend; I would have put many commodities to the trial of making there, which the country yet affords not, as *fustians*, strong dimities, fine and coarse buckrams, black and in colours, all sorts of tapes made of callico, fine and coarse, broad and narrow, leather tanned or untanned, and in colours; goat-skins, parchment, and paper, fitted

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to

to the fizes in *England*, and gilt leather for hangings, curious painted and gilt bedsteads, stools, chairs, round tables inlaid with mother of pearl, agates, and cornelians; quilts, curtains, and hangings of silk, pintadoes, and fine embroidered quilted caps, waistcoats, and underbreeches for men, excellent for use, and cheap, and some for women, both for rich and poor; covers for books of all fizes, excellent good and cheap, ostridge feathers, leather and paper fans, curiously wrought and gilt for gentlewomen; beads, pendants, and rings in many sorts of stones, as chrystal, agate, cornelian, jasper, eliotropian, &c. agate cups and dishes of several sorts, and tortoise-shells, with curious chests, cabinets, and boxes of ivory and ebony, inlaid with several materials, silk of all sorts, *China*, *Persia*, and *India* velvets, sattins, taffeties, damasks, *Persia* mellicks wrought with gold, and *India* cottons; also variety of desirable stones of several sorts, fit for tomb-makers, chimney-pieces, and pavements, for noblemen and great persons summer-rooms, cut and carved in several fashions, forms, and figures, according to musters in other materials, in regard of their cheapness and workmanship, in cutting such hard stones in *India*, will turn to great account in this kingdom, and elsewhere, amongst persons of several qualities, conditions, and arts. The variety of several commodities is so great, and their quantities, to be had, in these parts, that I should spend a great deal of time and paper in recounting them, and yet, should not be able to reckon up half their numbers; for new will be found out, if an open or free trade was once on foot; all which would turn out to the benefit of the plantation at *St. Laurence*, or *Madagascar*; and, no doubt, would employ much more shipping, and men, to be made active and skilful mariners and seamen, than yet that trade hath produced. If I had made another voyage into *India*, I would have endeavoured to have transported maltsters, distillers of strong waters, brewers of beer and wine, makers of tobacco, cutters to have made *India* tobacco, curers to have made *India* tobacco, ill cured there, as good as *Verinas*, or other countries of far greater esteem in *Persia*; yet that of *India* yielded in *Persia*, as before-mentioned, four for one; gardeners, painters, or good picture-makers, clock-makers, &c. with mowers and their utensils, to teach the *Indians* the use of hay-making, for want of which, in time of drought, commonly, six or seven

months in a year, their cattle are bare and almost starved, which might also turn to the advantage of my countrymen. I would also have put in practice the sowing of flax and hemp, by transporting seed thither, which, if it should take effect and grow, as in cooler countries, Christian linnen, as I call it, would be made there, and brought into all parts of Christendom, at far cheaper rates than it is at now, and be of more esteem in *India*, and other eastern countries, than callicoës, or other Heathen linnen; and all these things, whatsoever mentioned in this treatise, the plantation at *Madagascar*, or *St. Laurence*, may have the benefit and accommodation thereof, either by manufacture already made, or to be put in practice there, in regard of the cheapness of the labours of men, women, and children, in *India*, at a penny, three half-pence, or two-pence a day, to maintain themselves and families; and, much cheaper, may it be done at *Madagascar*, where all sorts of better diet may be had, cheaper than in *India*; and slaves both in *Madagascar*, *India*, and other parts, may be bought for a trifle; besides, the plantation being once settled, multitudes of artsmen would flock out of *India*, and other parts, to live amongst Christians, where they may be more free from injustice and wrong, tyranny and oppression, than in any eastern or *Asian* kingdoms else besides; yet one thing more I have forgot, concerning defence against foreign enemies, or natives; for foreign enemies, that requires greater judgment than mine, for fortification, defensive and offensive, to which I refer my censure; but, for defence or offence, against the natives (savages) it is more easy to defend or resist, than in any other habitable places of the world, where the *English* have seated themselves.

For, as I understand it, they, the savages elsewhere, have not only darts, but bows and arrows, more dangerous to annoy afar off, and more numerous to discharge, as also great knotty clubs; but, here, at *St. Laurence*, they have no weapons but darts, and of them not numerous, nor easy to carry; and for defence of, or from them, I will make bold to lend my advice: in *India*, buff, as before-mentioned, may be had in great quantities, and very cheap, with which, men being armed only upon their shirts and linnen breeches, with coats and breeches, and, if they please, buskins to tie about their legs, there is no fear of darts to hurt or annoy them, as I conceive, which is also lighter and easier than other iron arms;

arms; for offence to them, light musquets and carbines are useful, and fowling-pieces will do good service; to them may be added, light short swords, and dainty light bucklers, to be had in *India*; and also, *India* light and short bows, with forked or broad arrow-heads, exceeding cheap, which, notwithstanding their guns, swords, and bucklers, they usually have both bows and arrows in a light quiver, at their backs, and, by which, children or boys, of ten or twelve years of age, may do good service against the savages, who may keep themselves in safety at further distance than their darts can reach, and yet annoy the enemy exceedingly. If the state of this land please to lay some easy impost, or excise, upon trade in general, to and from *India*, and from port to port there, and to other eastern countries, it will be no burden, but an exceeding gainful trade, and exceeding helpful and advantageous to the plantation; as also, a remonstrance set out in public, to excite men, both traders and others, to voluntary contributions, will also much avail; as, for example, even a-board the *English* fleet, *anno* 1628, consisting only of two ships, the *Jonas* of seven or eight-hundred tons, and the *Expedition* of about two-hundred tons, captain *Swanley*, admiral, at whose motion, the whole fleet of poor seamen contributed two-hundred and fifty pounds, towards the furtherance of an hospital at *Black-Wall*, for the relief of decayed or wounded *India* seamen, with a proviso, that the *India* court should fix in the said hospital, in some convenient place, a table fairly written, expressing every benefactor's name, with his sum contributed, purposely required for the encouragement of others to follow their example, and not to forbear such charitable actions, which some seamen excepted against, having formerly contributed to schools and churches in *Virginia*, and *Wapping* church, and other men assumed the glory to themselves, which much discouraged them; and it must needs be a blur to the *India* court to reject their voluntary contribution, by subscription, to be abated out of their wages, in neglecting and refusing such free benevolence, which, being followed, was hoped and promised by all merchants, and seamen, would have, before this day, amounted to such a considerable sum of money, as would have purchased many hundreds, yea, perhaps, thousands of pounds *per annum* to that hospital. But that clause, or proviso, to have the benefactors names set up, as before related, in the hospital, hath caused the same to

be had still in contempt, or of little use, because it should not eclipse the honour and fame of the *India* governors and committes, by raising an hospital out of their poor servants purses, and shame of their own backwardness. But such free benevolence and contribution, to the furtherance of the plantation, and set on foot (which, I persuade myself will be much more enlarged by merchants and seamen, that know or conceive the accommodations thereof, will add exceedingly to the bringing that business, in a short time, to good perfection.

And if his majesty please to add, or bestow, titles of honour and dignity on deserving men, according to the number of the people they transport, to plant and settle their habitation in *Madagascar* at their own charge; to be conferred upon them either immediately by himself, or else in that country, by a viceroy, lieutenant, or deputy, authorised by his majesty thereunto, as honours of that country to be of great esteem, it may, perhaps, induce rich monied men, gentlemen, and younger brothers, &c. to be forward in the accomplishment of this worthy design, to its better perfection.

It is now about thirteen years since I returned from *India*, and in the way home from *St. Laurence*; my affections have ever since been bent again to those parts, and to endeavour to do my king and country service, as well as to benefit myself, and, to that end, I gave the *India* court some hints or intelligence thereof, which they contemned. But envy, malice, revenge, and cruel oppression have hindered it for nine years together, before I could come to any (though bad end) with the *India* court, for the intolerable wrongs sustained by them and their servants: and since sickness, now almost six years compleat, hath letted me to undertake again that voyage (either by *Dutch* or *Portuguese* ships, which I intended, having most maliciously been denied my passage in the *English* ships) and now in regard sickness hath so debilitated my body in all parts and members thereof, that I am not able to go or ride, and with much pain impulsed to scribble this rude discourse; and being aged sixty years, and not fit to travel, having one foot, and more, in the grave, and so dearly affecting the furtherance of this so hopeful and accommodable a plantation, especially in these turbulent, troublesome, and obstructive times, which causeth many good men and women to forsake their native country: I have attempted (presuming upon a courteous acceptance,

ceptance, the main end I expect and look after) to publish this rude, yet true discourse or tract; as many witnesses yet living, I doubt not, but will give good testimony of what I have herein related, as that worthy noble captain (so well approved of by the right honourable the high court of parliament) *Richard Swanley*, mr. *Gregory Clement*, and mr. *John Cartwright*, merchants; captain *William Swanley*, captain *John Proud*, mr. *Walter Hammond*, surgeon, and mr. *George Gosnell*, purser's mate in the *Charles*; captain *John Weddall*, admiral, but dead; *John Hamerton*, and *Thomas White*, citizens of *London*, and abundance of seamen more, whose names I have now forgotten, or not living; as also mr. *Richard Wilde*, and mr. *George Page*, though deadly adversaries to me and mine (not only maliciously threatening, but wickedly executing our ruin, all at one time resident at *St. Laurence* three months together) and I appeal also to the testimony of mr. *William Methold*, at present, deputy-governor of the *India* company, and mr. *Thomas Kirridge*, a present committeeman therein, and many southern factors, with whom I have no acquaintance; hoping that some of them, whose abilities and judgments exceed mine, will, for the glory of God, and the good of their king

and country, add their more prevalent persuasions, both by tongue and pen, to this most honourable and famous action; for want of which, my prayers to God shall not be wanting to put good Christians in mind to undertake this most honourable pious action, and to prosper their handiwork therein, to God's glory, the honour of king *Charles*, and his royal issue, and my indeared native country's welfare and accommodation, which my rude pen hath began, and, as it were, broken the ice for their more clear and easy passage, to so good and pious a work, which I much desire, and should joy to see performed; as also, more especially, to see or hear, that the right honourable the high court of parliament would take it into their consideration to make it a business of great consequence to the state of this kingdom; or others, noblemen, knights, gentlemen, citizens, &c. had began to set the action on foot, wishing, also, that I had either ability of purse, or strength of body (being, at present, decrepid in all my limbs) to further the same, which I would not spare, though assured to be no gainer thereby myself, and though I should in that action lose my life, and bury my bones in the vast ocean, or in a barbarous country.

CHAP. XIV.

A beneficial Trade to be made at the Port of Swallow Road, where all Christian Ships, and others, resort at fitting Times. Encouragement to young Merchants, or decayed Persons, of a good and honest Repute at Home in their own Country, a Means to draw on Adventurers, in Purse and Person, to Madagascar.

ONE thing I had forgotten, which now comes to my mind, which will, with all the other advantages in trade, add much to the benefit, either of private men, or to the accommodation of the plantation, as aforesaid, which is as followeth: At *Swallow road*, the port or haven for ships sent to *Surat* in *India*, upon the shore, in open fields, is usually kept a *Bazar*, market or fair, during the abode of the *English* ships there, which sometimes lasteth a month, two, or three together, where the *English* have a tent for their president or council to sit or lie in at their pleasure; and thereto is annexed a tent for the merchants of the *Marine*, the company's servants (so called, because they are allotted to do service there, in lading and unlading of the ships) and the *English* house purser, or his mate, hath another tent, accommodable for him to give order

for buying provision of fresh victuals for the ships, and other services. The *Dutch* company, likewise, have the same conveniency, distant about a quarter of a mile one from the other; but the bazar, or market-place for provisions, or sea-commodities, where merchants, or mariners, may be supplied with whatever they have occasion for, is annexed to the *English* tent, like a little town, with a street or two, and many tents of *Banians*, richly furnished, with all sorts of wares, which they sell both to *English* and *Dutch*, but chiefly to the *English*, who are the more royal merchants; and the *Banians* buy also such goods as they bring out of *England*, or from the *East-Indies*. The *Banians* acquire great wealth, by their trading here, with *English*, *Dutch*, *Portuguese*, and others; the benefit whereof might have accrued to the *English*; and, had I gone a
second

second voyage for *India*, either for the company, if they had thought fit, or myself, I would have put it in practice, being assured, that no small advantage would have redounded thereby. I had encouragement to this, from some of the principal *Banians* themselves, who put it into my head, promised to be my assistants therein, and laid me down a way, how to effect the same, to my great profit, viz. by buying, in the rainy season, five, six, or seven months time beforehand, all sorts of commodities fit for sale at the ships arrival, and selling the same again unto the seamen, at twenty or thirty *per cent.* profit, ready money; and, moreover, faithfully promised to assist me with money, for purchasing them at easy rates, as well as in putting them off again for me, as aforesaid; and, indeed, I had convincing experience of their affection and fidelity towards me, in a high degree, though a close prisoner.

It happened that, during this time, the ship *Jonah* returned from *Bantam* to *Surat*, with store of spices, especially cloves, which, at their departure from *Surat* to *Bantam*, and about six months past, were a drug or unvendible commodity; but, at the ships arrival, suddenly rose to a great price, even to almost double of what they cost at *Bantam*; whereupon the *Banian* usurers and brokers, pitying my intolerable wrongs, came to visit me, and offered to do me great service, beyond my expectation; advising me to buy up presently all the cloves in the ship *Jonah*, amounting to many thousand pounds, and assuring me, that they would sell them again for me, at forty, fifty, or sixty *per cent.* profit. I made them a courteous and thankful reply for their friendly advice, but, at the same time, told them, that it was impossible for me effect it, partly, for want of ready money, which was necessary, and partly, because I was a prisoner, and had not liberty to go about this, or any other business. To both these impediments, they proposed an immediate and effectual remedy: that, *first*, as for money, they would supply me with what was sufficient to answer the purpose: and, *secondly*, as to my want of liberty, they advised me forthwith to write to captain *Richard Swanley*, commander of the *Jonah*, with whom they knew I kept up a strict friendship and correspondence, to procure his assistance therein. I was, at length, prevailed on by their affectionate solicitations, and, accordingly, wrote to captain *Swanley*, to intreat his aid, and offered him an half

share therein, and to furnish him with money; but he, being overawed by the usurping power of a tyrannous president, with whom, at that time, he was out of favour, durst not engage in this affair, which might have been beneficial to us both, to the amount of several thousand pounds, that, by his neglect, fell into the hands of his and my adversaries, *Richard Wilde*, president, and *George Page*, one of the council.

I judged it expedient to give the above account of this matter, for the two following reasons; the one, to shew what benefit may be made by the marine trade only, without venturing further to sea; and, if I could have obtained, what was most ungratefully denied me, a passage into *India* for my money, which was freely allowed to aliens and strangers, I would have chiefly traded in this way of commerce, which would not, in any sort, have been prejudicial to the *India* company; and I should not have doubted thereby to have raised as great, or a greater fortune to myself, proportionable to my pains and small adventure, than the *India* court hath done, or is like to do, to the advancement of the honourable company, with their mighty stock and credit; which, perhaps, was the cause of their envy towards me, lest it should bring upon them a severe censure and reproof. The other reason is, for the encouragement of all honest industrious merchants, whose fortunes have failed in their lawful vocations, especially my dearly beloved brethren the merchant-adventurers of *England*, who, in regard of their better acquaintance in general, above all others, with various multitudes of *European* commodities and manufactures, fit for traffic and commerce, are the fittest men for these *Indian* employments, both for exportation and importation, whose welfare, prosperity, and felicity I wish as my own; these merchants, I say, or others, if they have lived at home or abroad, in credit, which the *Banians* make strict enquiry after, and demean themselves civilly in *India*, without rioting and wantonness, sins that are so prejudicial to purse, body, and soul, but with affability and courtesy towards the *Banians*, who themselves will do no great wrongs, nor offer injury to any, but will patiently bear all affronts, and not resist in word or deed (though, perhaps, they will conceal malice a long time, until opportunity offer, for a private revenge) they will never want credit, to far greater sums than they shall either want, or reasonably desire.

I will yet take the liberty of adding somewhat more, to the furtherance of this plantation; if the following course, or a better, that wiser men than myself may conceive, be taken to encourage adventurers, as was used at the first plantation of *Virginia*, it would, perhaps, prove successful: That is, to allot every adventurer a hundred acres of land for every twelve pounds ten shillings, or less, disbursed, upon subscription, in a book to that purpose; and proportionably, for smaller sums, though no more than a twenty shillings adventure, but none lower; for this, in my opinion, would make the adventures rise to a greater and more considerable sum, to set that work on foot more speedily, laying aside the advancement, by way of lottery, so much aspersed with infamy, and charged with robbing of the poor, and a wasteful expence being made of a vast sum so collected, as in the late project of *Virginia*, unless, upon mature deliberation, and with proper restrictions, the lottery means should be thought more advisable by the wisdom of the nation. Moreover, to allot to every labouring man or artificer, that will adventure his person, and bear his own charges, a hundred acres of land, as a free inheritance; and, if some reasonable proportion be allotted to women, in that kind, it will, probably, the more encourage them to adventure

their persons in the voyage; also to grant to every apprentice, youth, boy, young maid, or girl, transported at their master's charge, after the expiration of seven years, the inheritance of a hundred acres, more or less, as to wiser judgments shall be judged expedient.

And, doubtless, if commission be given to the justices of every county and corporation in *England* (with the encouragement of the godly ministers, in their respective parishes, inciting them thereunto, by the glory done to God, in converting souls to Christianity; the honour and renown accruing to their gracious sovereign, and his royal posterity, by the enlargement of his dominions; the welfare of their own native country, and comfort to their poor Christian brethren, with the very fair prospect of raising their own fortunes, and even their posterity, to great wealth and dignity) to frame books for subscriptions to that purpose, and shew their forwardness, by their own good example, it will speedily draw on adventurers, and cause that most worthy and famous plantation to flourish suddenly; and, if they, for a time, be indulged with a freedom from customs, which is, at present, allowed to the adventurers to *Trinidad* in *America*, it will extremely encourage the undertakers of this most excellent and useful project.

C H A P. XV.

The Valour of the English Nation, against the Savages in Virginia and New-England; of the Spaniards, against a civilised Nation in America, or the West-Indies; and of the Spaniards and Portuguese against the Brasilians, and the Indians, a very warlike Nation. The Examples of other Nations, who deride us, for not settling a Plantation somewhere in India, for our own Succour and Defence, ought to excite us to such an Enterprize; the Honour and Blessing of a pious Christian Nation, to settle true Religion among idolatrous Heathens, to God's Glory and Honour; and the Cruelties of the Dutch to, and Oppression of the English, at Amboyna, in the East-Indies, the latter being too weak to make any Defence against them.

IF any yet object the difficulty of settling a firm plantation in *Madagascar*, in regard of the large extent thereof, and the multitude of its inhabitants, as *Moses* foretold what the children of *Israel* might pretend, saying, in their hearts, "This nation is more than I, how can I dispossess them?" *Moses* replied, "Thou shalt not be afraid of them, but remember what the Lord thy God did unto *Pharaoh*, and unto all *Egypt*; for the Lord thy God is among you, a God mighty and terrible." And, questionless, if we of *England* take this work in hand, to God's glory, as they did, though not to

dispossess, but to convert souls; so shall the Lord our God do unto all the people, whose face we fear, either, to convert, or to contound them. Let us, moreover, consider this people's nakedness, their want of arms, and unskilfulness in managing war, against able and experienced soldiers; and also recollect our nation's valour, pains, and enterprizes, of greater difficulty and hazard, and, by no means, comparable, for pleasure, profit, convenience, and accommodation, as in *Virginia* and *New-England*; and let us likewise call to mind the valour of the *Spaniards* in *America*, in conquering the great and rich empire

empire of the *West-Indies*, with a handful of men, in comparison of the multitudes of people therein, who, as I take it, many years being now past, since I read that story, with three-hundred horse entered the great city of *Mexico*, and took their emperor prisoner, in the company of great numbers of his people, riding in his throne of state upon men's shoulders. Let us also reflect on the conquests of the *Spaniards*, or *Portuguese*, over *Brasil*, that populous country; and the *Portuguese*, in *East-Indies*, force, trade, and commerce, building strong cities and forts, and inhabiting very principal parts of *India*, as *Goa*, *Dua*, *Damon*, *Dabull*, *Muscat*, *Mallaco*, &c. in spite of the opposition of a mighty and warlike emperor, the *Great Mogul*; and the like at *Ormuz* in *Persia*, in defiance of the king and kingdom of *Persia*, anciently so renowned for martial exploits; an island within three leagues of that monarch's main land, that afforded not the planters any succour at all, not so much as timber for building, wood for firing, flesh or grain for food, or grass to feed their cattle; no, no not so much as a drop of fresh water to quench their thirst in so hot a climate, but what the dews from heaven afforded, or they brought with them, being obliged to force their sustenance from the *Persian* and *Arabian* coasts adjacent. And yet they brought their admirable work to royal perfection, erecting that famous, sumptuous, rich, and strong city and castle therein, which surpasses the chief cities of the world for wealth, being accounted as the diamond in the ring, as, indeed, it was the principal city, for wealth, in the round ring of the world, until the *English*, for wrongs sustained from the *Portuguese*, overcame it, beating them out of it, with the assistance of the *Persians* by land, and, most indifferently, left it to the disposal of the king of *Persia*, who would have been glad if the *English* had kept it in their own possession; but now, he having found the sweetness of the enjoyment, many hundred-thousand pounds will not recover it from him, and restore it to its former perfection.

And let us not contemn the valour of the *Dutch*, who, in our days, in despite of that mighty emperor of *Java major*, have built a famous strong city, in his country, formerly called *Jacatra*, but since *Batavia*, by report, the ancient name of *Holland*; on which account, the emperor was so enraged against them, that, when I was in *India*, in the year 1629, the report was, that he vowed, by his heathen

gods, to raze the city, and expel them, if it cost him the lives of many hundred-thousand men. His people are a most daring nation, and venture on the most desperate designs, though apparent death be before their eyes, as many instances have proved of late: a cruel enraged *Javaese* adventured to come a-board an *English* ship, alone, with an intent to kill all the crew, or to perish in the attempt; and, in the execution of his barbarous design, he slew four, five, or six *English*, or more, before the rest could knock out his brains. The emperor not only severely threatened the *Dutch*, but began to scale their walls with heaps of his own subjects dead bodies, forcing them on by an army behind them, to hinder their retreat; but, to this day, he cannot prevail against them. Why then should the *English* nation, so famous for valour in all parts of the known world, be more afraid to enterprize this most noble and beneficial plantation, that ever was yet attempted, and defend it, if quarrels should arise, by taking arms against such weak and impotent people, than at present the adventurers into *Trinidad* in *America*, a place, as I conceive, strongly defended by *Spaniards*, who oppose our countrymen, with their utmost force and policy, as their most deadly foes, though now counterfeit friends. How necessary also this plantation is in regard of the trade and commerce already on foot by the *English* in *India*, the natives of *England*, especially merchants and mariners acquainted therewith, cannot be ignorant: and other Christian nations deride us, for not settling a place of refuge for ourselves, in thirty years time, when some of them have attained to a greater perfection, in a shorter time, either for the prevention of distaste to the *English*, inhabiting among the tyrannical and jealous *Moors*, to fetch them off, in time of danger, if contention or cause of difference should happen, as is likely, and we have had experience thereof, that on every slight occasion, they terrify our people with whipping and other severe punishments, and often impose upon them great fines and mulcts, with close, hard, and cruel imprisonments, until they have enforced the payment of their unjust oppressions; or for preventing our own, or other nations, from robbing, roving, and piracy in those parts, to the great damage of the *English*, which this plantation, well accommodated, will effectually prevent; or to promote the credit, accommodation, and reputation of the *English* by trade and commerce, or otherwise, as well in the eastern as western parts of the world: which

which if we neglect, the *Dutch* or *Portuguese*, or both, will out-top and domineer over us, by expelling us out of *India*, and incroach on that wealthy branch of our commerce, to their exceeding great advantage, and our irrecoverable and deplorable loss.

What an honour, convenience, and happiness must it certainly be, to a pious Christian Protestant nation, undefiled with idolatry, atheism, popery, anabaptism, brownism, antinomianism, or any other heresy or error, to be possessed of a quiet, secure, and wealthy habitation, in so excellent, pleasant, and fruitful a country; a little world in itself, though large in extent, compared with *England*, being, by computation, three times as large; for its defence, distant from all other countries many hundred leagues, whither neither heathen, nor idolatrous, superstitious, or malignant Christians can come to hurt or annoy them, being once settled therein, but at their own insupportable charge, damage, and apparent danger of life, both by sea and land?

And what an addition will it be to God's glory to reduce and convert so many hundred thousand, brave, personable, and affable people, poor ignorant souls, to Christianity? The *Spaniards* boast of their works of supererogation of that kind in the *West-Indies*; but God forbid that we, or any other Christian nation, should christen them in their own blood, as, by report, the *Spaniards* have done in their *West-India* plantation, or conquest, even to the massacring

of all or most part of the natives and inhabitants, and that with unheard of and unparalleled cruelty, by tying many of them together, and laying many wagers, who should slay most men, women, and children, at one thrust, with their long rapiers. I should greatly rejoice to see the day, though I despair to taste of the comforts, as *Moses* did of the land of *Canaan*, that the *English*, *Scotch*, and *Dutch*, all of one religion, could, like Christians, intirely agree together in this most honourable undertaking, there being scope enough for them all; which, I conceive, would render them a terror to all atheistical, heathen, heathen, and idolatrous Christians.

But I should as heartily grieve to hear of such barbarous and treacherous actions among Christians, as those, committed by the *Dutch* commanders at *Batavia*, upon the *English* at *Amboyna* in *India*, which have been twice published to the world, and yet no restitution made for the intolerable wrongs sustained to his majesty's subjects, neither for the lives of the massacred, nor the damage of the merchants, wherein I myself suffer in great proportion. And I pray God we never hear of any more such cruel actions, and affronts from them, which may in time prove prejudicial and disastrous, to both nations, whom, I conceive, it much concerns to live, as near neighbours in peace, unity, and amity together, which God grant to his glory, and the comfort of both nations.

C H A P. XVI.

Esquire Courteen's worthy Enterprize to settle the Beginning of a Plantation at Madagascar; the Partiality, Injustice, and Ingratitude of the India Courts against their true loyal Brother's Servants; and corrupt Favour to their juggling, debauched, undeserving, mere hireling Servants. A Commodity of great Value to be regarded and searched for at Madagascar, and of great Advantage to the Obtainers thereof; Prince Rupert in a great Forwardness to a hopeful Plantation at Madagascar, and the Earl of Arundel's Intention to supply Prince Rupert's Failing in the Project for Madagascar.

REport has lately, since the beginning of this treatise brought to my ear, that noble esquire *Courteen* hath set out, this spring, 1644, three ships furnished with men, and all things fitting for present sustenance, defence, and accommodation, in order to begin a plantation at *Madagascar*; to which right noble enterprize, the God of all grace, mercy, and goodness, grant him his blessing and prosperous success, to the comfort of him and his, and to the encouragement of others,

to second this excellent and useful undertaking, and grant the means which he hath, by report, used to procure trade and commerce with the natives, by causing to be made glass beads, in form and colour like to the haranga, or cornelians, so highly valued by the natives, be not contemned as counterfeit, and so deprive them of present succour and relief, until they can provide more store of the haranga, out of *India*, whereof I make some doubt, knowing their curiosity and skilfulness, to make

make choice of the right cornelians, and duly to prize their colour, beauty, and splendor, free from spots and blemishes.

The worthiness of the said esquire Courteen, to encourage others to join with him in this his most laudable design, I cannot chuse but commend unto the world; though I came a stranger unto him, and neither expected accommodation from him, nor familiarity or acquaintance with him; and that is, that he, not being bred a merchant, but a gentleman at the inns of court, and in the king's court, should be able of himself, with the aid of a few intelligent trusty servants, to manage so weighty a trade and commerce into *India*, as he hath done, answerable, in great proportion, to the great undertaking of the whole *East-India* company, whose governors, deputies, and twenty-four or twenty-six committees, are all bred merchants, and of esteem in their vocation, with their multitude of servants and officers; of much more difficulty, discontent, discouragements, injudiciousness, partiality in justice, and oppression in government, favouring, for bye respects, jugglers, impostors, debauched, and defamed persons, and malicious revengeful tyrants, mere mercenary servants, in their employments into *India*, and discountenancing, ungratefully disrespecting, and cruelly oppressing their approved, honest, and loyal brother servants, intolerably wronged and abused in their service in *India*, contrary to their own knowledge, and the checks of their own accusing consciences, and faithful promise of restitution of wrongs, and orders of their own courts, for gratification of their faithful service. I shall hereafter, perhaps, be constrained, as God shall enable me with strength of body, at present very weak, and ability of understanding, at large, discover these things unto the world, both to the vindication of my own good name, credit, and reputation, and as a warning to others, upright merchants, that shall enter into their service, to be cautious in their covenants and agreements with such ungrateful, partial, and unjust persons; and, though I could be content, for the sake of charity, having, on that account, deferred it thirteen years, to put up their affronts, and bury them in the grave of oblivion, yet, perhaps, my pressing necessities will compel me to make an humble appeal and submissive petition, for justice against them, to the right honourable high court of parliament, though with much grief, timorousness, and regret, to give the least disturbance

V O L. II.

to the weighty and important affairs of state, and the kingdom in general, by affording a redress of intolerable wrongs and oppressions to myself and family, utterly ruined in worldly estate thereby; whose sentence is, indeed *summum jus*, in the severest kind, as the present *East-India* governor hath, out of his own accusing conscience, in open court acknowledged and voted. The present deputy, who, since my return from *India*, was employed, as president there, the place which I myself was designed to execute, understanding there more fully the wrongs which I suffered, did, by his kind letter, condole the sufferings I endured under a tyrannical president, his predecessor, a man of matchless malice; and, since his return, being at present deputy-governor, he hath, by his letters to me, expressed his grief and sorrow for the unjust and oppressive treatment which I received from the court, which it did not lie in his power to remedy; which court ungratefully, for private respects, and unconscionably, in opposition to the good of the public, lately rejected my honest humble petition, and denied that to me, a loyal member of the honourable corporation, for a valuable consideration, which they have, *gratis*, afforded to *Dutch* and *Portuguese*, their mortal enemies, as to trade and commerce in *India*: yet I say, the sentence, proceeding from the pious, just, and right honourable high court of parliament, shall be more acceptable to me, than great benevolence, gratifications, and restitutions of wrongs, from so corrupt a court. I have, in a course of fourteen years, during which, this affair has been depending between the company and me, been so greatly pressed and reduced as to be disabled from doing myself justice, and some of my potent adversaries have not scrupled to tell me, That they are, and will be too mighty for me to wage law with them; and, moreover, I have been prevented from using my endeavours, in my lawful vocation, to maintain myself, a wife, and five children, who are impoverished and ruined; notwithstanding which, I pray God to forgive their ungrateful and uncharitable oppressions, that themselves blush and are ashamed of, though, for the sake of their reputation, they will not reverse their former unjust censures and decrees; as *St. Stephen* prayed for them that stoned him to death, *Lord, lay not this sin to their charge*.

I have omitted one thing, and that not out of forgetfulness or neglect of the good of

of others, but, to deal ingenuously, in hopes of making a private advantage thereof to myself, who still expect and desire a second employment into *India*; and that was this: My last being at *Madagascar*, I chanced to espy, just at our landing-place, within a rod or two off shore, in water not above three feet deep, swimming on the surface, a kind of jelly, like the spawn of frogs, about the quantity, by my computation, of a peck or less; but the colour suddenly seemed black, especially in the middle or thickest part thereof, though, at the sides and thinnest parts, of an exceeding bright blue or purple colour. Besides, being desirous of seeing what it was, yet too hastily, before I well considered the best manner, I rashly prevailed with two mariners to go into the water, and attempt to take it in their hands between them; and they as indiscreetly made the attempt, for, in catching hold of it, it broke all into pieces, some sinking, and the rest of them dissolving. But what made me admire, and caused me to conceive highly thereof, was, that it dyed a great part of the salt-water into a most glorious purple colour, which I then supposed to be the purple of the sea; but, if my memory does not fail me, I have either read or heard, that it is as precious as a gem of high esteem.

And now, it being unlikely, notwithstanding my strong inclination to such a voyage, since I am advanced in years, and lame and decrepid, that I should ever see those parts again, I thought it improper to detain this curiosity any longer from the knowledge of my countrymen, wishing that industrious men would take pains, in the search thereof, which, doubtless, near the shores about *Madagascar*, may be found in considerable quantities; and, if they should find it, by this short and imperfect description, I advise, that three or four men, at the least, endeavour to get under it a long cloth or sheet, and then lift it up gently on all sides, that it slide not out again, and to drain the water out of it. It may be presently put into some vessel of wood, stone, brass, or pewter, for its preservation; and, as occasion is offered, by the trial of a small quantity at a time, it may be dried in the sun, and put in boxes. My humble

opinion is, that it is a rich commodity, and may, perhaps, be worth the weight of it in gold; which I would be glad to hear, before I die, that plenty thereof may be found, and good experiments made of it: and, perhaps, it no ill counsel to the *East-India* company, to give orders to the commanders of their ships, to be industrious in searching for the same, by their boats rowing along the shore of that island, to discover new creeks or bays, or other accommodations.

I shall yet further inform you of an intention of sending planters to the island of *Madagascar* or *St. Laurence*.

After it was agreed upon, at the council-board, that prince *Rupert* should go as viceroy for *Madagascar*, he was to have twelve sail of his majesty king *Charles*, and thirty more merchant-men, to attend him in the plantation, and to have supplies yearly out of *England*. It was likewise agreed upon, and a charge given to the governor, sir *Maurice Abbot*, sir *Henry Garway*, and others of the committee of the honourable *East-India* company, to give all their loving assistance and furtherance to prince *Rupert*, in this design, whensoever he came into *Asia*, or *India*; and all other parts adjacent to the island of *St. Laurence*. I was present when this was ordered, at the council-table, and the charge given to the aforesaid governor and committee of the *East-India* company; but, prince *Rupert* going into *France* and *Germany*, about his weighty affairs, in the mean time, it was thought fit and concluded upon, that the earl of *Arundel*, earl marshal of *England*, should go governor for *Madagascar* or the island of *St. Laurence*, it being the most famous place of the world for a magazine.

This noble earl hath written a book to that purpose, and allowed weekly means of subsistence to divers seamen, who have good judgment and experience all over the oriental seas, and at *Madagascar*. This honourable earl was in such resolution and readiness, that there were printed bills put up on the pillars of the *Royal Exchange*, and in other parts of the city, that abundantly shewed his forwardness in promoting a plantation at *St. Laurence*; but, a new parliament being called, it put a stop to the design of *Madagascar*.

C H A P. XVII.

Ordinance, Guns, and Printing were long in Use in China, before they were used in Christendom ; good Admonition to give the Glory to God, in this Undertaking, and all others.

Mr.
Lloyd's in-
telligence.

THERE are ill effects that fall upon the commonwealth, in the form of trade and commerce, in two particulars : first, by the *East-India* trade, there is a very great loss, to the king, of all the customs, which that trade would have produced, in all this time ; and, by the increase also of trade which that employment would have brought with it, his majesty's farm of his customs would have yielded many thousand pounds a year, more than they have done, if the *East-India* company had received satisfaction for the wrongs they suffered from the *Dutch* in *India*. Lastly, by their fishing upon our coasts, the commonwealth loseth all that they gain ; which is a marvellous increase of trade, as well as of ships and seamen, whereby their navigation is exceedingly strengthened, their mariners multiplied, and their trade increased ; of all which this nation is deprived, whilst theirs is greatly enriched. Well may the *Indians* ascribe so much to the light of their understanding, as to account the rest of the world blind, in comparison of them ; only they vouchsafe to *Europeans* this honour, to call them *one-eyed* men. *Maffei* takes notice in his history of the *Indies*, that those people, beyond all bounds of modesty, boast, that the *Chinese* have two eyes, the *Europeans* one, and all the rest of the people of the world are blind ; and, indeed, they approve themselves to be quick-sighted enough, for, though they are the antipodes of Christians, and, in situation, at the remotest distance from them, yet they find the means to pry into the mines and treasure of the Christian world.

For the *Chinese* are absolutely the gallantest nation in the world ; they had the use of printing, and of powder and ordinance, five-hundred years, before any Christians ; they also have the old testament, and I have seen them act stage-plays in *India*, formed upon the history

thereof. They, in their writings, place the creation of the world six-thousand years before us, or any other nation ; this is very true and certain, upon my credit ; and therefore I say, it is high time that the parliament would be pleased to cast an eye on the government of trade, for its decay is exceeding great, and the loss of the commonwealth infinite.

Now for conclusion of this rude indigested pamphlet, truly, though unskilfully, related, be pleased to accept of the good counsel of *Moses* to the children of *Israel* (if it shall please God, of his free grace, mercy, and goodness, to grant so great a blessing to this nation in these distracted times) which may induce, impulse, and compel good Christians to seek out for safety to their persons, sustenance for their livelihood, and freedom to serve God, in a true religious way, acceptable to his sacred majesty, and consonant to the prescribed rule of the gospel, to remember :
‘ That, when thou hast eaten and filled thyself, thou shalt bless the Lord thy God for the good land, which he hath given thee (as it followeth in the latter end of the eighth chapter of *Deuteronomy*)
‘ and beware lest thou say in thy heart,
‘ My power and the strength of my own hand hath prepared me this abundance.’
Consonant to this is that good advice of famous *Du Bartus* in *French*, translated by worthy *Joshua Silvester* :

*Neva disant ma main fait c'est œuvre,
Ou ma vertu ce bel œuvre par fait ;
Mais dis ainsi Dieu par moy a fait,
Dieu est s'autheur dei pen de bien que je œuvre.*

Say not, My hand this work to end hath brought,
Nor this my virtue hath attained to ;
Say rather thus, This God by me hath wrought,
God's author of the little good I do.

A New Map of North
AMERICA
According to the Newest
Observations.

By
H. Moll Geographer.



A

SHORT DISCOVERY

OF THE
COAST *and* CONTINENT

A M E R I C A,

From the EQUINOCTIAL Northward; and of the
Adjacent ISLES.

By *WILLIAM CASTLE*,

Minister of the Gospel at *Courtenhall* in *Northamptonshire*.

Whereunto is added

The AUTHOR'S PETITION to the Parliament, for the Propagation of the Gospel in *America*. Attested by many Eminent *English* and *Scottish* Divines.

And an ORDINANCE of Parliament for that Purpose, and for the better Government of the *English* PLANTATIONS there.

Together with Sir *Benjamin Rudyer*'s SPEECH in Parliament, *January 21, 1644*, concerning A M E R I C A.

A

SHORT DISCOVERY

OF THE

COAST and CONTINENT

OF

AMERICA.

INTRODUCTION to the WORK.

THE *West-Indies*, usually known by the the name of *America*, were first found out by *Christopher Columbus*, in the year 1493, at the expence of *Ferdinand* king of *Castile*; much furthered by *Isabella* his queen, who pawned all her jewels to advance the christian faith, and to augment the revenue of that crown. A worthy princely act, as highly to be commended as the late pawning of the jewels of the *English* crown is justly to be condemned for the suppressing of the gospel in the purity of it, and the exceeding weakning, if not utter ruining both of king and kingdom.

But though this new world (for so it may be justly stiled, as being of a vast extent, much larger than *Asia*, and never heard of before) was first thought of, and in three voyages (not without divine inspiration and assistance) discovered by that worthy *Columbus*; yet one *Americus*, who after made a more full discovery, hath been honoured with the name of it. This goodly country was first proffered to one of our kings, *Henry* the seventh, a very wise prince, who yet unhappily refused to be at any charge in the discovery, supposing the learned *Columbus* to build castles in the air; but the motion being afterwards entertain'd by the said king *Ferdinand*, *Castile* (the least of the three kingdoms of *Spain*) became commander of them all; and by reason of the incredible treasure yearly brought from thence, his suc-

cessors are now become formidable to all Christian nations; yea, are design'd by the Jesuits (the pope's grand engineers) to be the sole absolute monarchs of all Christendom. A plot yet to be prevented, by our king and state, if timely thought upon, in sending forth a considerable navy, whereby we may best suppress the *Spaniard's* over-swelling greatness, and the most subtil designs of Jesuits, who have bewitched no inconsiderable number of seeming protestants here to believe, that the king and grandees of *Spain* intend good to this kingdom; it being most apparent, that that *Indian* treasure by them disposed, first raised, and still foment these never sufficiently to be deplored combustions in *Ireland* and *England*.

I shall say nothing of the causes that moved *Columbus* to undertake this strange voyage, nor yet how it came to be first inhabited, as being by many, especially by *Acosta*, so fully related.

Thus much, in general, is necessarily to be observed, that in respect of latitude, it is extended well nigh from the south to the north pole. It hath to the east *Europe* and *Africa*, from which it is divided by the wide *German* and *Atlantic* sea, sometimes by more, sometimes by less distance of leagues nearer to *Africa* than *Europe*. To the west it hath *Asia*, and those southern parts of the world, as yet remaining to be discovered: How large the sea is that divides *America* from *Asia*, is as little known;

known ; some are of opinion that it is but a narrow sea, but it is more probable to prove very wide.

The form of this spacious country is irregular, in respect of its many turnings and windings, putting out and taking in again both by sea and land. The north part of it hath a mediterranean sea, wherein lye those great islands, *Porto-Rico*, *Hispanolia*, *Jamaica*, and *Cuba*, every way comparable to *England*, were it not for the more constant temperature of this our incomparable climate. There are likewise, at least, a thousand lesser islands, all lying within this mediterranean Sea ; which make many parts of the continent of this northern *America* to be far distant one from another, in regard either of longitude or latitude. *Newfoundland*, the most north-east part, as yet discovered, is distant from the most north-west parts of *California* (which are likewise the farthest) as yet discovered, full 90 degrees, amounting to 1800 leagues, either of them by little and little drawing nearer the one to the other, until they come within a degree and an half of the tropic of *Cancer* : And then from the most southern part of *Florida*, to *Cullacan*, bordering upon the south-west seas of *Nova Hispania* (which differ not much in latitude) the longitude both by sea and land doth not exceed above thirty degrees ; and afterwards in some places more, in others less. This *North America*, in a great disproportion, falleth to the equinoctial, where from the most eastern part of *Guinea* to the most western of *Popaian*, the longitude is computed at 35 degrees ; as for the latitude, that also differeth very much. The northern corner reacheth to the 53d degree ; the north-west, so far as is yet discovered, but to 48 ; the main body of it falling between those corners (which by some are fitly compared to horns) riseth no farther than the 24th degree. The form of the south part of *America*, beyond the equinoctial, is no less irregular ; the general description whereof I here forbear, as intending in this book to write only of the northern part.

Now for the method which I have propos'd to myself in the particular description hereof, it is thus : I shall begin with the most northern part thereof, which is *Newfoundland* ; from whence, keeping the sea-coast (the course I intend to observe constantly throughout this discovery) I shall forthwith fall upon our chief *English* plantations ; and so taking a view of *Florida*, lying upon the sea coast for many

hundred leagues, between *Virginia* and *Nova-Hispania*, so far as the mediterranean sea will permit ; I shall, God assisting, return again and survey the islands great and small, coming in between the two parts of the continent, which, as I said before, in some places being far more, in others far less, are divided the one from the other.

Having done with the islands, I am again to bend westward ; and according to the sea-coast, to proceed with all the parts of that part of this *North America*, falling down to the equinoctial, adjoining to the *South America*, much larger and much richer than are the islands, or the northern side of the continent. Though therefore *Newfoundland*, many other islands, and the next adjacent regions of the north-east continent, with which I am to begin, afford but very little that may invite us hither ; yet hope those who begin to read this compendium, will either read it over, or at least, passing over these countries of much lesser worth, will fall carefully to peruse what is here by me faithfully related out of many approved authors, concerning the pleasant habitations, exceeding fertility of the earth, abundant provisions in all kinds, and incredible treasure of many other kingdoms and provinces, lying southward and south-west down to the equinoctial : yea, and if it should be granted (as it cannot be granted without condemning of folly and falsehood more than fifty authors who have written more or less of this part of the new world, and many hundred witnesses, who in several islands and parts of this wide continent have seen and enjoyed more than I have expressed thereof) yet with true christians (who in some good measure understand what it is to live or dye for ever) the preservation of many thousands of souls out of those millions of men who now sit in darkness. and perish eternally for want of the light of the gospel, ought to be of so high esteem, and so precious in their eyes, as that though the most, or all of the forenam'd invitations should be wanting, yet they should be content, I say, not to part with all, but with some considerable portion of their Estates, whereby a strong navy might, with all conveniency, be sent into such places of this *North America*, as the wisdom of parliament shall judge most meet for the propagation of the Gospel. Now to proceed in a particular description according to the former proposed method.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

WHEN it was first found out by the *English*, it was thought to have been the most eastern part of the continent, but afterwards it was discovered to be an island, one of the greatest in the world, a hundred leagues long, and in most places near as many broad: To the south and east it hath the great Ocean beating upon it; to the north, it is separated by a narrow sea from the most north unknown continent of *America*; to the west, from *Nova Francia* by the sea called *St. Laurence Gulfe*. Concerning the goodness of the soil, and the fitness for a constant habitation: Tho' M. *Whitburne*, in a book written of *Newfoundland*, doth in both the aforesaid respects, and some other, over highly commend it; yet, upon better enquiry of those who have formerly written of it, as also from those who usually resort thither, I find it to be a convenient habitation for summer, but not for winter, by reason of the exceeding coldness, and the deep over-covering of the land with snow, the waters with huge shelves of ice, whereby they are debarr'd of necessary Provisions, such, as in summer time, the island affordeth in great abundance and variety, namely, land-fowl and water-fowl, fresh fish and salt fish, upon the matter, all the sustentation that the island affords: And yet the yearly rich commodity of sea-fish, almost of all kinds, which are there usually in great quantities taken and transported into *Europe*, cause not only us, but all other neighbouring nations yearly to resort thither: And, because the constant return of that fish commodity is worth, at least, 200,000 *l.* yearly, there have been divers contentions between us *English* and other nations, who, whether we would or no, have taken full liberty of fishing there, and of late it has been agreed (and, in some sort, well observed) that every nation should peaceably enjoy those ports and fishing-places of which they should first be possessed. This great island affords many convenient and safe harbours for ships: Towards the north, the first northern port nearest to the south which is cape *Raz*, is *Rennosa*, lying a little above the 46th degree; then *Aqua-Forte*, two leagues more to the north; then *Punta de Farilham*, as many more.

Much higher, near upon the 28th degree, are *Thorne* bay; then the bay *Conception*, half a degree higher to the north; then bay *Blanche* and bay *Orge*, lying between the degrees of 50 and 51: From

cape *de Raz*, on the south-side towards the west, are as many ports of far greater note, and much more advantageous for taking greater store of fish, namely, *Abram-Trepessa*, two leagues distant from the said cape; then *Chinbeca*, two more; *St. Mary's Haven*, six Leagues more: much more to the west, within 15 scruples of 47 degrees of latitude, is *Presenea*; after which follow five small islands, known by the name of *St. Peter*, then port *Basques*, then *Claire* bay; all safe and convenient harbours, remote the one from the other about forty miles.

The most western capes of *Newfoundland* are *de Raye* and *Anguille*, from whence the land turns again to the north-east, from the degree of 48 to 52, in all which space I read of no haven but that of *St. George*, twelve leagues distant from *Anguilla* promontary; neither yet is that of any great repute, because unsafe to come unto.

It is to be observed, before we pass to the next adjoining part of the continent, which is *New France*, that this island is on all sides (as yet any thing compleatly discovered) found to have many other islands, great and small, thereunto belonging; on the north-east side, besides many very small, rather rocks than islands, there are two of a pretty extent of good use and note: to wit, *Bacalaos* upon the 49th degree, and *Aves* somewhat above the 50th. To the south, many leagues distant, lie four great islands, viz. *Grand Banek*, *Vert Banck*, *Banquereaux*, and *Sabie*, between the degrees of 43 and 46, which to have named may suffice, as being of little worth, save only for fishing, wherein they are reputed not inferior to *Newfoundland*: between which likewise and *Nova Francia*, to the west and north-west, in a kind of mediterranean sea, known by the name of *St. Laurence's gulf*, lie the isles of *Britton*, *Tangeaux*, *Brion*, *Ramees*, and *Natiscotec*, not so big, but as profitable, and more pleasant and apt for habitation, than any of the former: These differ much, in regard of their several distances towards the west, from *Newfoundland*; but they differ more in respect of latitude, some part of isle *Britton* falling to the 46th degree, whereas the most northern part of *Natiscotec* ariseth to the 50th, between which two islands lie the other three, environ'd with seas very narrow, shelvy, and rocky; and therefore to be carefully observed by those who trade among them.

NOVA FRANCIA.

NOW to proceed with the continent: the most easterly, as yet discover'd, part of it goes by the name of *New France*, not that it was first discover'd by the *French*, for that was done long before, Anno 1497, by *John* and his son *Sebastian Cabot*, employ'd by *Henry VII.* king of *England*, to that purpose, but because a more full discovery has since been made by two worthy *Frenchmen*, *Quartery* and *Champlery*, from whose much approv'd relations, I shall here briefly impart to you what I conceive requisite for us to know.

These two worthy *Frenchmen* tell us, that all the discovery they made of this part of *America* (as more than ever yet hath been made) was by the great river *Canada*, falling from the west about an hundred leagues into the north part of *St. Laurence's* gulf, and by the southern ocean westward.

I shall, therefore, in this my brief relation, trace them in their long voyages this way, beginning with that part of *New-France* that bordereth on both sides *Canada*, where they made their first entrance: only let me take notice of some promontaries lying between the south ocean and *Canada* river, not much frequented, for that the coming in unto them hath often proved dangerous, the seas being in most places very narrow by reason of the aforesaid great islands, and many more which formerly did, and now doth cause them who trade thither, to steer a more safe course, above the said islands, more to the north-east, between them and *Newfoundland*: they are known by these names, cape *de Esperance*, and bay *de Chaleaux*, somewhat above the 48, port *Gachepe* upon the 49, cape *de Bontoneriers* and cape *Evesque* between the degrees of 50 and 49. From which last cape begins the fall of *Canada*, best known, and most usually used by the west side of *Natiscotec*, whereunto answers on the north side the river of *Cheschedec*, more than thirty leagues distant (for such is the wideness of that river there affirmed to be). The next cape on the south-side, whereunto the river *Margaret* on the north answers, is *de Chate*, remote from the former near thirty leagues. Above these, somewhat near opposite, but 20 leagues remote from the former, lie the rivers *Lefquemin* to the north, and *Montonne* to the south: The farthest navigable parts of this great river are on the north: *Tadousac*, a good haven at the falling of the heady river *Saguenay* from the north-west, as yet but very little discovered, and the river *May* on the south-side.

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The other part of *Canada* not navigable with any great vessel, was yet attempted by *Quartery* to good purpose, and after upon a further search, *Champlany* is affirm'd to reach yet 300 leagues to the south-west. The principal places by them observed, are *Orleance* and *Sault*, thirty leagues from *Tadousac*, then follow *Quebec* 20, *Mary* river 60, lake *Pierto* 100 leagues more.

Now concerning the goodness of this soil and climate, the condition of the natives, and what hath been here performed by the *French*. It may suffice to know that the land on the north-side of *Canada*, from the fall of it to the river *Saguenay*, (as far as is yet discovered,) is found to be mountainous, woody, and barren; besides, the coming up the river on that side is found much more dangerous than that to the south, which also, in many places, requires circumspection; but then the land is much more fruitful, and convenient to trade for beavers and rich furs, the grand commodity here to be expected, by reason there are more store of natives to trade withal: In the general, all this part of the country is judged to be over-cold in winter, to be well inhabited, though yet it be constantly affirmed that the natives might live very plentifully there, were they not careless in sowing, planting, and making timely provisions, and so prodigal in spending in two or three months, what might serve them the whole year. Sure it is that the *French* have taken a great opinion of it, for besides many voyages formerly made, they have from the year 1608 to the year 1616, made six voyages under the conduct of the fore-named *Champlery*: And it is no less certain, that the *French* have continual trading thither, as finding good return, especially for beaver-skins.

The other part of *New-France*, adjacent to the south ocean, beginning where we came up in *St. Laurence's* gulf, on the west-side of isle *Britton*, are port *Camseau*, and port *de Savelette*, somewhat above the 45th degree of latitude; then half a degree more to the south follow bay *de Toutes*, and port *Elaine*; the first full thirty, the second near fifty leagues from *Savelette*; then bay *Senne*, *Margarite* river, and cape *Heve*; all these follow one after another for a degree farther: yet more to the south-west follow port *de Rosignall*, cape *de Sable*, port *Courante*, and cape *Forcu*, one after another for the space of thirty-five leagues. From cape *Forcu* begins a great inlet sea call'd bay *Francoise*, of fifteen leagues wide at the first entrance, but after a while it is narrowed more and more as it runs backwards towards the north-east, full thirty leagues into the continent; and in this bottom of the sea are many good havens, but that

that the coming up unto them is not so good. They are known by these names, *Mary's bay*, port *Royal*, and port *aux Mines* about five leagues distant the one from the other.

And here it is to be observed, that the turning in of the aforesaid bosom of the sea, near as far to the north-east as the gulf of *St. Laurence*, environs that part of *New-France*, which the *French* call *Cade*. On the south-west side of bay *Francoise*, are cape *Range*, *St. John's river*, port *Coquilles*, and the river *Croix*.

Now the temperature of this part of this country is better than the other, as not being so excessive cold, but the goodness of the soil is, in the general, not so good as is that part which is called *Canada*, lying on the south-side of the river *Canada*.

Yet the *French* have taken so good liking thereof, that the lord *de Monts* and the lord *de Poutrincourt* have made some voyages thither in person, and spent great part of their estates in settling plantations there, whereof there was great hope of good success, until in the year 1611 and 1613, the then queen regent of *France*, who hath since proved the fire-brand of *Christendom*, after the murder of her husband *Henry IV.* by jesuits, sent some of that hellish fraternity thither in favour of her holy father the pope, and the king of *Spain*, to disturb the plantations (as no doubt her dear daughter, our now dreadful queen) hath, doth, and will unhappily endeavour to do, by the counsel of her greatest favourites *Spanish* pensioners, especially if we shall presume to plant or trade in those much richer southern countries, which the *Spaniard* proudly challengeth in his inheritance.

Touching the native inhabitants here, I will say no more, but that they are much of the same condition with those who border about *Canada*; men of no religion, living without God in the world, deluded and captivated by Satan and their priests, which they call *Autonoins*.

The country in summer affordeth them sufficient food, but for want of due provision for winter they then are often exceedingly pinched, and sometimes die miserably for lack of sustenance.

It is here to be noted, that all this south part of the continent, known by the name of *New France*, from cape *Britton* to cape *Crux*, was, in the year 1621, granted by king *James* to Sir *William Alexander*, a *Scotchman*, who sent forth one since to discover it, and gave it a new name, viz. *New Scotland*: But we hear of nothing of worth performed by him, or those who were employ'd by him.

NEW ENGLAND.

THE next part of the continent adjoining to *New France*, formerly accounted a parcel thereof, is *New England*, lying between the degrees 41 and 45: the most north-east part of it, (as yet least discovered by our *English*) begins at the river *Penobscot*, which the *French* call *Pentegewet*, near to the river *Haute*. The next are the rivers *Kinibequi* over-against isle *Bacchus*, thirteen leagues; then *William's bay*, fifteen more; and *Tragabigiana*, alias cape *Anna*, five more: but the most safe and most convenient comings in, as lying nearest to the *English* plantations, are *Hender bay*, *Accomack* and *Milford* havens, near cape *Cod*, all within thirty-four leagues of cape *Anna*, opposite to the *Bristow* plantation. The natives bordering near these ports have divers names, and have many little villages, whereof *Sagadehoc*, *Mascosqueck*, *Penobscot*, and the *Mattabunts*, inhabiting two pleasant islands, are chief.

The greatest part of the country, as our countryman captain *John Smith* reports, abounds with variety and store of wholesome cattle, fowls, fish, fruits, rich furs, and timber for service; whereunto having added the excellent fertility of the soil for all manner of culture, and the sweet and wholesome temperature of the climate, he doubts not to compare *New England* with the most approved countries of *Europe*; and I find his commendation seconded, if not exceeded, by the company of adventurers for the plantation there: for the goodness of the soil they compare it to *Devonshire*; for the temperature of the air to *France*: but yet, upon farther enquiry from divers of our *English* who have been there, and have taken a more exact view lately of this country, I am certainly informed, that, in regard of fertility, it comes far short of old *England*.

And now will I very briefly impart unto you, as far as is requisite, what has been perform'd by our nation in those parts.

In the year 1606, king *James* did, under the great seal, license a plantation there, which was undertaken by some noblemen and some merchants, conditionally, that neither should plant within an hundred miles of one another: The first colony consisting of an hundred husbandmen, sent mostly at the charge of lord chief justice *Popham*, under the government of *George Popham*, in the year 1609 entered the great river *Saga de Hoc*, and by the banks of the said river settled themselves, where they continued for the space of one year, and then returned into *England*, for that they were

NEW ENGLAND,
NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY,
and PENNSYLVANIA &c.
By H. Hall Geographer.

0 5 10 20 30 60 90
English Miles



- a. Malden
- b. Sudberry
- c. Charles Town
- d. Roxbury
- e. Dorchester
- f. Milton
- g. Braintree
- h. Weymouth
- i. New Bristol
- k. Portsmouth
- l. Newport
- m. Canonicut
- n. Elizabeth T.
- o. Woodbridge
- p. Pascatoway
- q. Perth City
- r. Staten Island
- s. Old Towne
- t. New Towne

were not able to provide for themselves, by reason of the deaths of both the *Pophams*, by whose care and charge they were chiefly governed and sustained. But their unexpected return was so displeasing to many other adventurers here, as that for a good while after, they cast off all care of any further plantation there.

Hereupon the *French* fell upon those parts, but they were easily and suddenly beaten out by captain *Argall*.

After this, with far greater preparation was Captain *Hobson* sent forth out of *England*, with two of those natives, who were intended for interpreters, as having got some little knowledge of our *English* tongue, in the time of more than two years abode here: But the voyage was frustrated, by reason that the natives then were very much incensed with our *Englishmen*, because one *Hunt*, an *Englishman*, had not long before most perfidiously allured twenty of them into his Ship, under pretence of commerce, and so perfidiously carried them away, and sold them for slaves unto the *Spaniard*.

A third and fourth voyage was performed in the year 1614 and 1615, by captain *John Smith*, but those neither with any good success, for in the former, he neither discovered any golden or silver mines, nor yet found any such useful whales as he expected. And in the other voyage, he was taken by the *French* pirates, and by them for a while detained.

A fifth voyage accompanied with a colony of nineteen families, set forth from *Plymouth* in the beginning of *September*, in the year 1620, and on the nineteenth of *November* following, they entered a nook of the sea ten miles from cape *Cod*, and there they stay'd until the 16th of *December*; but not liking the place, they removed to another more fertile and more commodious, over-against *Milford* haven, where having built them a town called *Plymouth*, they have continued for more than twenty years: and since within these twelve years last past, many hundreds of families have resorted either to *New Plymouth*, or they have made other plantations, as those of *Bristol* near cape *Anna*, and *Connoct* near *Hinder's* bay, where they have continued a good while, every year better and better accommodated with necessary provision for life, and not without some indifferent intercourse and correspondence with the natives, upon whom they have thus far wrought, towards the bringing them to God, as that they usually acknowledge the God of the *English* to be good, and their god, which they call *Tanto*, to be naught; and yet for fear of the devil, by whom they are expressly prohibited, they dare not frequent our planta-

tion, nor confer with our men about the Christian religion, so often as they would. Neither, indeed, is it likely our men should be able to do any good upon those (in respect of a happy conversion to Christ) so extremely seduced and hardened infidels, unless they were better able to give them law, and by a holy violence compel them as it were to come in, which may be done without any colour of injustice or cruelty, as tending both to their temporal and eternal felicity; especially, unless they had a greater power and means, to take away their young children, whereby they might become ours, and so be brought to the knowledge of Christianity, which they might successfully impart unto their miserable seduced parents, at least they would be sure to stick fast to that most blessed and saving doctrine they learned in their youth. And this rule ought generally to be observed in all other our plantations in *America*, either made or to be made.

I might add many other general and particular observations concerning *New England*, but it would not agree with my former proposal, which was not to write all of any place, but somewhat of every place. Wherefore, leaving those who are desirous of farther information to many *English* authors who have more fully written of that country, and especially to those herewith collected, I proceed to the *Dutch* plantation.

NEW NETHERLAND.

AS the bounds of *New England* westward, and by the south, end with the promontory *Malebar*, so the *Dutch* plantation begins there, and extends itself more westward and more southward towards *Virginia*: yet was first found out in the year 1609, by master *Henry Hudson*, an *Englishman*, employed by the states of the *Low-Countries* for a discovery in those parts: after which discovery returning to *Amsterdam*, he was next year by the merchants thereof sent forth again with a ship furnished with such commodities as were fittest to truck with the natives, for number far exceeding those of *New England*; the continent upon the sea-coast, from the aforesaid *Malebar*, bending a good space to the south-west; and then a little to the north-west hath adjoining four islands, *Petakonocke*, *Kotget*, *Christian* and *Block*: whereof the third, *Christian*, is of good note for store of timber, abundant in fowl and fish. Within the continent lies the great river *Nassaw*, whose first entrance is two miles wide, and for eight miles it continues very navigable, but after becomes shallow. The country adjoining on either

either side is very pleasant and fruitful, inhabited by the *Wapavockes* and *Nalucantos*.

Then followeth the river *Siccanamos*; the country whereunto adjoyning is possessed by the *Pequets*, professed enemies to the *English*. Then the river *Virresche*, on the west side whereof bending to the north, lye the *Sequini* and *Novasis*. Between these nations and the *Matawaces*, who live by fishing, there lieth an archipelagus, wherein are many islands. On the north side of the *Dutch* plantation springeth the river *Machicam*, called the great *North River*, which runneth through one of the widest parts of that part of the continent, as yet discovered, affordeth convenient habitation for the *Aquamachites* and the *Manabots* on the east side; for the *Sanaebans* and *Tappans* on the west side. Near this great river the *Dutch* have built a castle of great use to them, not only for the keeping under of the natives adjoyning, but likewise for their more free trading with many of *Florida*, who usually come down the river *Canada*, and so by land to them. A plain proof *Canada* is not far remote.

There is yet another river not fully discovered, bigger than the former, called the *South River*; it lyeth westerly by south toward *Virginia*; the entrance into it is very wide, having *Cape May* to the east, and *Cape Hinlopen* to the west, lying about the degree of 41; and from thence the sea-coast inclineth by little and little somewhat more than two degrees to the south. A point necessary to be observed by those who sail into those seas for avoiding of shelves and sands. The chief inhabitants lying on the east side of this river to the east, are the *Sicones* and the *Naraticons*; on the west are the *Minquaans*, the *Senenquaans*, and many more.

And now concerning *New Netherland's* convenient temperature, the goodness of the soil, or commodities which either sea or land afford; I need say no more, but that in all these respects it differeth not much from *New England*, only I must in these four things give it the precedency, that the land in general is richer, the fields more fragrant with flowers, the timber longer, and therefore more fit for building and shipping, the woods fuller of beavers, and the waters, of salmon and sturgeon.

VIRGINIA.

VIRGINIA is next adjoining westerly to *New Netherland*: it extendeth itself, with relation to the sea-coast, from north to south, from the degree of

33 to 39. And it is divided into two parts, the northern and the southern; the southern was first found out by Sir *Walter Raleigh* in the year 1586; and by him, in honour of our most gracious queen *Elizabeth*, called *Virginia*; from whence the other part also is denominated. What success his discovery had or hath, I shall impart unto you in its due place, so soon as I have done with the northern part, which, in the year 1606, from the degree 37 to 39, began to be inhabited by our *English*, and hath ever since continued, sometime in better, sometime in worse state; but for some years last past, for many temporal respects, beyond imagination prosperous.

The summer is here as hot as in *Spain*, especially in *June*, *July* and *August*; but it is, for the most part, greatly mitigated by a brisk easterly wind, and other winds coming ordinarily from the sea coast. From *December* to *March*, it freezeth sharply, but is not usually of any long continuance, some years more and some years less, as in other regions: and though here sometime drought, sometime rain do exceed, yet do they not so exceed, but that the inhabitants affording a due care and endeavour, may, and do, reap the fruits of the land in great variety.

There is but one only coming up unto this northern part of *Virginia*, which is by a wide arm of the sea called *Chesapeake*, bounded on the north, and on the south, with two great promontories, whereof the northern taketh denomination from king *Charles*, the southern from prince *Henry*.

It extendeth itself from south to north, accompanied well near for two hundred miles with the ebbing and flowing of the sea, so as it is navigable more than fifty miles. There falleth into it, as it passeth from the north-west, five principal rivers, fed and maintain'd by many other rivers, which I purposely omit; these being sufficient (lying as they do, some 25 miles asunder) to fructify and replenish with store of corn, grass, and other fruits, almost all the known parts of north *Virginia*, which our *English* either now do, or shall undoubtedly, by God's assistance, shortly enjoy.

The first river is *Pawbaton*, which springing out of the mountains of *Monocham*, and afterwards increased by divers other rivers, becometh so wide and so deep, as it is navigable about an hundred miles from its fall into the grand stream *Chesapeake*, not far from *Cape Henry*. Either side of this river is inhabited by diversity of natives, whereof on the north side are the *Chicabemans*, the *Wenankes*, and the *Pastpabeyens*; whereof the first are able to bring near two hundred men to the war, the second an hundred, the third forty. And here, forty miles from *Cape Henry*, lieth *James Town*,
our

our best hold. On the south side, the chief are the *Nansamunds*, consisting of about forty men of war, the *Chesapeackes* an hundred, the *Apamatucks* sixty, and either of these and others less considerable, by reason of their far smaller numbers, have their several petty kings, which they call *Weroances*.

The second river distant from *Pawbatan* to the north, is *Pamaunke*, at first small, but after, greatly increased by the access of other rivers. All the natives on either side this river, cannot bring above 150 men to the war.

The third is *Toppabanocke*, navigable about 150 miles, the natives lying on both sides of it, whereof the *Toppanabocks* are not much more than 300 serviceable men.

The fourth is *Patawomeke*, a very wide and deep river, navigable 140 miles; by reason that divers other rivers fall into it; and it is on either side, in regard of the commodiousness and pleasantness of the soil, much inhabited; and is able out of three villages only, *Adigcomoco*, *Onawmament*, *Noyowane*, to send 350, and as many more out of others.

The last and least river is called *Pawtunxt*, the inhabitants whereof, on either side, cannot bring into the field above two hundred men.

There are yet other rivers on the other side, eastward, all which fall likewise into the great river *Chesapeacke*, but they are of no great note, because not navigable; but the natives inhabiting about them, for proportion of ground, are as many as on the other side. The number of their fighting men are about four hundred; so as the whole number of their men of war in the north part of *Virginia* do not exceed three thousand; who being no better armed than with bows and arrows, and not daring to approach our great ordnance, no nor our muskets neither, if there be any store of them; less than three hundred of our men may easily beat away and keep them under.

And now I shall acquaint you with such things as the earth bringeth forth of her own accord, as also what grain and other fruits careful husbandry may produce.

Store of grass in many places there is not, not because the soil is unfit to yield it, but that it is hindered by the overshadowing of the trees, which almost in every place groweth into great abundance; a thing easily to be amended, by cutting down good store of them, as appeareth plainly in some of our Plantations where this course is carefully performed. They have besides store of grass, store of *English* and *Indian* grain; yea, I have been credibly informed by divers persons of good worth, that they have many fields belonging to a plantation, where the ground yield-

eth greater increase upon bare tillage than ours here in *England* doth, with the most chargeable and most painful husbandry.

Among the fruitful trees of the wood, the prime are the oak, walnut, mulberry, prune, damson trees; of the fruit whereof, stamped together, the natives make of the dryer part, that which serveth them as well as bread; and with the liquid part that which contenteth them as well as beer. They have also store of cherries and grapes, greater than ours, tho' nothing so sweet; which undoubtedly may be justly imputed to the want of due husbandry in setting, grafting, and pruning them. It hath, besides, divers other trees, which tho' they bear no fruit, yet are they no less profitable for building and other uses; as namely, the cedar, the cyprus, and the sassafras.

It sends forth also, of its own accord, great variety of herbs and roots, very useful both for food and physic.

The grain which the natives set in the place where great trees stood a year or two before they had first burnt them down, and then rooted them up, are chiefly *West-Indian* wheat and pease; which being set in *April* (four wheat and two pease grains, in several holes distant four foot from each other) in *August* they receive a wonderful increase, every stalk bearing usually two or three ears, and every ear two hundred, some five hundred grains, which are as big and as sweet as our round-civals; but our countrymen, besides the *Indian* grain, do now sow in great quantity our wheat, barley, pease and oats, and receive usually, as you have heard, a greater increase than our *English* land affordeth.

The beasts which the north part of *Virginia* of itself affordeth, whose flesh yield wholesome nourishment, are upon the matter only deer of several kinds, castors, hares, and squirrels as big as our coney; and with either of these it aboundeth. But besides these, our plantations do at this present so abound with neat and swine, as that they feed more plentifully on them than they need; and as I have been credibly inform'd by divers worthy inhabitants, that they can, upon occasion spare sufficient, beef, pork, turkeys, hens, and salt fish, with such store of grain, as may sufficiently victual any navy of ours which shall be employed that way.

The flying fowl there, such as are for prey, are eagles and divers hawks; for food there are partridges, pigeons, turkeys, blackbirds, thrushes; and in the winter, though but little in the summer, they do abound with water fowls of all sorts, swans, cranes, geese, ducks, and many more, whom we of *Europe* never knew. For fish, there are sea-calves, salmon, trout, eels, soles, herrings, mullets, perch; and of all kind of shell-fish, far greater and better than ours.

Now as concerning the condition of the natives, it may suffice to know that some few of them, as the *Sasquesabanoxes*, who lye most northerly about two miles from the grand river *Chesapeake*, are giants in comparison of us; that other, as the *Wickocomacks*, are dwarfs, though for the most part they are of a competent stature, born white, but turning tawney by continual painting of themselves: They are strong and nimble of body, and well inured to indure winter and summer: In winter they lye in the woods by a great fire, cloathed with the hairy skins of deer and castors; in summer with smooth skins.

In the year 1606, at the charge of some nobles and citizens, under the government of Mr. *Neoport*, a colony of about an hundred men was sent into this north part of *Virginia*. The first part where they began to build and plant, was at *Cape Henry*, where, at the first, they were kindly receiv'd by the natives; but it continued not long, for within a while they refused to supply them with any provision or victuals; and in the end they set upon them both by treachery and force to subdue them, which they very hardly withstood, being almost famished, and had undoubtedly all forthwith perished, had not there then a new supply of an hundred and twenty more men, and of proportionable provision, happily arriv'd out of *England*, under the conduct of the foresaid Mr. *Neoport*, in whose absence captain *Smith* was governor: but this was but a short refreshing, by reason that a great part of their provision was consumed by casualty of fire; neither was there any good agreement between the chief officers there, or such a continued supply hence as was requisite, so as they fell again into a very hard condition, being extremely pinched with famine, and daily assaulted by the natives, insomuch as they were all resolv'd to have return'd into *England*, had it not been for the lord *Delaware*; by whose coming with store of all provisions, they were comforted and supported: and so they continued in a much bettering state, under the command of captain *Smith*, Mr. *Dale*, and Mr. *Gates*. Captain *Smith* affirmeth, that at his departure, he left there near five hundred well provided with victuals, and all manner of ammunition; which by the coming of Mr. *Dale* and Mr. *Gates*, was made as good again. And in this flourishing increasing condition, they continued from the year 1610, unto 1621, in which year they lost by an unexpected treacherous surprisal of the natives, three hundred and forty, and had been utterly destroyed, had not *James Towe* escaped by a *Virginian*, who had got some little knowledge in

Christianity; but since, they have abundantly recovered that loss, being now more than a thousand, and commanding the natives as they please. Many other remarkable passages touching this part of *Virginia*, are to be found in captain *Smith's* discourse thereof.

The greater and more fertile part of *Virginia*, is the southern, found out, as I said, by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and since, amply describ'd by our countryman, Mr. *Harcourt*, who affirmeth that there are great store of deer, coneys, and big squirrels, which afford very sweet and wholesome nourishment; and no less abundance of fowl, as peacocks, partridges, stock-doves, cranes, herons, swans, geese; as also of fish, as sturgeon, herring, rays, mullets, plaice, soles, trouts, eels, and many more; beside infinite store of all kind of shell-fish, and all of these very useful for man's sustenance. There are likewise in this southern part many merchantable commodities, besides ample provision of almost all things necessary for shipping; which with a competent supply of men and ammunition from *England*, might within a short time, by God's blessed assistance, command the northern parts of *America*, where would be found silver and gold sufficient, tho' they never went over the line to abate the over swelling greatness of the *Spaniard*, by whom the papacy is only supported, and all protestant churches, at this present, so extremely perplexed. There was in the year 1546, a small colony sent into this part of *Virginia*, at the charge of Sir *Walter Raleigh*; but finding themselves not able to resist the natives, they returned into *England*.

A second expedition was undertaken in the year 1585, by Sir *Richard Grinvil*, who continued not long there, but left a colony of an hundred and seven, under the command of Sir *Raphael Lane*, who being greatly distressed by the natives, were next year brought back again by Sir *Francis Drake*.

The last voyage we read of, was undertaken at the charge of the said Sir *Walter Raleigh*, by Mr. *With*, 1587, who finding the former colony gone, and himself not able to make good the plantation, returned.

FLORIDA.

THE next adjacent country unto *Virginia*, to the west and south-west, is *Florida*, containing a very large tract of ground, not yet fully discovered; it hath the island *Cuba* to the south, and runneth southwest to the river *de Palmas*, about

PERSIA,
According to the Newest and
most Exact Observations.
By H. Moll, Geographer.



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about forty miles distant from *Panuco*, a province of *Nova Hispania*. The temperature of the air differeth not much from that of *Castile* in *Spain*; it is for the most part very fertile, but it seemeth not to have in it any rich mines either of gold or silver, or not to have been regarded by the natives, who not long since would not take the pains to take up any of the great store of gold and silver which was usually cast upon that coast, by reason of many shipwrecks which the *Spaniards* suffered in bringing such treasure thorough the dangerous straits of *Babema* from *Nova Hispania*, and the south of *America*. The soil is as fertile, if not more fertile than any part of *Virginia*, and aboundeth with greater store and variety of flesh, fish, fowl, and fruit, than that doth. Great store of gold and silver is found there, which they who have written of *Florida*, impute rather to frequent shipwreck, than to any mines growing there, because they have far the greater store near the sea-coast; though yet there be a constant report of many golden mines in the *Apalaci* mountains, which divide *Florida* from the south part of *Virginia*; but it is certain that many of the sea-shores afford store of ambergrease.

The inhabitants are of a tawny colour, of great stature, and well compacted bodies, very expert archers, exceeding active, fierce and manly in their manner of assault.

Their religion is the same, or not much differing from that of their neighbours, a meer worship of devils, wherein they are greatly deluded by their priests, who are great magicians.

They hate the *Spaniard* extremely, more willingly they entertain and join their forces with the *French* and other Christian nations against them. They consist of many petty governments, which usually infest and weaken one another, in that respect easy to be subdu'd, though they were better provided for war than they are.

The *Spaniard*, as also the *French*, have made many voyages into *Florida*.

The first *Spanish* expedition was undertaken in the year 1512, from the isle of *Portorico*, by *Portius*, from whom it received the name, for that the face of the country hath a resemblance of a continual spring; but this expedition proved to be of none effect.

A second voyage was undertaken in the year 1520, by *Vasques*, from *Hispaniola*, who performed nothing memorable there, save only this infamous act of inviting many of the natives into his ships, where once aboard, he hoisted sail, and carryed them into miserable bondage.

A third voyage was made to as little pur-

pose, by *Narvesias*, anno 1526, who staid so long in the search of the south-west part of *Florida*, which is the most barren part, that they were fain to eat one another.

The most remarkable was undertaken by *Ferdinando à Soto*, from the year 1536, unto 1541, in which time he with his army of nine hundred foot, and five hundred horse, were the greater part consumed, having not found out what they chiefly sought after, any gold or silver mines. The remainder of his soldiers, which were not a fourth part of those he brought from *Cuba*, were after his death under the conduct of *Ludovicus Moscosus*, brought into *Nova Hispania*, not without great difficulty, being often fiercely set upon, and persecuted by the natives. After which very chargeable and unprosperous voyage of *Hernandes*, the *Spaniard* for many years did intermit any further search of *Florida*; which indeed was never thoroughly by them, as having searched no farther than that part of the Country which lyeth opposite to the gulf of *Nova Hispania*, and not within and beyond the straits of *Babema*, lying towards *Virginia*, which is by many degrees the more fertile soil, and most abounding with treasure, and rich merchantible commodities.

After this the *French* with two of the king's ships, every way well provided, by the procurement of *Colinus*, that most worthy admiral of *France*, under the conduct of *Ribaldus*, set forth to *Florida*, in the year 1542, where they arrived within two months, at the river of *Dolphines*, lying about the 30th degree; and from thence following the sea-coast towards the north, they came to a very safe port, which they named *Port Riall*, near unto which, they built *Charles* Fort, about the degree of 32, near adjoyning to the sea-coast of *Virginia*: But by reason of a great civil war that as then happened very fierce in *France*, a long expected supply being not sent from thence, a mutiny arose among his soldiers, so as *Ribaldus*, though he was well entertain'd and supply'd by the natives, was enforc'd to return into *France*, after some discovery made of the north-east part of *Florida*, not without the loss of some men, tho' of more money: and in his return, for want of victuals, they kill'd one of their own men, and had hardly ever again recovered *France*, but that they were unexpectedly furnished with some victuals by an *English* ship.

After this, the civil war ceasing in *France*, and *Colinus* the admiral returning again into grace with the king, *Laudonerius* the twentieth of May 1544, set forth with three ships well furnished for *Florida*, where he arrived the twentieth of June, and was friendly received by the natives, but could

not find any gold or silver mines, though he spent much travel and time in search after them; so long as his provision was all spent; and the natives growing both unable and unwilling to supply him any longer, he was resolved to have returned into *France*, if the aforesaid *Ribaldus* had not again arrived there with three small ships out of *France*; whose expected coming as it was very joyful to the *French*, so the natives seemed to be highly pleased therewith, as four of their petty kings, the kings of *Homoloa Seravatri*, *Almacam*, *Malica*, and *Castri*, came forth to congratulate *Ribaldus* arrival, and promised to conduct the *French* unto the mountains of *Apalaetri*, where store of red metal was to be had, which they supposed to be gold: but this great hope of the *French* soon vanished, by reason of the *Spaniard's* coming suddenly upon them with great ships every way well prepared, upon whose approach the *French* stole away to sea, but were forthwith pursued by the *Spaniard*, whom though they as then escaped, yet were they by a violent tempest, after shipwreck and loss of their men, again cast upon the coast of *Florida*, about six and twenty miles higher to the north-east towards *Virginia*, where they were forthwith set upon by the *Spaniard*, beaten out of their forts, and almost all cruelly slain, to the number of six hundred, among which *Ribaldus*, the governor, was one, though he yielded himself, among other conditions, to have his life spared; *Laudonerius*, and some few of the *French* escaped hardly to their ships, and so returned into *France*, having cast off all future hopes of *Florida*, which was now left to the dispose of the cruel *Spaniard*; neither did the *French* king (for that he greatly disliked, if not hated protestants, and such were these that were slain in *Florida*) so regard the merciless slaughter of his people, as ever after so much as attempt the least revenge of their blood, which yet two years after one monsieur *Gurgius*, a private man, at his own charge with 280 men transported in three ships, was most valiantly undertaken, and no less happily effected, by the help of the natives, who upon his first arrival, out of an inveterate hatred to the *Spaniards*, their insolent outrageous opposers, joined with him to the slaughter, and utter extirpating of them out of *Florida*: and yet for all this compleat victory, the valiant *Gurgius*, though earnestly invited by the natives, would not venture with so small a force, to stay long in *Florida*, as knowing very well that the bloody revengeful *Spaniard* might in a short time from *Cuba*, *Hispaniola*, or other their near adjoining plantations, invade him with far greater forces, and therefore within a while re-

turned, where he found his worthy service to be so displeasing to the king and his popish lords, as he was fain a good while to hide himself, and to fly for his life, and after this we do not hear that the *French* did ever venture into *Florida* any more.

Neither yet hath the *Spaniard* obtained any strong footing there, for as yet they have no town of any note towards the sea of *Mexico*, and but two which lie towards the northern sea, the one (which is chiefest) call'd *St. Augustine*, the other *St. Matthew*, of great difficulty to be taken by a small navy, but of great import, in regard of their great wealth to them that shall take them. And now will I only describe the sea-coasts of *Florida* from the confines of *Virginia* unto *Nova Hispania*, far better known than the inland countries to the north of *Florida*. The nearest river of *Florida* to *Virginia* of any note falling into the ocean, is the river *Jordaine*, which lies 32 degrees from the *Equinoctial*; from whence, about twenty leagues downward to the south, towards the west lies the promontory of *St. Helen*, near *Port-Royal*, which the *French* chose for the best and surest place to begin their plantations; between which, *Oristanum*, *Ostanum*, and *Cayagua*, whereof the first is distant from *St. Helen*, six leagues; the second from the first, four leagues; the third from the second, eight leagues: but how far *Cayagua* is from the river *Jordaine*, is not yet determined. From *St. Helen* to *Dos Baxos* haven is five leagues; from thence to the bay *De Asapo*, three leagues; thence to *Cafonusum*, three; to *Capula*, five; to *Saron*, nine; to *St. Alcany*, fourteen; to *St. Peter*, twenty leagues: all bays and rivers westward falling down to the south from *Peter Bay*, which lie about the 31st degree to the south, to *St. Matthew's* town is five leagues, and from thence ten more to *St. Austin's*, directly southward, the land so falling in upon the sea, from the degree of 30 and a half 25, where the coming up of the strait of *Babema* begins, having to the west side those dangerous rocks called *Marteries*, to the east those called *Roques*. Between *St. Austin's* town, and the bay *de Mosquito*, is fifteen leagues; from thence to the point *Canaverall*, is sixteen leagues; from thence to the river *Ayz* is full 20 leagues, and from thence to *Martyres* near as many more; so as from cape *Francis*, near to *St. Matthew's* town, where the land begins to turn directly southward, to *Martyres* (coming up from the gulph of *Mexico* to the north-east parts of *Florida*) is near six degrees downward to the line. Not far from *Martyres* westward, lie the *Tortugas* dangerous islands, where the continent of *Florida* turns again almost directly north for near five degrees: between

between which and *Tacobago*, which lies near to the top of that great reach, lie the bays of *Carlos*, *Tampa*, *Muspa*, and *St. Joseph*. *Muspa* is distant from *Carlos* thirteen leagues; to *Tampa* from *Carlos* as many more; from thence to *St. Joseph* are fifteen leagues; and from *St. Joseph* to *Tacobago*, eighteen: between which, at *St. Joseph* begins a great inlet of the sea for more than twenty leagues to the north latitude, and more than forty-four to the western longitude; in the middle of which lies *Ante*, a safe haven, and of great import for those who intend a more full discovery of *Florida*, which as yet is but slenderly discovered towards the west; for between it and the most northwest parts of *Nova Hispania*, which are distant the one from the other four hundred leagues, we read but of one safe bay, called the bay of the *Holy Ghost* near cape *de Crus*, and some few rivers for succour and supply of navigators.

The first river from *Ante* one hundred leagues is *Nieves*, from whence the river *Flores* is twenty, from the haven of the *Holy Ghost* (which is of all the surest) to the river *Flores* is seventy leagues, from which to the river *Piscadores* is as many more; where the gulph of *Mexico* begins to turn from the west directly south, from the degrees of 29 to 25.

I might here proceed with the description of *Nova Hispania*, (a country of highest esteem with the *Spaniard* for richness and fruitfulness;) but having passed as far as the northwest seas of *America* will permit, I take it to be our best course to return back again to view the islands, and the more south-east parts of the continent, lying far nearer, and every way of as good consequence for the propagating of the gospel, and the settling of some weak plantations which we have there already, for the continual sending forth more colonies, and for the obtaining store of treasure, and many rich merchantable commodities.

C U B A.

THE first great island in our return lying most to the west, is *Cuba*, having *Hispaniola* easterly to us, distant from the first eastern part thereof, which is cape *Mayzi*, twelve leagues; to the west it is divided from *Nova Hispania* by a long and large interposition of sea called *Mexico*; to the north, it has the *Lucaic* islands; the nearest parts to the south is the island *Jamaica*.

From the east promontory of *Mayzi* to cape *Anthony* full west it extends itself no

less than 230 leagues, but in breadth where it is largest it exceeds not 40 leagues, where narrowest not fifteen: a very large island and fruitful soil, able abundantly to sustain many thousand men, for the natives are well nigh utterly destroyed by the *Spaniard*, and the few *Spanish* inhabitants at this time there remaining, are not able to make use of the fifth part thereof. The climate is somewhat hot, but yet healthful and reasonably temperate, it is so over-stored with kine, as they kill them merely for their hides, and so with hogs as they know not what to do with them.

It hath in it a cathedral and a monastery. To the east, thirty leagues distant, and within ten leagues of the northern sea, lies a town called *Baracoa*, near to which runs the River *Mares*: to the north-west likewise thirty leagues lies *Baïamo*, which though it be an inland town, yet it is well furnished with useful commodities, by means of the great river *Caute*, which falls into the sea on the south side of the island: a fourth town, whereunto belongeth a good haven, *Porto del Principe*, lying to the north side near forty leagues from *St. Iages*; on the south side, more than 50 leagues from *Iages*, lieth the town *Spiritus Sanctus*; and between these lie the great mountains *Tarquino*, cape *de Cruz*, and a great inlet of the sea, the land bending to the north, and to the north-east no less than a degree, but the coming up unto them (by reason of the many rocks and shelves) is somewhat dangerous.

From hence, being more than half the length of the island unto cape *Anthony* (the most western promontory of great note with mariners,) on the south side also lieth the sea-towns, port *Xagua*, and cape *Corrientes*, opportune places to harbour, and take in water and wood. The west end of *Cuba* from cape *Anthony* bendeth northward, where lie the *Organes* observed by sailors to be dangerous touching upon, in regard of many sands, rocks, and shallows, but after the land falling into the east not above nine miles from *Habana* there are two very convenient ports, port *Puercos* and port *Marien*, but of all the ports of *Cuba*, *Habana* on the north side near the west end of the island is far the largest, the safest, and most renowned. It is strongly fortified both by nature and by art, by a narrow coming up unto it by sea, and with strong castles, as it is thought to be invincible, and therefore hither as to a most secure harbour from all parts of *America* the *Spanish* fleet meeteth yearly, and so being gathered together, returns about the beginning of *September*, with their far greater treasure collected, than considerable forces to conduct it safely into

Spain.

Spain,. Neither, indeed, is *Habana* so impregnable, but that a navy royal landing some of their forces at *Port Marien*, or *Port Puercos*, aforesaid, may take both town and treasure before the *Spanish* navy can put from thence, if they could in a seasonable time, somewhat about *September*, light upon the *Spanish* fleet. And if the grandees of *Spain* have (by reason of the large pension of three or four thousand pounds yearly paid to many pensioners here) such intelligence of an intendment that way; yet though we should miss of the fleet for one year, we might be sure to seize upon the town, and so greatly straiten them in their yearly returns, and in few years become commanders of those narrow seas, through which their vast treasure is yearly convey'd.

HISPANIOLA.

HISPANIOLA lyeth between the degrees of 18 and 21 of the north latitude: The most east end of it, at *Cape Enganno*, is very narrow: The most west end, between *St. Nicholas*, to the north, and *Cape Dona Maria*, to the south side, is broader than any other part of the island: The length from east to west 120 leagues: The breadth, as it is related by *Spanish* authors, is 60 leagues where it is widest; where narrowest thirty. The temperature of the air, till noon, is somewhat over hot, but after continually temperate. The commodities of sugar and cow hides are more abundant here than in any of these islands. *Acosta* reporteth that from hence, in the year 1587, were brought into *Spain* 9000 chests of sugar; and though they kill their beasts most for their hides, yet they multiply too fast upon them; and such is the increase of horses and hogs, which sufficiently proveth the exceeding fertility of their soil, there having been neither neat, horse, nor hogs in the whole isle before it was stored by the *Spanish*, not above 150 years since (this being 1654.)

Now to begin the particular description of the isle, of the towns, rivers, and ports according to the several provinces, as they lie from east to west, between north and south. The most eastern province, called *Higvey*, is a rough and mountainous place, yet well furnished with variety of fruitful trees. To the south lie two small islands, *Catilina* and *Zybo*, well provided with good nurture and store of cattle; as also the island *Saona*, of a larger extent; which though it be not now inhabited, yet it is very commodious for ships to furnish themselves with several sorts of provision, it abounding with great store of fruits and wholesome cattle.

The next province is *Iagvagua* upon the south coast, wherein standeth *San Domingo*, the only chief city of the island built by *Bartholomeus Columbus*, anno 1494 on the east side of the river *Ofama*, but afterwards removed by *Nicholas Obando* to the west side. It is neatly built, and stately, with stones, and environed with a strong wall. It is the seat of an archbishop, and the place where the governour of the island and all the King's officers do reside: and but that it is not conveniently supplied with water, it might well pass for one of the best cities in all *America*. It flourished exceedingly in the preceding age, but since the finding out of *Peru*, it hath lost much of its splendour, as being less frequented by merchants. The inhabitants hereof, according to the *Spaniards* own relation, do not exceed 600 families of *Spaniards*; the *Moors* and mungrels, which are begot of *Spanish* and *Moors*, amounting to as many more. It was taken in the year 1586 by Sir *Francis Drake* with 1200 men; but the spoil came far short of expectation, there being found great store of brass coin, but little gold. To the north of this prime city, in the same province, is the city *de la Conception*, wherein is a cathedral and a monastery, as also the town of *Gotuy*. Not far from *San Domingo*, the province of *Cayagua* beginneth, and extendeth itself on the south coast near 160 miles: and in this province is *Azna*, commonly called *Compostella*, very rich in sugars, and five convenient havens, *Nizao*, *Formoso*, *Ocoa*, *Caligna*, and *Yagnion* itself, all greatly frequented, especially *Nizao*, and *Ocoa*, by the *Dutch*, for the abundance of sugar and hides, until of latter Years, trading there hath been utterly prohibited by the king of *Spain*. Upon this coast are four little islands, little better than rocks, *Beta*, *Alta*, *Vela*, *Frayles*; wherein though there be nothing worth observation, yet are they carefully to be observed for the prevention of shipwreck. The next province to the west, and more to the north, is *Baoca*, very mountainous, and so hard of access, as it cost the *Spaniard* very dear before he could gain it. The most south-west province is *Hanigvagia*, very plain, pleasant, and fruitful; wherein standeth *Savaua*, just opposite to *Bagua*, a small but very considerable island to furnish navigators; hath also in it *Cape Tuburo*, and the promontory *Dona*, and many safe harbours for ships. From the last of these, the land turning to the east many leagues, admitteth of a great inlet of sea: upon which bordereth *Zagua*, a province no less fruitful and pleasant than the former; in which standeth the town called *Jaguana*, well provided with store of excellent salt: and near unto the north is the island *Guanabo*. The most north-west

is *Cape St. Nicholas*, where beginneth the first north side province of the island *Marrien*, where *Christopher Columbus* built *Navidad*. Hereunto belong two islands, *Mofquites* and *Port Palma*, the one to the east, the other to the west. The next province is *Lawega Reall*, extending itself seventy leagues in length, twenty in breadth; admirable rich in meadows and pastures. Between this northern province and *Yaquimo*, to the south, lie two other; *Gibao* sometime abounding with golden mines, and *Maguana* with incomparable meadows, as being almost encompassed with two wide rivers, *Niba*, and *Yacquen*. There are belonging to this spacious province two towns of good note, *St. Jago*, and *Port de Plata*, besides four convenient havens, *Cape Francis*, *Port Riall*, *Mons Christy*, and *Port Isabell*. The most north-east is *Samana*, unto which belongeth one only haven of note bearing the same name.

LUCAIC ISLANDS.

TO the north of *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*, between them and the continent of *Florida*, lye the many small *Lucaic Islands*, so near one another, as they make those seas very rough, heady, and dangerous; Besides this there is nothing worth noting in them; I shall therefore herein return the readers whom it may concern (I mean those who are to pass those seas) to advise with that map, which the most judicious author, *Mr. de Laet*, hath made and placed in that his great and exact collection of all *America*, almost out of all authors, *Latin*, *English*, *Spanish*, *Dutch*, or *French*, who have written in this kind. From him (by whom I have been most assisted in this my short compendium) they shall find their several names, and be sufficiently informed how they fall between the foresaid islands and the continent; which for me here to insert, would be both needless and troublesome, they are so many, and of so little worth.

PORTO RICO.

PORTO RICO, lying to the north, short of the 19th degree of the north latitude, is to the east of *Hispaniola* near sixteen leagues; to the west of *Virgo*, *Gorda*, and *Anagado*, the most west of the *Caribbe* islands, seventeen leagues; from *Cogui Bocoa*, a promontory of *Unezuella*, in the continent of *America*, to the north-east, it is distant one hundred and thirty leagues. The climate is very pleasant,

only sometimes in the months of *December* and *January*, it is infested with too much rain; in *June*, *July*, and *August*, with somewhat immoderate heat, and terrible tempests, which they call hurricanes. The land, for the most part, riseth and falleth with convenient small fruitful hills and vallies; though the fruitfulness thereof is much hindred with the over great store of *Guiabo* trees. The towns and ports of this island are but few; about the middle of the north side lyeth *Porto Rico*, the only town of note, built after the *Spanish* fashion, and divided into fair streets: It hath in it a safe haven for ships, a stately cathedral, and a monastery; and though it hath no walls, it is well fortified by land and sea, yet not so, but that it was taken by our countryman the earl of *Cumberland*, who found there a rich booty, and at least seventy great pieces of ordnance, which he brought away *anno* 1597. It hath since, in the year 1625, been assaulted by *Henricides* the *Dutch* general, who tho' he demeaned himself very valiantly in the attempt, could not obtain it. The other ports on the north side of the island, as *Visa*, *Canaba*, and *Cabeca*, to the east of *Porto Rico*, are not safe, as being exposed to the northern tempests, and shelves and sands which lie before them. In the north-west corner lyeth *Agada*, a very opportune haven to water in; between which and *Porto Rico*, the rivers *Cami* and *Cabuco* fall into the sea. Directly to the west side of the island, somewhat about the middle, lyeth the river *Guiabo*, by which they pass to *St. Germin*, four leagues remote from the western sea: the town is but small, and hath been often taken by the *French*. Between the harbour belonging to it, which is the mouth of *Guiabo* and *Aguada*, directly to the west side of the island, lyeth the rock *Zacheo*, inconvenient and dangerous. There are other small villages in the island, but none other of great worth or note.

On the south side, most to the west, lyeth *Cape Roxo*, near which our *English* have found some salt pits very useful for those who travel those parts. From *Cape Roxo* lie the havens of *Guaima*, *Xaria*; *Guadianilla*, and *Guaiana* distant five or six leagues the one from the other. On the south-east side lies the small island *Bieque*, in which on the east coast are only these two ports, *St. James* and *Yabucoa*. The prime commodities of this island, are great store of sugars, ginger, cassia, and neats hides. It did abound with silver and gold, but those mines are either exhausted, or neglected for want of workmen.

BERMUDAS.

BERMUDAS.

There is another island called *Bermudas*, which because it falleth much in the same longitude with *Porto Rico*, though many degrees distant to the north in regard of latitude, I must either insert here or leave out. It lyeth within a degree and a half of south *Virginia*, not so easy to be come unto, in regard it hath but one, and that none of the best ports to land in: besides, it is as much, if not more than any other place, infested with most tempestuous fearful winds called hurricanes. The soil and temperature is far inferior to any part of *Virginia*, and yet is it inhabited no less than with a thousand *English*; who, no doubt, when the wisdom of the kingdom shall think convenient to send a strong navy into *America*, will be forward to remove and improve their plantation into a more convenient and richer soil.

CARIBBE ISLANDS.

TO the east of *Porto Rico* begin the *Caribbe* or *Canibal* Islands, so called, for that the natives are men-eaters: for the most part they fall one within another, sometimes in a double, sometimes in a threefold squadron, from the degree of eighteen and a half, to somewhat more than the sixteenth degree of latitude. I will only mention them as they lye in their several ranks from east to west. *Anegado* and *Virgines*, *Angoillo* and *Virgin*, *Granda*, *St. Martin*, *Saba* and *Crus*, *St. Bartoline* and *St. Estasio*, *Barbados*, *Nieves* and *St. Christopher*, *Antigua* and *Monserata*, *Desseada* and *Guadalupe*, *Mary Glande*, *Sancho* and *Austin*. From whence the *Caribbe* islands, *Dominica*, *Martinico*, *St. Lucia*, *St. Vincent*, *Beria*, and *Granada*, fall down to the twelfth degree of latitude by a proportionable bending much like a bow towards the west from *Anegado* to *Granada*: only *Barbados* lyeth to the east more than twenty leagues out of the foresaid bow-bending figure. Of these *Barbados*, *St. Christopher* and *Nieves*, now in possession of our countrymen, are most spacious, and in all respects fitter for plantation, except *Dominica*, *Martinico* and *Granada*; which tho' they be not inhabited by *Spaniards*, yet beside the sustaining of one thousand savages, either of them affordeth the *Spanish* navy, in its yearly voyage to the south continent of *America*, good store of provision at very small rates; four porkers and six hens for one hatchet. I say no more of these islands but this, tho' they be thought scarce worth look-

ing after by the *Spaniards*, yet would they sustain twenty thousand men.

I might here pass westward again with the Islands of *Margarita*, *Cobana*, *Coetz*, and many more, which lye upon the matter, directly westward, not far remote from *Granada*, *Andalusia*, and *Venesuella*, the nearest part of the continent southward: by coasting whereof to *Martba*, *Nicuragua*, and so to *Nova Hispania*, I might more perspicuously and conveniently have concluded this my present discovery of the *North America*; but then I must leave out two great islands of good note, and which is of twenty times more concernment, the most spacious *Guiana*, by our judicious countryman, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and others, most admired and applauded for health, wealth, and pleasure; tho' therefore it be somewhat out of my way, and do a little obscure my proposed method, by the mediterranean sea of *America*; yet I may not by any means leave them out, as falling many degrees on the north side of the equinoctial, unless it be one part of *Guiana*, which to the south-east goeth over the line somewhat more than a degree, taken up only with several branches of the great river *Amazon*, and many small islands dispersed in them of no great worth.

The islands between *Granada* and *Guiana*, to the southwest, are *Tabago* and *Trinidado*. I shall quickly have done with them, and from thence begin in a second book my discovery of *Guiana*, and the rest of the continent; taking it according to the several regions thereof, as I shall find them nearest agreeing to the sea-coasts so far as the mediterranean will permit us, that is as far as *Nova Hispania*.

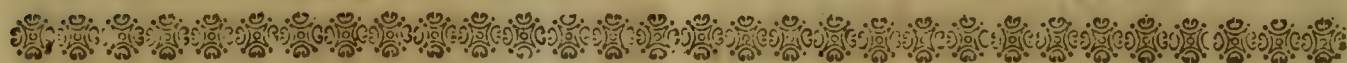
Tabago, now in possession of the *Dutch*, lyeth to the south-east full thirty leagues from *Granada*, and upon eight miles to the east of *Trinidado*. It hath many good harbours, but the coming in unto them, especially toward the west, is dangerous by reason the seas there are very boistrous and not free from sands and shelves. It is constantly reported by the *Dutch*, who should best know it, as having many years possess'd it, to afford many rare fruits and herbs, variety of fowls and fish, and not to be utterly destitute of four-footed beasts, wholesome for nourishment, as having good store of *Indian* Hogs and *Armadillos*, both which afford good food.

Trinidado, now possess'd, as is credibly reported, by the forces of the present most illustrious admiral of *England*, the earl of *Warwick*, lyeth, according to the several far distant parts and corners thereof, between the eighth and tenth degrees of latitude. For though Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a judicious traveller, places *Point Curipan*, which the *Spaniards* call *Punta de Gallo*,

Gallo, the most northern part, but in the eighth degree ; yet the *Dutch*, according to *Oviedus*, upon more exact calculation, found it to come near to the tenth degree. Besides this, about fifteen miles to the south, there is another convenient haven, called *Point Blanco* ; after which, directly to the south, between the island and the fallings of four or more branches of the great river *Oronoque*, from *Guiana*, there is a very shallow narrow sea, not above three miles over, and not above eleven or twelve foot deep ; howbeit, by reason of four or five islands which come between them, that sea is heady and rough.

This island is, according to *Herea*'s observation, two hundred leagues from *Hispaniola*, sixty from *Granada* ; in length, according to *Oviedus*, it is twenty-five ; in breadth twenty leagues. Concerning the

fertility of the soil, authors agree not ; *Herea* reporteth it to be barren in the general, but Sir *Walter Raleigh* acknowledgeth it to be so only in that part which is next adjoining to *Curiapan*, but the rest of the island to be sufficiently fruitful, especially of *Indian* grain, and such roots as the *Americans* usually make their bread and beer of ; besides great store of deer and hogs, and other wild beasts, of which the inhabitants may feed plentifully. Good probability there is, that some golden mines may be found there ; but as yet what hath been digged there, is acknowledged by the said Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and by another of our countrymen, Sir *Robert Dudley*, to be but marcasite, which, though it shine like gold, yet it is of no value. The only great town in all *Trinidado*, is *St. Joseph* ; the merchantable commodity there is tobacco.



THE SECOND BOOK.

G U I A N A.

AND now being to proceed with *Guiana*, I know no better course than to follow those who have gone before me ; who by ascending and descending the grand rivers, I mean *Oronoque*, to the north, *Amazon* to the south, as also many others which fall between them into the east ocean, have made the only discovery which have as yet been made thereof ; and no marvel, for those great rivers do on every side environ *Guiana*, with the countries thereunto belonging, so as by help of their great labour and cost, upon some farther search, as compleat a discovery in a short time may be had of this large goodly country, as of any other in *America*, to the future incredible benefit of our nation, who might long since have enjoyed the inestimable riches thereof (had the true relation of incomparable *Raleigh*, in his book intitled *Guiana*, found that credit, or his most powerful motives had so timely prevail'd with this kingdom, as was but requisite when the *Spaniards* had got but little knowledge, and less sure footing in those parts.) This I write, not as conceiving *England* now too weak to remove the *Spaniard* thence ; no, I know very well that the power and wisdom of this kingdom now met in Parlia-

ment, might, and I hope would before this, have sent forth such a power and well prepared navy, as might have driven him out of his strongest holds in any part of the *North America* ; unto which any reasonable near access may be made by water, had not *Spanish* factors, jesuits from abroad, and grand pensioners at home, raised these present most cruel and most unnatural, I should rather say infernal commotions in this kingdom, and that in *Ireland*, purposely to divert their wisdom from taking such a design into any deep consideration, being distracted and perplexed on all sides.

But to the matter. Great and long inquiry hath been made by the *Spanish*, *English*, and *Dutch*, to find out *Manoa*, otherwise called *El Dorado*, the chief city of *Guiana*, and the golden mountains adjacent, by those great rivers that empty themselves into the east ocean, especially by those the two greatest, *Oronoque*, and *Amazon*, both upward and downward ; I mean downward, near from whence they arise ; upward from their wide mouths where they fall into the sea. Of *Spaniards*, the first of note who attempted the search of *Guiana*, by the river *Oronoque*, were *Diego Ordace*, a knight of the order

of *St. Jago*, and *Pedro Harnandez de Serpa*; but we find nothing of worth, or certainty, to have been performed by either of them in that search. Only *Sir Walter Raleigh* affirmeth, that he did see a great anchor of *Ordaces* ship, lying in a port called *Morequito*, 300 miles within the land, upon the river *Oronoque*; a strong proof he was there.

As for *Pedro Harnandez*, it is said by some, that taking his journey from *Cumana* in the *West-Indies*, by land, towards *Oronoque*, which may be about 120 leagues; he was set upon, and quite overthrown, by a nation of the *Indians* called *Wikery*, before he came to the borders of the said river. Others affirm, that he was defeated in the very entrance of *Guiana*, at the first civil town of the empire, called *Magureguary*; but of this there is but little certainty. One *Martines* and *Berea* a *Spanish* gentleman and a commander of great note and quality, after them proved far more successful (if we may rely upon *Berea's* own report, as it was taken by *Sir Walter Raleigh*, from his own mouth) *Martines's* discovery briefly happened thus; I may say well happened, for though never so true, yet was it but a meer chance.

The foresaid voyage of *Ordace* being utterly lost, by reason his provision of gunpowder was at once blown up, through the negligence of this *Martines*; his final judgment was, that he should be set into a canoe alone, without any victuals, only with his arms, and so turned loose into the great river. But it pleased God, that the canoe was carried down the stream, and that certain *Guianians* met it the same evening; and having never seen any Christian, or man before of that colour, they carried him into the country to be wondered at; and so from town to town until he came to the great city *Manoa*, the place of *Inga*, the emperor's abode: who upon the first sight of him, knew him to be a Christian, as having seen many in *Peru*, where he formerly lived, before his brother *Atabalipa*, emperor thereof, was vanquished by the *Spaniard*; at what time he, and many thousands more, fled to *Guiana*; where, within half an age, by reason of the exceeding riches and fertility of that large country, having subdued many nations he became as potent as ever his magnificent ancestors were in *Peru*. The entertainment of this *Martines* by *Inga*, is by himself acknowledged to have been very free and bountiful; for though he was brought blindfold thither, and during the time of his abode in *Manoa* (which was seven months) he was not suffered to wander any where into the country; yet *Inga* caused him to be lodged in his own palace, and to be every way well provided for.

At the end of which time, when he had somewhat learned the language, he obtained favour of the emperor to depart, with whom he sent divers *Guianians* to conduct him to the river of *Oronoque* all loaden with as much gold as they could bear, given to *Martines* at his departure; of all which, as he arrived near the river side, the *Oronoque-poni*, enemies to *Inga*, robbed him, save only of two great bottles of gords, which were filled with beads of gold curiously wrought: with these the *Oronoque-poni*, (who thought the bottles only to have contained some food) permitted him to pass down *Oronoque* in canoes; from whence he got to *Trinidado*, and from thence to *Margarita*, and so to *St. Ivan de Puerto-Rico*; where, at the time of his death, receiving the sacrament, he affirmed the truth of this relation, and gave his gold beads to the church. You have heard the unexpected success of *Martines* wandring; hear now briefly the long and difficult travels of *Berea*, which were purposely undertaken, as they are recorded by the same author from his own mouth.

Gundizalvus Zimenes having, without any good success, spent much in the search of *Guiana*, by those rivers of *Nuevo Reygno* that fall into *Oronoque*, left at his death a very great estate to *Berea*, who had married his daughter, conditionally he with his best endeavour should prosecute his design of *Guiana*, which he faithfully performed; for not long after he fell with great strength and provisions down the river *Cassanar* rising in *Nuevo Reygno*, out of the mountains near the city of *Tunia*, and falling into *Meta* another river springing out of a mountain near *Pampalone*, in the same *Nuevo Reygno de Granado*, where it loseth its name, as likewise doth *Meta* when a little above the fifth degree of north latitude, it emptieth itself into *Bariquan*, otherwise called *Bariqui cimeto*, a river of *Venezuela*, which, after a hundred leagues turning and winding, meeteth and joineth with the river *Huriaparia*, which is *Oronoque*. Where it is to be observed, that tho' *Berea* had from his first setting forth from the river *Cassanar*, fallen near two degrees to the south, yet he, according to geographical description in the best maps, fell short a degree in latitude, and at least seventy leagues in longitude of *Macurewarai*, the nearest town of all *Guiana*, properly so called, and somewhat more than three from *Manoa*, the chief city; so as keeping his course, as he acknowledged he did, down *Oronoque*, running directly north-east from thence, there was then no hope of finding what he so eagerly sought for, but instead thereof, received both in his forces and provisions much loss, many of them perishing by water, his small vessels being split upon

upon rocks, or overwhelmed and swallowed with the violence of the stream, and many of them killed by the natives. The first place of note he arrived at, was the province of *Amapaia*, which he affirm'd to be rich in gold, and though for the greatest time of his abode there, which was six months, he was fiercely infested by the inhabitants, yet at length, after the concluding of a peace between them, he obtained eight images of gold as curiously made as any in *Europe*, which he sent to the king of *Spain*.

The river of *Oronoque* running on the east side of *Amapaia* is said to be twelve miles broad, and about seven or eight hundred miles from its fall into the ocean. From hence, getting over to the south-east side of *Oronoque* he sought very diligently to have found an entrance into *Guiana*, but could find none, all places being stopped up with high unpassable mountains: and although he met with divers rivers both on the one and on the other side of *Oronoque* yet he professed he could not learn the name of them, but only of the river *Caroly*: neither could he, as he pretended, for want of the use of geography, express of what degrees they were, so as he utterly despaired of obtaining any good success in this voyage, until he came to *Emeria*, where he found store of provision, and the inhabitants of a more peaceable and civil disposition: the petty king thereof was called *Carapana*, a man of an hundred years of age, who in his youth had been often at the islands of *Trinidado* and *Margarita*, where he traded with the Christians there, and learned much from them how to govern his people. *Berea* having staid here some good space of time, and having, as he conceived, gained sufficient knowledge of *Guiana*, betaketh himself, without staying any where, down the river *Oronoque* directly to *Trinidado*; from thence, not long after, he sent back again to *Carapana*, who directed them to *Morequito* Lord of *Aramaia*, as having better knowledge of *Guiana*, living four or five days journey from *Magureguaira*. This *Morequito* had some few years before brought much gold to *Cumana*; and withal had so highly extolled the great riches of *Guiana*, as that *Vedes*, the governor of *Margarita*, sought to have obtained a patent thereof from the king of *Spain*, but was prevented by *Berea*; which so troubled *Morequito* for his acquaintance *Vedes*'s sake, with whom he had much ingratiated himself, as that tho' he feared openly to deny *Berea*'s request in sending guides with his men, to truck with the *Guianians* for gold; yet privily upon their return, which is reported to have been with much store of gold, he causeth them to be murdered near the banks of

Oronoque, one only escaping to inform *Berea* of this cruel act, which he conceiving to have been plotted by *Morequito*, sent a good part of the men he had at *Trinidado*, to take him and to spoil his country; before whose coming *Morequito* hearing of it, fled to *Vedes* for succour; but being within a while demanded in the king of *Spain*'s name, he was delivered and executed; whose execution so displeased the borderers of *Oronoque* as he thought it not safe ever after to venture with a few men, to traffic that way, neither was his strength now sufficient to make his way; wherefore expecting sufficient forces from other parts of the *Spaniard*'s dominions nearest adjoining, he staid so long at *Trinidado*, until he was surprized by Sir *Walter Raleigh* in the year 1596. Here then *Berea*'s discovery of *Guiana* being interrupted, it is meet I forbear any further relation thereof, until I have shewed you what was performed by our worthy countryman the said Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in his first expedition thither; after which, as being after it in time, the conclusion of *Berea*'s discovery, as also of captain *Kemish*, and others who were employed by learned and expert *Raleigh*, that way will more seasonably follow.

After six weeks and two days departure from *England*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, though he staid seven days at *Teneriff*, one of the *Canary* islands, in expectation of captain *Preston*, arrived at *Trinidado*, and took it within four days; where losing no time in the prosecution of his intended design for *Guiana*, after diligent search, the narrow sea between *Trinidado*, and the fall of *Oronoque* being so shallow and shelvy, more especially those branches of the said river; all that was then discovered, being found by his seamen not above nine foot deep at high water, he was enforced to leave his ships, and with a hundred men thronged together in two barges and three wherries to cross that narrow sea, and to venture up the river by those branches; wherein when they had rowed four days, his own barge came aground, so as they were in some fear, whether they should ever have got her off again, such was the shallowness of the river when the flowing of sea had left them. After this, for many days more, they wandered here and there for want of a good pilot, not knowing which stream to take, the streams multiplying so exceedingly upon them, by reason of the many great and small islands that lie in this wide bottom of *Oronoque* computed by the most judicious geographers, near a hundred miles wide from south-east to north-west. After they fell upon those islands, commonly called *Trivitivans*, the inhabitants whereof commonly go by the name *Cia-*

wani and *Warawecks*, who in regard they are commonly overflowed from *May* to *September*, they live in houses upon trees very artificially built, their food being *Indian* bread, fish and venisons, prepared beforehand.

Here they happened on a pilot more expert than the former, who yet within few days was out of his knowledge, where again it was their good hap to meet with a third, much more expert, one *Martin*, an *Arwacan*, whom they took in a canoe, with some others going down *Amana*, one of the greatest arms of *Oronoque* to *Margarita* with store of bread: both the pilot and the bread were of singular use to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and his almost fainting company, without which they had undoubtedly been much streightened for going any further.

But by direction they quickly attained unto *Arowacy*, on the south side of *Oronoque*, whereof *Toparimaca* being lord, entertained them kindly, and furnished them with provisions, as also with another pilot, yet more experienced in the cross perplexed streams of *Oronoque*, as they grew higher to *Guiana*. From *Arowacy*, bending their course almost directly westward, they passed by a great isle called *Arrowapana*, twenty miles in length, and six in breadth, and at night cast anchor at *Ocawytia*, not one third part so big. The next night they staid under *Putayma* island, from whence they could plainly discern the continent to the north-west, to be a large pleasant plain between two edges of mountains, consisting of arable and meadow, known (as their last pilot affirmed) by the name of the great valley of *Sayma*, running in length almost to *Cumana* near upon 120 leagues. The third, fourth, and fifth day they passed the isle *Manoriparum*, and a great part of *Aromaia*. On the sixth day they came and staid at the port of *Morequito*, where he was kindly entertained and informed concerning the state of those parts from *Topiowary*, lord of *Aromaia*, and uncle to the aforesaid *Morequito*. The information he received from him was, that all the regions thereabout, even to *Emeria*, were called *Guiana*; though yet the inhabitants were call'd *Oronoque-poni*, as far as the mountains of *Wacarima*, which they might from thence behold afar off in the continent, beyond which he told them, the large valley of *Amariocapana* did lie, whose inhabitants were called *Guianians*. And that into the provinces which lie beyond these more to the south, there came, some years since, multitudes of people called *Orienes* and *Epuremei*, who possessed themselves thereof, having driven the natives out of their ancient inheritances; (the *Cassiapagots*, *Eparagots*, and *Arawagots*, only excepted) who

were then great enemies to the *Spaniard*, and possess *Magureguaran*, a city strongly and stately built, and withal amply furnished with gold.

From hence in two days they rowed up near to the river *Caroly*, where the heady violence of that and the other rivers, (as is usual at that time of the year) permitted them not then by water to make any higher search into *Guiana*. Here therefore staying three or four days, their small company was dispersed by direction of the commander, to view the several quarters about and above the said river; which, upon their return, they reported in general to be very fruitful, in well grown meadows and pastures; exceeding commodious for hunting, hawking, fishing, fowling, as having many plains, clear rivers, abundance of pheasants, partridges, quails, rails, cranes, herons, and most other fowls; deer of all sorts; camas or antas, as big and affording as good nourishment, and as pleasant as our *English* beef; porkers, hares, lions, tygers, leopards, and divers other sorts of beasts, either for chase or food: but that which most contented them, was (as being the thing they chiefly aimed at) the great store of gold and precious stones, the greater and lesser hills promised them, the very stones glistering like gold; a more than probable argument, in the judgment of the best mineralists, that the earth lying a fathom or two deep, under strong spars or quarries of such stone usually called *Marcasite*, hideth much treasure. Upon due consideration of the relations made of those that Sir *Walter* had sent to review the inland (agreeing so well with what he himself had then seen, near the bank of *Caroly*, which he with some few musqueteers undertook to survey) he confidently affirmeth *Guiana* in no respect to be inferior to any part of the world.

His own lively expressions, being a gentleman of as great learning this way as any one our age hath afforded, is worthy to be read and seriously considered. I never saw, saith he, a more beautiful country, nor more lively prospects; hills so raised here and there over the valleys, the river winding into divers branches, the plains adjoining without bush or stubble, all fair green grass, the ground of hard sand to march on either for horse or foot; the deer crossing in every path, the birds towards the evening singing on every tree with a hundred several tunes; cranes and herons of white, crimson, carnation, perching on the river side; the air fresh with a gentle easterly wind; and every stone we stooped to take up, promised either gold or silver by its complexion.

Your lordship, saith he, writing to the lord admiral that then was, shall see of many

many forts, and I hope some of them cannot be bettered under the sun ; and yet we had no means but our daggers and fingers to tear them out here and there, the rocks being most hard of a mineral spar, as hard or harder than a flint ; besides, the veins lie a fathom or two deep in the rocks, and we wanted necessary instruments to have digged the treasure out. Which last clause, well considered, together with what he in his book of *Guiana* alledgeth for himself, namely, the violence of the waters hourly increasing; unseasonableness of the year, the smallness of his company, the inforced leaving of his ships more than 400 miles for a whole month, and his unwillingness to let the natives now perceive that the intent of his coming was the same with the *Spaniards*, chiefly for gold ; may, in my judgment, sufficiently answer those, who have and do still question the truth of Sir *Walter's* high expressions of *Guiana's* riches, and the most fruitful and pleasant habitation it affordeth, for that he made no longer stay there, and brought no more store of treasure home with him.

The issue of this worthy traveller's first voyage was this, not being able, by reason of the great downfal and over-bearing stream of *Caroly*, to ascend any further, without seeing the rivers *Baraquan*, *Beta*, *Daune* and *Obarro*, all falling from the west into *Oronoque* and being distant each from other about a degree more and more to the south : though yet in regard of longitude from east to west, they are much alike, either from *Mocurewarai*, or the great city *Manao* : he returned in few days to the port of *Morequito*, where he concluded with *Topiawari* ; hostages being given on either side, to return with great forces the next year, and that in the mean time he should work with the *Oronoque-poni*, to join with them in an expedition against their enemies the *Epuremei*, who possessed the regions that most abound with silver and precious stones : but here was the unhappiness of the man, I might rather say of the kingdom, that upon his speedy return into *England*, not above eight months from his setting forth, he could not (tho' he were very gracious at court) procure a navy to be sent within a year to *Topiawari*, as was promised : Whence it came to pass, that the aforesaid *Berea*, neglecting no time, did, by the assistance of *Carrapana* lord of *Emeria*, again get up the river of *Oronoque* with 300 *Spanish* soldiers as far as *Caroly*, where he built a little town called *St. Thomas*, consisting of thirty houses of great consequence, to bring under and keep in the fearful unarmed borderers of *Oronoque*, and also for opposing any other nation who should attempt *Guiana* that way : but Sir *Walter*, not

understanding of the *Spaniards* building and strong fortifying *St. Thomas*, sent forth captain *Keymish* with a ship and pinnace (all he was able to do at his own charge) the 26th of *January* in the year 1596, which being four months later than he promised and intended, caused *Topiawari* and the rest of the borderers of *Oronoque*, for fear of *Berea* and his *Spanish* forces, to withdraw themselves ; when *Keymish*, who first discovered the genuine and best navigable stream of the great river *Oronoque* within eight days sail and entrance thereunto, came up to the port of *Morequito*, where, finding his hopes of assistance from the natives frustrated, and himself not able to encounter the *Spaniards*, he forthwith for fear of surprisal, taketh down the river again, and so in the fifth month after his setting forth out of *England*, returned thither safe again, though without any good success at all. After this I find no further attempt to have been made by the *English* upon *Guiana*, but that of Sir *Walter* himself, Anno 1617, when he had been fourteen years prisoner to the great retarding of his intended prosecution of *Guiana*. The success of this voyage was little answerable to the great preparation thereof : for though he went forth at his own and friend's charge with seven good ships well manned and provided, yet he brought no treasure home. And no marvel, for as he no less truly than boldly writeth to Sir *Ralph Winwood* from *Christopher's* island, his whole design, what ships, what men, what ammunition he would take with him, as also what time he would set forth hence, and what branch of *Oronoque* he intended to go up to *Guiana*, were all made known to the *Spaniard* before he could get out of the *Thames*, by king *James*, to whom he was enforced by oath, before he could get liberty to go, to discover the foresaid particulars. Upon which notice, speedy directions were sent from the court of *Spain*, to draw up forces, three times as many as ours were, from *Porto-Rico*, *Nuequo-Reygo*, and other nearest adjoining parts, to surprize them unexpectedly. Yet such was the courage and resolution of our men, that they went up to *St. Thomas*, and took it, and in it some store of rich tobacco ; but the *Spanish* forces purposely abandoned the town for the better defence of the mines, so that ours could not take them, which, by reason of woods lying on every side near unto them, with 200 musqueteers they easily defended. A more than probable argument, that the *Spaniard* was then possessed of those golden mines, then sought by the *English* ; else, would they not have left their town, and betook themselves to the defence of them : and Sir *Walter Raleigh* in his foresaid letter

maketh good proof of it, in naming the men in whose possession they then were; and he further confidently affirmeth, that he was sufficiently able to make good what he writ, by the king of *Spain's* several grants to several persons; as also by the *Spanish* register books, wherein appear the abundance of treasure the mines as then discovered afforded, by the great sums thence arising yearly from the king's fifth part; and certainly had the *Spanish* king not feared learned and experienced *Raleigh's* future and greater discovery and prosecution of *Guiana*, he would never so eagerly have pursued him unto death as he did; which yet he had not soon effected, had it not been for his pensioners here, some noble ignoble *Englishmen* overpowerful with king *James*, the reputed *Solomon* of his time, as now they are much more with his successor, much inferior to his father in wisdom.

From that time to this, the *English* hopes being crushed in the loss of so worthy a commander, there hath been either none or little venturing from *England* to *Guiana*. But the *Netherlands* since that have made so many yearly voyages up the river *Oronoque* as far as *St. Thomas* (encouraged by the great return made from thence, not of gold, but of rich tobacco) as that some of their skilful pilots were as well able to direct the best and safest way thither, as our watermen are able to describe the passage from *Dover* to *London*; the very cause as is generally conceived, why (being grown so expert in that river) they were some years since so severely prohibited by the king of *Spain* to trade any more there.

You have heard of *Guiana*, as it bordereth westerly on both sides *Oronoque*, as much as can be conveniently expressed in so short an epitome. You shall now hear more briefly how it lyeth to the east ocean, according to the principal rivers, as they fall between *Oronoque* and *Amazon*. The first great river of any note from *Winkberry*, and the most southern and best navigable arm or stream of *Oronoque* is *Essequibe*, very broad, but withal very shallow in the mouth of it where it falleth into the ocean: it is affirmed by the natives bordering upon both sides of it, to arise within one day's journey of golden *Manoa*, the prime city of *Guiana*; but both our *English* and the *Dutch*, who have diligently endeavoured to make entrance into the continent by this river, have found it in two or three days not passable, by reason of many great waterfalls, three times as high and more heady than is the fall of *London-bridge*. The inhabitants about this river, nearest to sea are called *Arwaci*, as barbarous but not so inhuman and cruel as are the *Caribs*, who possess the more inland country: they

are continually at war between themselves, yet both great enemies to the *Spaniard*, and not to be trusted by us or any other Christian nation when they are able to do mischief: the soil especially about twenty miles from sea is exceeding fertile; the commodities are crystal, and a kind of wood very useful, and much desired for dying the best colours. The next river of note is *Berbice*, lying somewhat above the sixth degree, the land adjoining is as the former possessed by the *Arwaci*, but is far inferior in regard of fertility, and the forenamed merchantable commodities. The next two rivers, or rather two in one, are *Sarname* upon the sixth degree, and *Icotera* that falleth into *Sarname*, three miles before it emptieth itself into the ocean. The inhabitants hereof (being men-eaters, and very false in performing their promises) are of all others least to be trusted; neither indeed are the commodities thereabout of that worth (being upon the matter only brasil-wood) as might invite men to venture far into the country. Twelve miles more to the south is *Marawyny*, a river of a wide and deep mouth, affording above twenty leagues convenient passage for vessels of burthen, though yet the coming up from sea into it is very difficult: the inhumanity and infidelity of the borderers is as great as the other, and the commodities the land affordeth of as little worth, and therefore seldom frequented either by us or the *Netherlands*. From hence more and more to the south, five other rivers of greater note have their fall into the east ocean: the first is *Cajana* inhabited by the *Caribs*, whose fall is computed to be twenty leagues from *Marawyny*, the head of it to be more than fifty from the south-west. The second and third *Caurwo* and *Wyo*, much upon the middle between the fourth and fifth degree (inhabited by the *Yayi* and *Shebaj*) have their rising to the south-west further into the continent. The most southern of the five great rivers is *Wiapoco* (inhabited also by the *Yays*) lying between the fourth and fifth degree of latitude, into whose channel many little rivers fall. The regions in general belonging to the five foresaid rivers are very fruitful, temperate, and pleasant; I say, in the general, for they are not in all places alike; the sea coasts, to omit further particulars, are more hot, but yet withal moorish, and therefore less fruitful or pleasant; the inland being mountainous is colder, but yet more profitable, the ground that lieth between them (both being in some places of greater, in others of less extent) doth far exceed them both in temperature, pleasure, and profit: they abound with all manner of provision for life, with *Cassavi* roots, wherewith the natives make a kind of bread and beer, which

which they prefer before those made with ours or *Indian* grain; of both which the soil in general promiseth great increase: they have also store of beasts, both for food and chase; namely, deer of all sorts, boars, hares, coneys, tygers, leopards, and lions: but those that are of greatest use for food, are their *Maypowri* and *Baremo*, the flesh of the one like our beef, the other like our mutton. As for fowl, fish, fruits, they afford, according to our countryman master *Harcourt's* relation, not much less store or variety than is before confidently reported to be found in the countries bordering about *Caroly*, and the other higher streams of *Oronoque*. And though as yet there hath not been any discovery made by us, of any golden or silver mines in these parts, yet both *English* and *Dutch* travellers that way affirm, they have seen two sorts of precious stones, jaspers, and porphyries; of both which the natives inform them there are great store to be found in divers hills. But this is very certain, that few places in the world afford more variety of rich materials for dying, or more sweet and sovereign balsams.

The third most southern river in compassing *Guiana*, is that of *Amazon*, so call'd (not as some have conjectured, for that the women have killed or expelled the males, not admitting any society with them but only for one month in the year, for the continuance of procreation, but because both male and female usually go in long hair hanging down below their shoulders). This great river is observed to vent itself by so many arms or streams, far distant the one from the other no less than six degrees, viz. from the river *Arowary*, lying above cape *de Noordneere*, upon the third degree of the north latitude, unto the river *Tapieuru*, as many to the south beyond the Equinoctial. Yet, because the discovery as yet made (or at least made known to us) of the several falls of this great river are small and confusedly delivered, I shall reserve the description of them, and the regions adjacent, with the condition of the natives, to my next book, as having so near intercourse and respect to *South America*.

I have done with *Guiana*: my description must now proceed with the continent and islands adjoining where I left, as they lie westward from the island *Granada*, by the *American* mediterranean sea.

MARGARITA, COETZ, COBANA.

THE nearest parts of the continent to *Granada*, the most southern of all the *Caribbe* islands, is by *Herera*, stiled *Nova*

Andalusia, but now better known by the names of *Cumana* and *Venezuela*, a spacious country, but not the fifth part of what formerly hath been reckoned to belong to *Nova Andalusia*. In the passage from *Granada* to *Araya*, the first part of note belonging to *Cumana*, about seventeen leagues distant from *Granada* to the south-west, lie *Tefigos* eight rocks rather than islands. As also the isle of *Margarita*, *Coetz*, and *Cobana*, not long since very famous for exceeding store of rich pearl: I shall briefly dispatch them, and so proceed with *Cumana*, which is yet more to the south-west.

The greatest and chiefest of these three islands is *Margarita*, just about the eleventh degree to the north of *Cumana*, six or seven leagues, between which lie the two other, *Cobana* and *Coetz*. According to *Herera* it is distant from *Hispaniola* 170 leagues; the length of it is said to be sixteen leagues; the fertility of the soil is said to be very good: but this the late *Netherland* navigators deny. In former times the great abundance of pearl obtained by continual taking of oysters, made this island of greatest fame and report, insomuch as the kings of *Spain*, for the better securing the pinnaces employ'd in the oyster fishing, built two strong forts, the one to the east, the other to the south.

But now the pearly oysters, by reason of the *Spanish* insatiable and unseasonable taking of them, do upon the matter utterly fail, the island is of small note and less resort: the chief fort of it was taken and demolished 1626 by *Heredices* the *Dutch* admiral, who carried from thence eleven pieces of ordnance.

The other two islands *Cobana* and *Coetz*, which fall between *Margarita* and *Cubana*, are but small ones; and at this time of as little regard, though formerly of great esteem with the *Spaniard* for the great store of pearl they afforded: it is credibly reported that for many years, the king's fifth part, which was imposed upon the traders, came in *Cobana* only to no less than 15000 ducats yearly.

CUBANA and VENEZUELLA.

AND now to the continent: the first place of note in *Cubana*, is the promontory of *Araya*, in the same parallel of longitude to the west end of *Margarita*, but distant in regard of latitude to the south six or seven leagues: upon the winding in of this promontory, between it and the gulf *Cariaco*, which for many leagues is extended into the continent, are found large pits of excellent and durable salt; of which the *Dutch* made great use, until many of their men were there unhappily surprized and

and cruelly cut off by the *Spaniard*, since which time, the better to debar them and other nations from supplying themselves from thence with that most necessary commodity, he hath built a very strong fort.

On the west side of the gulph, two miles distant from sea is *Cumana*, a pretty large town; from whence the land beginning to turn again to the north, hath besides others these four safe and convenient havens, *Bordones*, *St. Faith's*, *Commonagot*, and *Oychyre*; from which last and most western part, *Oychyre*, unto cape *Salinas* the most eastward, near *Bocco del Draco*, where *Cumana* beginneth, are at least seventy leagues; the breadth of it according to *Spanish* authors, in most places is forty leagues unto the south. In former ages it was well stored with natives, of which the tenth part are not now to be found, the *Spaniard* having several occasions to transport them elsewhere, and to make unmerciful execution of them.

It should seem by the long stay and large perambulations that *Ortelius* and *Sedenus*, two *Spanish* commanders, made in this country, that but small store of gold and silver is to be found here, neither is there any great provision of sustentation for life, except it be of fish, fowl and honey, with which it aboundeth. Over-against the west-end of *Cumana*, a degree remote to the north lyeth *Tortugas* and *Blancas*, distant five leagues one from the other, which for that they afford little else but hogs and goats, hard to be taken, being overrun with exceeding sharp briars and thorns are seldom gone unto.

The next part of the continent bending to the north-west is *Venezuella*, a far greater and richer country; it consisteth of many provinces, and hath in it many *Spanish* towns and commodious havens.

The soil in general is so fertile, as it affordeth two crops yearly: the pastures and meadows thereof are so many, and so rich, as they plentifully sustain great store of wholesome cattle as well neat as other: the great store of cow and ox hides usually brought from thence sufficiently prove the same. It is, also, generally reported to afford in divers provinces good store of treasure, especially gold of the best sort.

Before the coming of the *Germans* into this country, to whom the emperor *Charles* gave it, in regard of their great service against the protestants, the country was full of inhabitants; but by reason of the covetousness and cruelty of those *Germans*, whose intent was not to plant, but to make spoil of the natives, they were well nigh utterly rooted out, and are not now much increased, by a latter possession of the *Spanish*; but tigers and other wild beasts have overrun it. *Spanish* authors make mention of several provinces belonging to *Venezuella*, but they do not so clearly prescribe

their several limits, as is requisite. Therefore proceeding in my discourse, according to my usual method, in following the sea-coast, I shall briefly acquaint you with such *Spanish* towns as are near adjacent to the sea-coast, or near upon the same degree of longitude, though far distant in regard of latitude from north to south, which is the breadth of the country.

The most eastern promontory of *Venezuella* is *Cordeliera*, within five miles of *Porte de Guaira*; whence within fifteen miles is the strong tower called *Caracas*, and from thence within two miles is *Blanco*, all convenient harbours for ships; then follow *Turiane* and *Burburate* two other commodious and safe havens, the former whereof affordeth good water, and is distant from *Blanco* thirteen miles, the other store of salt, and is remote from the said *Blanco* fifteen miles. Within the land above two leagues from the sea-coast lieth *Carvaleda*, a *Spanish* town of some note, and from thence about four leagues is *St. Jago*, a greater town, where the governor of those parts doth usually reside. From *Porte Burburate*, about seven leagues within the continent, directly to the south, the *Spanish* of latter time hath built *Nova Valentia*, from whence fifteen leagues more to the south is *Nova Zerez*, of a later standing, both well accommodated with wholesome provision in a competent measure. From *Zeres* to *Nova Segovia*, another *Spanish* town, directly to the south, is twenty leagues; it joineth upon the river *Bariquicemeti*, which falleth after a great circuit of ground, into the river *Oronoque*. The country hereabouts is very barren, but the mountains, with which it is surrounded, are conceived by the *Germans*, who built that town, to be well stored with gold, and this opinion of theirs is upon good grounds, strongly confirmed by others of better judgment, who have written of those parts. *Tucurio*, that is exceedingly commended for the sweetness of the air, the temperature of the climate, the super-abundant variety of victuals, and store of gold it yieldeth, is yet eleven leagues more to the south-west, distant from the nearest place of the north sea-coast fifty, from *Nova Granada* one hundred fifty leagues; in which long passage two parts are very pleasant and fruitful, the third very rough and ill provided.

Now to return to the sea-coast, and so with relation to the longitude of *Venezuella*, to survey the middle of this country, as it extendeth itself to the south. Not far from *Burburate* lieth a little gulph called *Triste*, from which *Porte Esfave* is a league distant, whence the land beginneth to wind upon the north sea, continueth, for the space of fifty five leagues, so to do by somewhat proportionable gaining on



A MAP of
TERRA FIRMA.
GUIANA and the
ANTILLES Islands.
By H. Moll Geographer.

60 120 180 240 300
Miles of Great Britain

on the sea; only a little above *Coro*, the only city here, the land turning two leagues to the south, and then again twelve to the north-west, admitteth a great inlet of the sea, which falling somewhat near to the gulph of *Venezuela*, lying on the other side, maketh a kind of *Peninsula*, called *Paragoana*, containing in the circumference about twenty-five leagues; the cape whereof to the north is *San Roman*, a promontory of great note; and between the south-west end thereof and the aforesaid gulph, lieth the great lake of *Maracabo*, extended into the continent in length thirty five, in breadth ten leagues over; the mouth of it being a mile and a half wide, joined with the gulph of *Venequell*; whence though the sea daily flows into it, yet doth it empty itself by a constant ebbing.

The islands over against this part of the continent, some leagues remote in respect of latitude, are, first *Bonary*, near a degree distant to the north; it is of eight miles circumference, well provided with store of hogs and horses, as also with one safe haven on the northwest end thereof; from hence thirty nine leagues farther to the west, and fourteen to the north from *Coro*, the only city of *Venezuela*, is *Curaca*, far less, but more fertile; it hath a haven on the north, but not very safe, especially for great ships.

The last is *Araba*, nine miles remote from *Quaracao* to the west, and eight from cape *San Roman* to the north. Let us now consider the *Spanish* towns adjacent to this sea coast, and more remote into the land. *Coro*, which is built in the aforesaid *Peninsula*, having a bishop's seat in it, goeth by the name of a city, and is indeed the only place of note near adjoining to the sea, and the chief town of *Venezuela*; it hath belonging to it two havens to the west and north; that to the west though not very good, is far better than that of the north.

The country round about it is well stored with fish, flesh, fowl, and sugar canes: one thing it hath peculiar, such store of wholesome and medicinal herbs, as it is said to need no physician. From *Coro* directly to the south, between the north sea coast, the lake *Maracabo*, and near *Valentia*, lieth *Portilla de Carora*, in the fertile vale of *Carora*, a large space of ground near two leagues from the pleasant and fruitful fields of *Coro*, to the no less pleasant and fruitful vale of *Carora*, is mountainous and unfruitful, inhabited only by savages, called *Xizatiaras* and *Axaguas*.

In the bottom of *Maracabo* is *Lagana*, a *Spanish* town, surrounded between two rivers with well levelled grounds, which might serve to good use, being abundantly stored with deer, coneys, and great variety of fowl, but that it is over-run with

wild beasts, especially with tigers; beyond which eighteen leagues more to the south is the province of *Xuruara*, and beyond that, ten leagues more somewhat near to the south east, is the port of *Guicacas*, of both which we read of nothing much worth noting; but only betwixt these, and the rich province of *Tucuo* twenty-five leagues distant, a short passage may be had into the great kingdom of *Granada*. The south side of the lake *Maricabo* is inhabited by the *Pocabouyes* and the *Alcobalads*, two nations of a milder temper, and more tractable disposition than are most other natives; both are confidently reported to possess great riches, and a soil every way well furnished for a comfortable sustentation of life.

TERRA FIRMA:

AND now having finished *Venezuela*, we are to proceed with the next adjacent part called *Terra Firma*, as being first found after the Islands. It is thought by *Cieca* who hath wrote of it, that it extendeth itself from about *Martha*, which is in the eleventh degree of the north latitude, within a degree of the equinoctial, for the space of four hundred leagues.

The breadth of it, as it is taken according to the sea coast, from cape *Vela* to *Panama* directly west, where it is widest, doth not exceed three hundred leagues; between which, not many leagues distant from sea, tho' far remote the one from the other, arise four high mountains, running the length of this region, and all *Peru* and *Chili* are usually known by the name of the *Andion* mountains. Where they are narrowest they are two leagues over, in most ten, in some more than twenty: but then between these mountains lye many large well levelled plains, which being continually watered from the many small brooks and wide rivers issuing from them, make many exceeding fruitful provinces, except it be some places where over great abundance of waters turneth them into moores and fens.

The climate in general is very wholesome; but in regard of heat and cold, little can be said of it in general, the mountains and the plains differing so much, these being for the greatest part of the year somewhat over hot, those over cold; yet so, as having recourse to both according to the several seasons of the year, they prove very convenient for habitation, and are for the most part as well stored with gold and precious stones, as any part of *America* whatsoever. When I have set forth so much of this sea-coast as shall be requisite at once, I shall then by an orderly falling down with the continent,

within a degree or two of the equinoctial, particularly acquaint you with the places where the foresaid treasure, and many other useful commodities are to be had.

Cape *Vela*, the most eastern province of *Terra Firma*, is distant from *Coro* in *Venezuela* sixty leagues; from whence to *Rio de la Hacha* are eighteen, thence to *Martha* thirty, thence to *Carthagena* five and thirty more. These three are the only haven towns of note belonging to the east part of this country, though yet there be many other ports and rivers which may and do afford safe harbour for shipping. Short of *de la Hacha* to the east is river *Ranceria*, beyond it to the west four leagues is port *Ramada*, then follow the mouth of the five great rivers, *Bahio*, *Pera*, *Palamino*, *Don Diego*, and *Anchon de Quagachico*, remote the one from the other a league or two. Between these and *Martha* port do intervene *Concha* and *Los Anchones*, two convenient havens, though nothing comparable to that of *Martha*, which in the year 1587 was certified to the king of *Spain*, by *Baptista Antonella*, his own Geographer, to be more safe and convenient for the *Spanish* fleets yearly passage into those parts than *Carthagena*, if any considerable cost were bestowed upon it, and that meerly for want thereof, it hath been twice taken by the *English* with small forces.

Between *Martha* town and the falling of the great river *Martha*, which is near about the mid-way, cape *Agnia* and the navigable rivers of *Gayra* and *Ciennagoy*, places of note do intervene: so on the other side, between it and the port of *Carthagena*, the sandy island of *Zamba*, and other shelvy places, by avoiding the coast and striking to sea, are carefully to be avoided, until ships may more safely put in from sea to *Canoa*, but two leagues from *Carthagena*.

As for the port of *Carthagena* itself, were it as well provided, as the foresaid *Baptista* adviseth his Majesty of *Spain* to have it done, it might upon better ground be esteemed impregnable; but for ought I can read or hear, a strong navy which can spare to land but two thousand, or three thousand men, where they shall find opportunity, may take the town, and all the rich treasure in it, as well as it hath been formerly taken by our countrymen with far less strength when it was less fortified; but of this strong port more hereafter.

From *Carthagena*, where the sea beginneth to decline from the north to the south-west, for the space of thirty-five leagues, until we come to the gulph of *Uraba*, into which falleth the great river *Darien*; we read only of some small islands, as *Caramari*, *Bara*, and *Tortuga*, to be observed to avoid, for the dangerous access

unto them, rather than for any good to be gain'd from them, yet there are two safe and convenient havens between them.

Hitherto of the sea coast of *Terra Firma*, to the said gulph, where on the west side the islands of *Panama*, a narrow neck of the land, continueth, and yet separateth it from *Nova Hispania*, where the north continent beginneth to arise some degrees to the north. Let us now pierce into the continent of *Terra Firma*, and view it according to its several governments, with as near a relation as we may to the foresaid ports, whether more near adjoining, or further remote.

The first government taketh its name from *Rio de Hacha*, the first port town to usward, it is but of small extent, for it reacheth not above eight leagues into the continent; but stored with *Spanish* fruits, golden mines and precious stones of divers sorts; and were it not withal over-stored with wild beasts in the field, and crocodiles in the rivers it might well be reckoned one of the best habitations of *Terra Firma*. Besides *Rancheria* and *Ramada*, which as haven towns I mentioned before, we read of one *Spanish* town called *Tappia*, well furnished with cattle. This province is separated by the mountains of *Buritaca* from the government of *Martha*, of far greater extent: somewhat more than one hundred ten leagues in length from east to west, and not few less in breadth from north to south. The particular provinces belonging to this spacious government do much differ in divers respects. The valley of *Tayrone*, seven leagues distant to the east of *Martha*, and the province of *Buritaca*, eight more, are fertile and very rich in gold and precious stones, neither are they troubled with overmuch heat or cold. But the valley of *Upar*, wherein standeth *Cuidad*, at the head of the river *Pompatao*, remote from *Martha* fifty leagues, separated from *Buritaca*, though it be somewhat fertile yet it is over cold. The land for three leagues compass, adjoining to the town of *Martha*, from which the whole government taketh denomination, is very healthful and pleasant, but withal very ill provided with victuals, unless oranges and lemons and such like *Spanish* fruits, or that the native fruits which the pine and guavah trees there plentifully afford, may suffice. The provinces to the west of *Martha*, toward *Carthagena*, namely *Bonda* and *Poziguica*, are much of the same condition, healthful but not fruitful.

The rest of this government down to the south is invironed with two great rivers, with *Martha* to the west, and *Pompatao* to the south-east, which being remote the one from the other more than forty leagues, for the space of two degrees of latitude north and south, until the river

ver *Pompatao*, turning directly to the west, at length falleth into the greater river *Magdalena*, for so it is here stiled, though itself, also, be but an arm of *Martha*. Now for that in so large a tract of ground, which the long continued distance of the foresaid rivers sufficiently prove, no mention is made of any other *Spanish* town, but only of *Tenerifa*, which is within forty leagues of *Martha*, where *Magdalena* falleth into it, and *Tamalameque*, fifteen leagues below, more to the south, bordering near thereunto; it may be, and is, probably, conjectured that here may be found good habitation.

A third government adjoining to the sea-coast is *Carthagena*, so called from the chief port town of all *Terra Firma*. This government is more spacious and populous than either of the former, but withal it is in the general less healthful and less profitable, as being for the most part either taken up with waste unuseful mountains, or being pestered with many fens and bogs, by reason of the continual overflowing of *Martha*, and other smaller rivers of their valleys, that otherwise might be much more beneficial for the grazing of cattle: from the falling of that great river into the sea, where this government beginneth to the east, no mention is made of any *Spanish* town toward the sea-coast, until we come to *Carthagena* itself, which city is inferior to very few, or none in all *America*. It is reported not only by *Spanish* authors, *Herera*, *Baptista* and others, but also by the *Dutch*, who have lately more exactly viewed the situation of it, to be very strong; it standeth in a kind of peninsula, two miles from the main sea, which upon that coast unless in some few channels, is dangerous, by reason of many shallows, sands and shelves; the coming up to it, though no farther remote, is likewise difficult both by water and land.

The water passages are three, all narrow and shallow, serving only for small vessels, and withal strongly fortified. The land passages that are as many, are very narrow, made like causeways, so as but few can go a-breast to force their way, being opposed by several strong forts; and to make their way on either side the causeways is impossible, being all of them so compassed with deep ditches and unpassable bogs: and yet for want of fresh water, they continually fetch from *Galeera*, where the great ships ride; a great navy may easily keep them from thence, and so enforce them in a short time to yield for want of water. Nor is it impossible, but that this city may be taken by the water passages, if good store of small vessels well mann'd, and otherwise provided, shall be employed therein.

The next town distant from *Carthagena* to the south-west, is *Toku*; where great

store of precious balsams (either by distilling of itself, or by incision of certain trees) is yearly gathered and conveyed into *Europe*. It is confidently reported by *Monardes*, to be no way inferior, but rather more sovereign for the curing of many diseases, than was the balsam of *Egypt* and the east countries, in all authors so highly commended. The climate is much more healthful, the soil more fertile and useful to feed cattle, as being six leagues from sea, not mountainous, and yet not taken up with flags and bull-rushes, and other such like increase of marsh grounds, as are *Carthagena* and the more near confines thereof.

Now to look yet further into the continent, just opposite to the government of *Martha*, directly to the south, from the eighth degree of the north latitude, beginneth the kingdom of new *Granada*; which extendeth itself unto the second degree upon both sides of *Madalena*, more especially from the rising of the said river to the midway, before it cometh into *Martha*, it is said to be 130 leagues long, and between thirty and twenty broad. The land is not only pleasant and healthful, but generally very rich, abounding with much treasure and ample provision for livelihood. The most unuseful parts of this great kingdom, is the next adjoining to the government of *Martha*; that is taken up with the waste *Opion* mountains, that permit not (without great difficulty and many days travel) entrance to *Merida*, *Pamplona*, *St. Christophers*, and other the northern parts thereof, no less wealthy than pleasant.

But then this difficult passage may be avoided, by making use of the constant flowing of sea into the wide mouth of *Martha*; which conveniently conveyeth ships of great bulk for forty leagues unto *Tenerifa*, where *Magdalena* falleth into *Martha*; and then in small vessels of fifty or sixty foot long, and four or five foot broad, they may with ample provision of men, victual and ammunition, pass up the river *Magdalena*, until they come to the rich inhabited places of *Granada*: Of which the provinces of *Musci* and *Colyma* on the east-side; the province of *Arbi* on the west-side of *Magdalena*; are nearest to the *Opion* mountains.

The provinces to the eastern-side, in which stand four *Spanish* towns; *Placencia*, *Trinidad*, *Tudela* and *Palma*, are somewhat too hot, by reason that the sun beams do very strongly reflect upon them, by a continuation of exceeding high mountains, yet more to the east. And yet withal they are over moisty; the water falling for six months in the year, too fiercely from those mountains, and the river *Magdalena* to which they border, being so subject to overflowing: The soil never-

nevertheless doth afford two plentiful crops, and feedeth much cattle.

Neither are the mountains adjoining to these provinces, thought to be utterly destitute of treasure; but certain it is, they abound with emerald and berril-stones.

In the province of *Arbi*, on the west side of *Magdalena*, over-against *Placentia*, in the sixth degree of latitude, lyeth *Senora*; constantly reported to be richly furnished with golden mines, as is *Maraquita* with silver mines, standing in the fifth degree over-against *Trinidad*.

Near upon the same degree of latitude, fifteen leagues to the east of *Trinidad*, is *Tunia*; a healthy, wealthy, and well provided province for all kind of sustentation; necessary not only for life, but even for the abundance of many delights; in which respect it is so well inhabited by the *Spanish*, as that it is able to bring 200 horse into the field. And in no respect is the province of *Bogota* inferior; in which *St. Faith*, the metropolis of all *Granada* is situated, twenty two leagues directly to the south; inhabited with 600 *Spanish* families, being the usual residing place of the deputy, bishop, and all their officers.

Beyond this city to the south-east, I find mention only of one more, called *St. John's*, remote near fifty leagues; for nothing much commended, but for the store of gold it affordeth. To the north-east, fifteen leagues from *St. Faith*, lyeth the town *Tocaymai*, near adjoining upon the river *Paty*; where it falleth into *Magdalena*, equal to the aforesaid provinces *Tunia* and *Bogota*; in regard of all provision necessary and delightful; but much to be preferred in respect of the wholesome, well-pleasing temperature of the climate; besides some baths, which by long experience have been proved right good, for the curing of many dangerous diseases.

Having thus briefly discovered *Granada*; I conceive it most convenient, for the more clear description of the next adjacent government, which is *Popaian*; to begin with it as it lyeth on the south-west of *Tocayma* and *St. Faith*; and as it bordereth near upon the rising of the river *Magdalena*, and so falleth for two degrees directly south, to the equinoctial; where it is divided from *Peru*, and then returneth back to the west rising of the great river *Martha*; distant from that of *Magdalena* full forty leagues.

Hereby having continual reference to the chief city *Popaian* itself; seated not far from the head of the said west rising, we shall the better understand the situation of the whole government.

The first town of *Popaian*, nearest adjoining to *Granada*, is *St. Sebastian*; standing within three leagues from *Onda*, the highest inland port belonging to *Magda-*

lena; much frequented by the merchants of *Cartagena* and *Martha*, in respect of the exceeding profitable importation of the necessary commodities of *Europe* into these parts, and the transporting of abundant treasure from hence. This town standeth from *St. Fe* of *Bogota* in *Granada* thirty leagues, from the city *Popaian* thirty five; the fields about it are fruitful, and have many silver mines in them.

Above the rising of *Magdalena*, in the valley of *Neyva*, the natives are so numerous, as that they hitherto have stoutly defended themselves against the *Spanish*, and inforced them to retire from some towns they had built there: *Timana* in the most south-west part of the said valley of *Neyva* (forty leagues from *Popaian*), the *Spanish* as yet, with much to do hold; but thrive very well, by reason of the richness of the soil to feed cattle, and the abundance of sugar and honey which it affordeth.

To the north-west of *Timana*, and as many short of *Popaian*; upon the rising of the west arm of *Martha*, here called *Cauca*, standeth *Almager*, in a hilly country, yet fertile and very rich in golden mines. Hence the government of *Popaian* extendeth itself, either directly to the west or to the north. It is convenient I first finish the western part, as being in this book to fall no farther to the south; which will bring us by the confines of *Peru*, to the south sea of *America*; the knowledge whereof, may much further us in the better understanding, not only of the situation of its governments, but also of the other parts of the north *America*, that yet remain to be described.

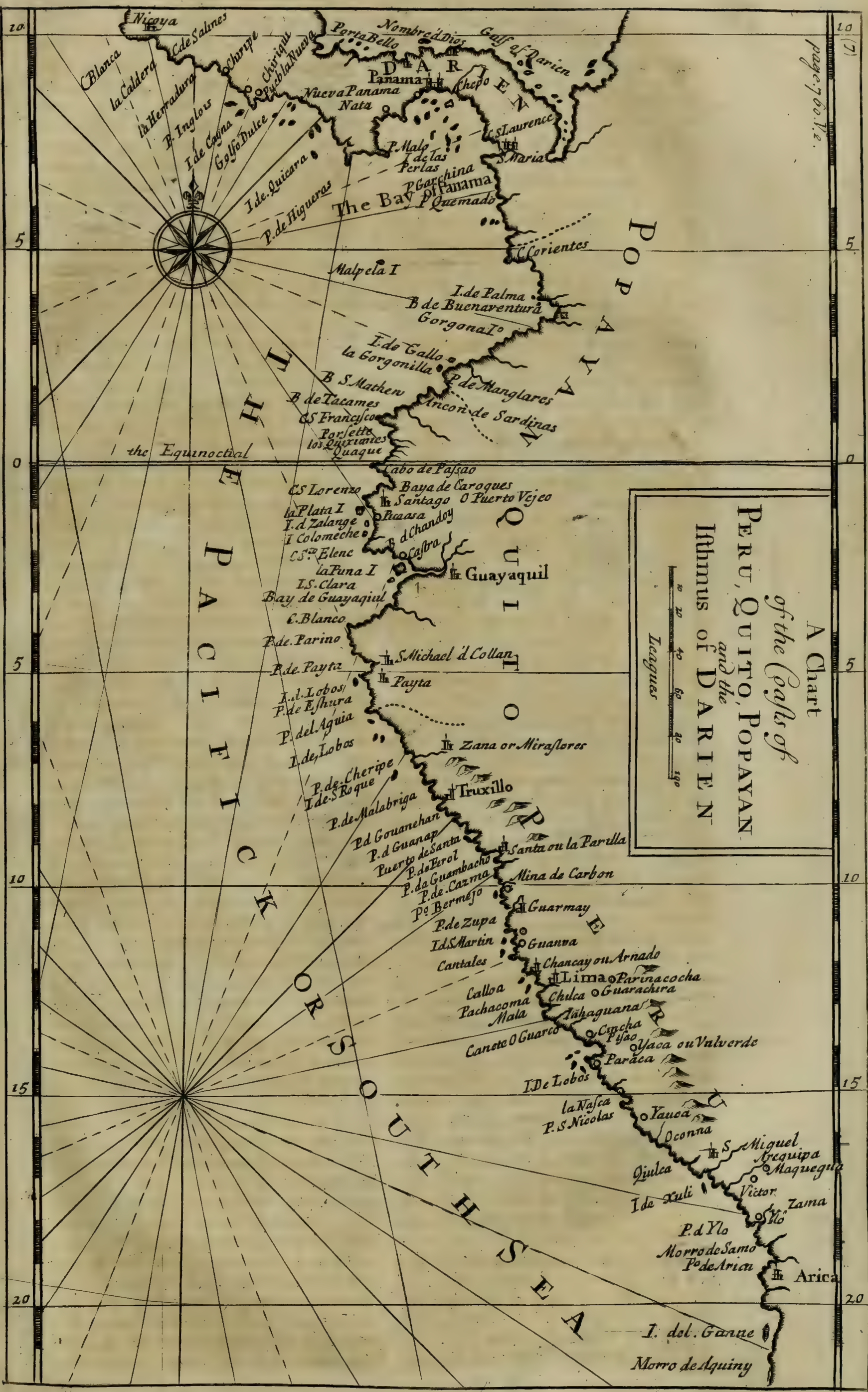
To the west of *Almager* about twelve leagues, beginneth the valley of *Mastel*, whereunto bending somewhat to the south, are the valleys of *Abades* and *Madrigal* adjoining: of which, this only can be certainly affirmed, that they are of great extent, full of many little villages, and those well peopled with the natives; a good sign they are not unfruitful.

Beyond these valleys standeth *Pasto*, in the rich vale of *Atris*, remote from *Popaian* fifty leagues. The rest of the province of *Pasto*, reaching yet fifty leagues more to the west, even to the south sea of *America* is very mountainous; in which there be many rich mines, but is well known to be very barren, either for grain or cattle.

The promontories, rivers, and havens of this large province of *Pasto*, upon which the south sea beateth; are *St. Matthew's* bay, cape *Francis*, and *Los Quiximires*, nearer bordering to *Peru*.

Higher to the north, where the sea gaineth greatly upon the land eastward; are port *Manglares*, the river *Nicardo* and *St. John*.

To



A Chart
of the Coasts of
PERU, QUITO, POPAYAN
and the
Isthmus of DARIEN

To return where we left, to the rising of the river *Cauca*, fifty leagues before it cometh to the north sea, where it is called *Martha*, upon both sides whereof lie the better part of *Popaian*: From *Almaguer* where this great river first springeth, on the east side thereof lyeth the province of *Guanaca*, on the west the valley of *Pati*, both rich in treasure and exceeding fit for the feeding of cattle. Between these, with the falling of the river for the space of ten leagues before we come to the city of *Popaian*, on either side do intervene two other valleys, *Cocomici* to the east, and *Barauca* to the west, much of the same condition with the two former.

The metropolis of *Popaian* it self, standeth from the equinoctial, two degrees and a half to the north from the meridian of *Toledo* in *Spain*, towards the west seventy degrees and thirty scruples; it standeth in a very healthful climate and fruitful soil, it hath two winters and summers, and both so temperate, as it enjoyeth a kind of perpetual spring; and every year affordeth two plentiful crops; the fields on both sides the river *Cauca* are very large, affording ample maintenance for innumerable cattle, and incredible variety and store of most delicate fruits; besides, the first risings of the *Andion* mountains to the east, and the *Tamban* mountains to the west, yield abundance of coarse gold.

About twenty two leagues from *Popaian* down the said river *Cauca*, one league on the west side of the river lyeth *Caki*, a *Spanish* town of great trade, in a large fruitful valley, in some places twelve leagues wide, known by the same name, whither great store of treasure and other rich commodities are continually brought from rich *Peru* and *Chili*; out of the south sea, especially by the bay of *Bonaventure*, remote twenty eight leagues, which great distance of place is a great part of it taken up with the wide rough and little inhabited mountains of *Timba*, and by many boggy places, caused by a frequent fall of many waters, which make the passage very difficult with horse; but this defect the *Spanish* supplieth by the help of poor Indians, whom they cruelly enforce for five days hard travel, to bear upon their shoulders through thick and thin, through sharp cutting stones and piercing thorns, near upon a hundred weight, and yet affordeth those miserable creatures not necessary sustentation.

Between the territories of *Cali*, and the south sea mountain, more to the north-west mountains, is the province *Conchi*, inhabited by a giant-like people in regard of stature, but otherwise as little to be feared as the rest, whom the *Spaniard* hath driven higher into the mountains

on both sides the river *Cauca*, or hath brought into miserable slavery.

Twelve leagues on the west of *Cauca* from *Cali*, lyeth *Carapa*, a hilly province, but every way convenient for habitation.

As many more down the said river on the east side, beginneth a far greater province, fifteen leagues in length, and ten in breadth; in which standeth *Cartago*, between two very pleasant rivers, wherein are found many small pieces of gold, continually washed from the mountains adjoining. Those parts of this province, near bordering upon the lowest banks of *Cauca*, are very fenny, overgrown with reeds and bulrushes; and yet *Cartago*, seven leagues remote from that river and many other places, are constantly reported to be exceeding rich and healthful; though yet for the greater part of the year, they are usually subject to extraordinary rain and thundering.

Between *Carthago* and *Ancerma*, twenty leagues distant almost directly north upon *Cauca*, beginning here to be better known by the name of the great river *Martha*, do intervene three other provinces on the west copia, in which standeth *Acerma*, of greatest note next to *Popaian*, distant to the north fifty leagues.

This province in general, is mountainous (except the valley of *Ancerma*, pleasant and fruitful) and the adjoining rivers falling from the mountains, afford much gold in little grains, mingled with the sand thereof: *Picera*, *Pozo* and *Pancura*, provinces on the east of *Martha*, are of less extent, but more level and more inhabited, and no less pleasant or profitable.

To these provinces yet more north, towards the city of *Antioch* (the most noble part of all *Popaian*, and nearest to usward, towards the mouth of *Martha*) on either side the river, do intervene to the west *Cartamma*, and the spacious valley of *Nore*, wherein standeth the city *Antiochia*, invironed with high hills, but withal sweetly watered, with many little rivers falling from them: To the east, are *Arma* and *Cartamma*, of which four last recited provinces, it may suffice briefly to know, that they on either side the river, are of at least thirty leagues in length, and in most places, ten in breadth, no way inferior, if not exceeding the forenamed provinces of *Popaian*, either for their temperature of air, or fertility of soil, or the store of treasure that their mountains and rivers afford.

P A N A M A.

THUS have we passed over all *Terra Firma* both by sea and land, except

cept *Panama* the most western part; which is very narrow in every place, and serveth as a neck to continue the continent of *America*, between the north and south sea; I shall briefly finish it, having but few places or things of any great consideration to write of it.

The length of this last government of *Panama*, may be taken, either according to the north sea coast, from the aforementioned gulph of *Uraba*, to the closing of it with the river *Veragua*, (from which the most eastern province of *Nova Hispania* taketh denomination,) or else southward, as it is extended from the river *Darien*, that falleth into the said gulph and the south sea: The length in either respect, is upon due computation, found not to exceed ninety leagues; the breadth where it is widest, does not exceed thirty, where narrowest, as from port *Bello* to *Panama*, (would mountains and rivers, and over-grown woods, permit the shortest cut) it would not be found fully eight leagues from sea to sea.

My greatest care in perusing this government, is to take special notice of the sea-coasts; for besides the famous ports, rivers, islands, promontories, both on the north and south side of this neck of ground, nothing is much worth the noting; for three parts of it lying between the river *Darien* and the south-sea, are taken up with exceeding high mountains, and those unfruitful and unfit for habitation, being over-run with wild beasts) besides the plains and valleys adjoining to either, though they be more fruitful, yet very unhealthy, insomuch, as though formerly they were well inhabited by *Spaniards*, yet now they are for the most part deserted.

On the north, from the gulf of *Uraba*, (where I left my description of that sea coast) unto the river *Chagre*, the most western belonging to *Panama* government (not above forty leagues distant the one from the other) there are found many safe and convenient ports, besides other places worthy consideration.

Within the narrow *Uraban* sea, five leagues to the south-west of it, standeth *Darien*, a town, after it was first raised in the year 1510, well inhabited, but it continued so not above ten years; for the inhabitants in regard of the unhealthfulness thereof, betook themselves to *Panama*, the chief town of all the government upon the mouth of the gulph.

Where the sea beginneth to turn again to the north, lyeth port *My*; and then ten leagues farther port *Acla*; both convenient havens within, but somewhat dangerous to put into, by reason of the small islands *Gorde de Pinas*, and others near adjoining. From *Acla* to *Nombre de Dios*, some time a famous port town (still a

safe haven) is reckoned twelve leagues; between which fall the ports of *Comagra* and *Cativa*, the rivers *Sanquo*, *Mays*, *Sardina* and *Sardinula*.

But of all the ports, *Porto Bello* (which, by the procurement of *Baptista Antonellus*, was raised out of the ruins and dispeopling of *Nombre de Dios*, five leagues distant from thence) is the greatest, safest, and every way most convenient for the mutual trading of the north and south sea, by the river *Chagre*; many rich and necessary commodities of *Europe*, being from hence continually transported to *Panama*, whence the gold and silver of *Peru* and *Cbili*, are returned hither twice every year.

It was taken by Sir *Francis Drake*, before the town and fortifications thereunto belonging were one quarter finished: and since in the year 1601, when it was fully finished, it was surprized with two ships and a pinnacle by captain *Parker*, who found there in respect of the place*, but a very small booty, not above 10000 dollars; for within a few days before, 120000 were from thence conveyed to *Carthagena*.

The passage from this port town, to *Panama* upon the *South Sea*, is not above eighteen leagues, and in summer-time not hindred by creeks of sea, not eight; so that there is no great difficulty, with a considerable navy, to take *Porto Bello* and to secure the navy there: so would it prove no long march, nor any hard enterprise to take *Panama*; consisting but of 600 families, little experienced in martial affairs, and with it, if the attempt be seasonably made, five or six millions of money, if we may give credit to the aforesaid *Antonellus*, the *Spanish* king's Geographer, or to our own countryman Mr. *Harcourt*.

This city (for so it is usually stiled) being the seat of a bishop, and the common residing place of the governor and his chief officers, standeth in a very unhealthy air, and no less barren soil; being almost destitute of corn, grasse, and other provisions necessary for life; unless it be with oranges and lemons, and divers other wholesome and well-pleasing *Indian* fruit. And yet for all this, it wanteth not store of all kind of victuals, continually supplied from other places, by reason it so aboundeth with treasure; in hopes whereof, the *Spanish* merchants make that the chief place of trading, by the river *Chagre* out of the north sea, and by the river *Chepo* out of the south sea: both which, though they come short of the city, yet are they of very great use, to bring the merchants commodities so near, which are afterwards much more easily conveyed thither by land.

Concerning the land passage from one sea to the other, a most remarkable attempt

* This strong port was taken by six English men of war only, under the command of Admiral VERNON, in the year 1739.

tempt of captain *Oxenham* a countryman of ours, anno 1573, must not be forgotten; for though in the conclusion it proved not successful, yet it may be a great encouragement of singular concernment to those who with greater strength shall make the like enterprize. It was briefly thus: Captain *Oxenham*, induc'd by the fame of the vast treasure which fortunate *Drake* obtain'd in those parts, provided a ship of 120 tons; in which having with him near a hundred men (the winds favouring him, he came sooner than he could wellexpect on the north sea-coast of *Panama*) where getting as near as he could conveniently for the shortest cut over to the *North Sea*; he landed his men, drew up his ship into a cranny, where he left her and his great ordnance covered all over with bows. Then he and his men taking sufficient victual, with two field-pieces and other necessary arms, after twelve leagues march, they came to a river which falleth into the *South-Sea*, where he built a barge forty-five foot long; in which he convey'd his men into an island called the *Isle of Pearls*; close by the side whereof, they who come out of the *South Sea* to *Panama* must needs pass. Here they closely conceal'd themselves for ten days; at the end whereof they seiz'd upon two pinnaces coming from *Peru*, wherein was little less than 200000*l.* of gold and silver, besides great store of rich pearls they took from the islanders; both which they might certainly have convey'd to their ship, and so into *England*, had not both captain and soldiers in their coming back, in three particulars dealt very foolishly: first, in too sudden discharging the two pinnaces they had taken; by whom the governor of *Panama* being much sooner informed of the exploit than otherwise he could have been, made the more quick pursuit after them, with twice as many forces as they had: secondly, in casting the feathers of hens they had pillaged over board, whereby they gave perfect notice to the pursuers of the particular river they returned by, of which before they were very much to seek. But most of all did they forget themselves in an unseasonable contention, concerning the dividing of the prize; the soldiers refusing to bear it upon their shoulders over the land, unless they might know how much should come to every man's particular share; which demand of theirs being as undiscreetly deny'd, the contention lasted so long, as the forces from *Panama* came upon them, recovered the treasure, and cut them all off, or took them prisoners, whom they forthwith brought to *Panama*, and there cruelly executed; some few escaped, whom, by reason of their youth they spared. Beyond *Panama* to the *South Sea*, are some, but not many ports and rivers.

To the south-east is the river *Chiepo*, the river *de Labalsa*, *St. Miguel's* gulf, *Port de Pinas*, and the river *Balsas*; near about which groweth great store of timber fit for shipping, whereof singular use may be made in the *South Sea*.

On the southwest are two ports, *Perico* and *Nata*, whereof the first is not far remote, the other twelve leagues distant from *Panama*; from whence, as being the most western parts of all *Panama* governments, I am now to proceed with the province of *Veragua*, as nearest adjoyning to the west, formerly belonging to the government of *Nova Hispania*, but now in the jurisdiction of the government of *Guatemala*; since that province and many more thereunto belonging, are upon the matter, exempted from the viceroy of *Nova Hispania*. I might here (following *Herera* and others) fall upon the general description of the government, in respect of the climate, soil, and of the several commodities and discommodities of the same; but to what purpose, seeing it is evident, and all authors agree, that in particular they differ extremely; I shall therefore in my particular descriptions of them, taking them according to my constant method, as they lye by the north sea-coast, pass through them from sea to sea, where it can be done conveniently; and as I proceed, I shall endeavour in all respects to give you such account of their several qualities and conditions as is requisite.

To begin therefore with *Veragua*, as it hath *Panama* government to the east, so *Costa Rica* to the west, fifty leagues in length; and where it is narrowest, twenty-five in breadth, from the *North Sea* to the *South*, by which on both sides it is bounded.

The soil for the most part is barren, as being mountainous and full of briers, unfit for grain and pasturing, yet very rich in all kinds of metals, especially with gold. The inhabitants are many, very stout men, and great opposers of the *Spaniard*. The first who found out *Veragua*, was *Christopher Columbus*, who at his first arrival found some opposition by the natives, but he soon pacified them with toys; and as *Herera* reporteth, for 36 brass bells he gained 80*l.* whereby we may easily guess what an ample return he there made for things of very small worth.

The north sea-coast belonging to this province, affordeth but few good harbours; the nearest from the coast of *Panama* is the river *Belen*, distant from *Porto Bello* twenty-two leagues; near which is built the town *la Concepcion*, where the governor resideth. A second is a little within the river *Veragua*, from which the province is denominated. The last a pretty large gulf called *Caravaro*; between which and *Belen*, lieth

lieth an island ten miles from the continent, called *Escudo*; an island carefully to be observed; in regard of the many rocks and shelves that are about it. The *Spanish* inland towns, to omit all the poor hamlets possessed by the natives, are only *Trinidad* and *St. Faith*, the one three, the other twelve leagues remote.

From *la Concepcion*, close to the *South Sea*, is *Carlos*, another *Spanish* town five leagues from *St. Faith*; over against which, and to the east and west of it, are twenty small islands, or rather rocks, which go by the name of *Zebaco*; so as in the south-sea of *Veragua*, we read of no good haven but only *Port Guera* near *Cape Maria* in the south-east corner thereof. The next adjoining province, lying as *Veragua*, between both seas forty leagues in breadth; and if *Herera* reckoneth right, 90 leagues to the west in length, up to the continent of *Nicaragua*, is *Costa Rica*, much of the same condition of the former, mountainous and barren, but full of rich mines. To the *North Sea* it hath only *St. Hieromes Port*; to the *South* it hath four convenient havens, *Borica*, *St. Lazaro*, *Para*, *Nicora*. The inland *Spanish* towns of this province, are *Cathago*, standing much about the middle of it, twenty leagues from either sea; *Arames* is within five leagues eastward to the *South Sea*, and *Nicora*, one of the aforesaid havens.

A third province belonging to *Guatimala*, is *Nicaragua*; this, as the former, taketh its breadth from the sea, but in a double proportion, in some places eighty leagues over; though in length westward to *Guatimala* province it exceedeth not fifty.

The climate in summer is over hot, in winter over cold; the soil is level, fit to feed cattle, but not to bear corn; hogs, fish, cotton, salt, and goodly timber it yields great store. *Herera* maketh mention here of a kind of trees called zeybis, so mighty big about, that five men joining hand in hand, can hardly fathom one of them. The inhabitants of this province are much civiliz'd by the *Spaniard*, can speak their language, have learn'd their trades, and are very subject unto them, the *Contales* only accepted, who keep themselves in woods and mountains.

The most observable thing here is the lake *Nicaragua*, whence the province taketh name, both in regard of its large circumference, being, as is reported, no less than 130 miles; and its colour: it hath a constant ebbing and flowing, and though the head of it be not above four leagues from the *South Sea*, yet it hath intercourse only with the *North Sea*, that is in distance fifteen times further. The falling of this great lake into small streams, is in the midst between the eleventh and twelfth degree of the north

latitude, where the continent again beginneth to extend itself for five degrees, at least, more to the north, not without some turnings and returnings from east to west; from whence taking in again, with as many windings and turnings for 120 leagues to the northwest, the sea breaks in between the province of *Honduras* and *Yucatan*, another part of the continent; which inlet of sea, is called the gulf of *Honduras*.

Now then, keeping myself to my proposed method, I am first to discover the ports, rivers, and islands of this *North Sea* coast, before I come to speak of this or any other of the provinces contained in the circumference of the many long and large reaches thereof.

The first sea-port to the north of *Nicaragua*, is called *St. John's* port, the middle stream where the said lake venteth itself. A second is called *Yaropo*, between which and *St. John's* port, being somewhat more than 20 leagues distant, many little islands do intervene; in which distance there is no safe putting in to land. Upon the 13th degree of latitude, falleth the river *Yare*, affording a convenient haven: and a little above that latitude, though many leagues short of it in respect of longitude, is *St. Catarina*, better known to us by the name of the *Isle of Providence*, appearing in the map no more than a small spot, not above two miles broad, nor five long, yet so fertile, and so well accommodated with all provision, as for these many years last past, it liberally sustain'd more than a thousand *Englishmen*, until the *Spaniard* fearing their over-near approaching to these parts, where the usual passage and constant receipts of all their treasure was (I mean *Cartbagen*, *Panama*, *Porto Bello* in *Terra Firma*, and *Havana* in *Cuba*) after many assaults, displanted them; which seemeth to me, all things consider'd, a great wonder, they did not long before put their full strength upon it; and it is no less to be wondered at, that they should offer and perform such reasonable quarter, not only as is constantly reported, of permitting them, but also in supplying them with shipping to transport them into *Virginia*, *New England*, and other *English* plantations, they neither fear nor regard, as being far remote. Above *Yare* half a degree, is the gulf of *Nicuesa*, a good harbour for shipping; and ten leagues further, somewhat about the 14th degree, is the promontory of *Gracias a Dios*, bending to the east, from whence the continent winding in again to the west for near fifty leagues, many pernicious islands, very remarkable for the shipwreck of many, do intervene; the islands called *Viciosas* lying upon the 15th, the isle of *Baxos* upon the 16th, and *Millan* upon the 17th degree of the north latitude. And that which maketh the passages

fages to these parts more dangerous, is that to the east and north-east they are beset with *Roncador*, *Serrana*, *Seranilla*, *Sanca-nilla* and some other rocks, besides many shallows and sands that require expert Pilots to avoid them; yet by God's providence and their care they may be safely passed. Between the islands *Vicofas* and *Baxos* are two bays, *Honda* and *Cartago*; to both which the coming up is sandy and shallow. Near adjoining to *Baxos* is *Cape Camaron*; then 20 leagues further to the west is *Cape Honduras*; between which (the land bending like a bow to south, and then to north again) falleth the goodly river *Guiapa*; whose streams, by the small pieces of gold they bring with them, evidently declare the mountains adjoining to have store of such treasure.

To the north of *Honduras*, where that gulf beginneth, begin many islands known by the name of the first and chief *Guanania*, three whereof afford good provision, but few good harbours, and worse coming in unto them: they are in most places ten leagues from the continent, and follow one upon another for at least thirty leagues to the south-west.

In the middle space whereof, *Xagua*, a good haven, falleth into the sea from the continent; from whence for full thirty leagues unto *Port Cavallos*, on the west of the pleasant river *de Sal*, is found no safe harbour; but *Cavallos* is an exceeding convenient and safe harbour against wind and tempest; yet not so well fortify'd, but that it was twice taken easily by our countryman Mr. *Newport*, anno 1591, and by Sir *Anthony Sherley* 1616. This gulf *de Honduras* or *Guanios* (for it is known by both names) doth yet run for forty leagues further, tho' still narrowed more and more, by reason that *Yucatan*, another part of the continent, being a very long and large peninsula, falleth in and joyneth with the province of *Honduras*; in the narrowing whereof lye the river *Ulva*, *Cape de Puntas*, and *Port de Higueras*, just in the breaking off another smaller gulf called *Dolce*. I shall now from the discovery of the sea-coast fall to describe so much of the continent as lyeth between sea and sea.

Upon the *North Sea*, for 150 leagues, doth the province of *Honduras* extend itself, in breadth here and there more or less than 80 leagues; in the general a very rich and goodly country; for the valleys thereof afford three crops of their *Indian* grain, and two of our wheat, besides a continual supply of grass, so as it is ever green, flourishing, and affordeth great store of provision for man and beast.

The *Spanish* towns belonging to this province, taking them as I proceed in my description from east to west, are first, *Tru-*

gillo, a league remote from sea, standing between two rivers; whereunto belongeth a port strongly fortify'd by nature and art; which though it was taken by our *English*, anno 1576, yet was it in vain attempted by them, under the command of Sir *Anthony Sherley*, in the year 1596: the region about is temperate both in winter and summer, the soil exceeding fertile, maintaining great store of cattle, grain, and great variety of excellent fruit. The vines here in great abundance bring forth grapes in wonderful plenty twice a year. The town lyeth to the north-east of *Port Cavallos* forty, of *Valadolid*, the chief city, fifty leagues. A second town thirty leagues to the south of *Trugillo*, is *St. George*, in the rich valley of *Olancho*, whereunto the hills adjoining are lately found so full of gold mines, as that the governors of *Honduras* and *Nicaragua* have often drawn their forces into the field and fought for it, until the king of *Spain* was pleased to decide it, by adjudging it a parcel of this Province.

The chief city, forty leagues to the south, within the land, is *Valadolid*, where the governor and his officers, a bishop and his cathedral men reside, very amply provided for with all kind of provision that the goodly valleys near adjoining afford, and greatly enriched by the gold and silver mines there lately discovered.

Upon the north sea in the valley *de Naco*, every way comparable with *Valadolid*, but for unhealthfulness, four leagues severed, lyeth the haven town, *de Cavallos*, in the fifteenth degree of latitude; and between them, somewhat more to the west, are two other *Spanish* towns that yield many mules and great horses; as doth also the country about *Cavallos*, whence the name is taken.

The government of *Guatemala* and two other small provinces, *St. Salvador* and *Gulpho Dolce*, lye one after another to the south of *Honduras* toward the *South Sea*, in few places less than thirty leagues in breadth; in respect of fertility, store of cattle and grain, they come not far short of it, but much in regard of healthfulness and the temperature of air and season; they being in some months over hot, in most infested with too much rain, and, which is the usual consequence thereof, with incredible multitudes of pestilent flies, bees, hornets, scorpions, and other, tho' small, yet deadly venomous serpents.

Besides, these provinces, especially *Guatemala*, properly so called, are extraordinary subject to continual earthquakes, horrible thundring and lightning; and which is much worse, to usual breaking out of flames of fire from the sulphurous mountains, which sometimes cast them down in huge lumps, to the overwhelming of the towns and villages adjoining; but never

are

are these strange breakings out of fire, but to the great annoyance of man and beast, by the loathsome smoke and vapours that necessarily issue upon them; not without much spoil of corn and fruits, by reason of many thousand quarters of ashes, which at those times are quickly dispersed round about.

The chief city in these parts is *St. Jago de Guatemala*, fourteen degrees in latitude, ninety-three in longitude, from the meridian of *Toledo* in *Spain*; to east whereof stand *Trinidad* and *St. Salvador*, two other *Spanish* towns; the first thirty-six, the second forty leagues remote; both very convenient for trading out of the *South Sea*.

From *Nova Hispania* and *Peru*, by the port *Acapulta*, in a very safe channel, and not above five or six leagues from sea, the two most eastern towns of *Guatemala*, are *St. Miguel*, twenty-two leagues from *St. Salvador*, within two leagues of *Fonseca* bay: then *Xeres* eighteen leagues farther, near to the lake of *Nicaragua*, which having a short recourse to the sea, affordeth a good haven called *Port Possession*; between which and *Port Guatemala*, that goeth up to *St. Jago* for the space of 81 leagues, there are no other considerable havens than have been mention'd.

The havens and rivers about *Guatemala* to the west, that we may here make an end with the *South Sea* coast belonging to this government, are *Coatlán*, *Govetlán*, *Colate*, *Haztaclán*, belonging to *Soconusco*, a province extended upon the *South Sea* westward, thirty leagues long, and as many broad towards *Verapaz* and *Chiapa*, two midland provinces to the north: the inhabitants thereof not being very many, and having few *Spaniards* among them, live plentifully, by reason of the great store of cacao, a fruit like almonds, which the merchants of *Nova Hispania* fetch from thence at good rates, as being of great use and high esteem, as well with the *Spaniards* as natives inhabiting those parts, both to eat and drink, but especially to drink; it yielding a liquor exceeding wholesome and pleasant; with some composition they use, maketh it no way inferior to high-country white-wine or sherry-sack. Out of this cacao commodity in this little province, the king of *Spain* hath for tribute every year at least four hundred frayles of them, every frayle being worth thirty silver rials.

The next province to the north of *Soconusco*, and the south of *Yucatan*, having *Chiapa* province to the west, is *Verapaz*, so called, for that the natives came freely in upon the preaching of the gospel; but having so little profited therein under such covetous corrupt tutors, as they know scarce any thing aright of Christianity, and would

be very glad they could be freed from such tyrannical lords. The middle part of it is somewhat temperate, the residue is extreme hot, and extremely perplexed with mosquitos, usually swarming in other parts of the *Indies* which are hot and over-moist as these are. Neither doth the soil (by reason of eight months rain, which most an end happeneth continually) yield any store of *Indian* wheat, but little or none of ours; and yet it bringeth forth abundance of medicinal herbs, beautiful flowers and trees, most useful and profitable both for nourishment and building; but withal it harbours many wild beasts, as lions, tygers, bears, but very few for the use of man. Nor yet so far as I hear, have gold or silver mines been here discovered by the *Spaniard*.

The most western province of all *Guatemala*, bordering upon the east of *Nova Hispania*, is *Chiapa*, full forty leagues long, and almost as broad every place from south to north; in regard of over great heat and moisture, of great store of wild beasts and dangerous serpents, much like *Verapaz*; as also in respect of the innumerable profitable trees there, the fruit whereof affordeth toothsome and wholesome nourishment, the bodies special timber, the gum, which in great quantities come from them, precious balsam and sweet odours, the bark, gum and fruit, very rich materials to dye colours of the best esteem with us. But herein it far exceedeth all the provinces of *Guatemala*, in that being competently provided with grain, it doth breed and maintain great store of excellent horses, kine, sheep and swine, besides incredible variety of the best fish and fowl; only for mines it must give place to *Honduras* province.

Thus I have passed through the government of *Guatemala*; I am now come to make entry upon those provinces that appertain to the royalty of *Nova Hispania*: for the right surveying whereof, I must of necessity again fall to describe the sea-coast, so by surrounding the *Yucatan*, a long and wide peninsula, save only in the neck of it where the gulfs of *Honduras* and *Mexico* come nearest together, of no less than twenty-five leagues compass; the sailing on either side of it is dangerous, by reason of many scattering islands, rocks, shelves and sands, from the coming up again of *Honduras* gulf on the south-east of *Yucatan* to the north-east, these are very carefully to be avoided, as most pernicious, *Elbob*, *Lamanary*, *Zaratan*, *Pantoia*, *Quitazuwenbo*; which last signifieth as much as, *Now take heed*: It lyeth in the eighteenth degree of latitude, a full degree more to the north than *Guanima* isle, just opposite to *Cape Honduras*, but much of the same longitude with them; so as though the



A Map of
MEXICO or NEW SPAIN
FLORIDA now called LOUISIANA
and Part of CALIFORNIA &c.
By H. Moll Geographer.

the gulf on either side to *Yucatan* or *Honduras* be not safe to sail in, yet by the channel thereof, more than twenty leagues broad in most places, is safe and navigable. From *Quitazuwenbo* to *Cape Conche*, the most north-east of this peninsula, and nearest to the island *Cuba*, are near seventy leagues: between which comes the island *Cozumel* and many petty islands called *Mucheres*.

The north and north-west sea-coast of *Yucatan* are no less dangerous than the north-east, as being also full of sands, shallows, and rocky islands, known by the name of *Alcranes* and *Negrillos*; which though they be far remote from land, yet they make the passage dangerous to come into the best ports of *Comil* on the river *Ligartes*, on that side being themselves not very good.

From hence to the west, the continent falling down again more and more to the south for three degrees, viz from above twenty-one to eighteen all this coast, as the other, by reason of the isle of *Sans Desconfida* and *Triangulo*, and some others no less sandy, but much more rocky, is hazardous, and make *Cical* and *Telichaque*, the best havens hereabouts, to be less frequented. Neither yet is the sea-channel here adjoining so deep and free from sands, as is safe for ships of any great burden to sail in. The land within this long and wide peninsula, is for the most part neither temperate nor healthful, save only in the mountainous places; nor so much inhabited, but only to the north end of it, where standeth *Merida* the chief town about twelve leagues from sea, the governour and bishops abode, accompanied with an hundred *Spanish* families. Another is *Valadolid*, thirty-one leagues to the east of *Merida*, where a great monastery of *Franciscans* standeth, and where the natives of the region adjoining are said far to exceed all others, being at least fifty thousand.

A third town fifty leagues to the west of *Merida*, is *Campeche*, where captain *Parker*, our countryman, anno 1596, with some hazard, but greater honour seiz'd, in fight of all the inhabitants, upon a ship laden with gold and silver and other rich commodities, and brought her away, tho' they made all the resistance possibly they could.

A fourth town is *Salamancha* in the neck of this peninsula, not much differing in respect of longitude, though nearer a degree in latitude from *Port Real*; it belongeth to the province of *Tabasco*, of which I will say no more, but that it is very slenderly inhabited, tho' yet it be of large extent, no less than forty leagues, bordering upon the *North Sea*, called the *Gulph of Mexico*, as many in breadth towards the south, ad-

joyning to the province *Verapaz* and *Chiapa*; the reasons whereof given by authors are that this country is as intemperate and unwholsome as any other thereabouts, and affordeth but slender sustentation, and but few merchantable commodities. The only *Spanish* town in this province is called *Senora Victoria*, in remembrance of the great victory here obtain'd by *Cortesi*, the over prosperous, because the over cruel subduer of this and all the country hereabout.

The next province to the south is *Chiapa*, much upon the same breadth and length; whereof also little is to be said, but that it is more pleasant and healthful, more abounding with the rare, though usual fruit of *Nova Hispania*; and which is much more useful and profitable, it is well stored with horses, neat, sheep and swine; the horses are of such an excellent breed, as they are sent for as far as *Mexico*, the metropolis of *Nova Hispania*, no less than two hundred leagues distant. Here are likewise many eagles and other fowls of prey, that now live upon such wholsome and toothsome fowl, as may be better employed for man's sustentation, and by their means more easily taken. *Ximenes* maketh mention of one monstrous bird, having one foot like a goose, and the other like a falcon, that liveth by prey taken both in the water and air. There are in *Chiapa* many natives distinguish'd by the names of *Zoques*, *Zeltales*, *Quelenes*, and *Secaulands*; and among either of these there are many villages well inhabited. The only *Spanish* town of note is *Ciudad Reall*, seventy leagues to the north-east of *Guatimala*, and as many from *Senora* in *Tabasco*.

From *Chiapa* westward, followeth the bishoprick of *Guaxaca*, whereunto the provinces of *Miseca*, *Tucepeque*, *Zapoteca*, and *Guazacoalco* are annexed, which take up all the continent between both seas. From the great river *Guazacoalco* unto the river *Alvarde* on the north side, distant the one from the other fifty leagues.

As much more from *Tecoantepeque*, a small port, to *Tequanapa* a safe haven in the wide and deep river *Onatepec*, between which lyeth the famous port of *Agutulco*, taken with much treasure by Sir *Francis Drake*, anno 1578, and by captain *Candish* 1586. This bishoprick, with the provinces annex'd, are in the general, though mountainous, very fertile and healthful, but the valley of *Guaxaca* (that *Cortesi* the conqueror of this country and the regions thereabout chose for his inheritance) doth exceed imagination in regard of fertility both of grass and cattle, corn and pleasant fruits, fish and fowl. Besides that, it containeth in it many gold and silver mines, much cochineal and silk: strong incitements

incitements to make it so fully inhabited as it is both with *Spaniards* and natives; the natives being reported to exceed an hundred and fifty thousand. And though *Mistica* and the other annexed provinces, be not every way so beneficially accommodated, yet are they so well provided with necessaries, streams abounding with golden oar, small pieces of gold washed from the mountains, and other merchantable commodities, that they, also, are well stored with inhabitants: of whom this is very remarkable, that they use the *Jewish* ceremonies, in particular, circumcision, which they affirm to have received from their ancestors.

The chief *Spanish* town there is *Ante-guerra*, standing in the heart of the afore-said incomparable valley. *Zapotecas*, and *Nixapa*, two other towns, fall short of it full twenty leagues, the one to the north-east, the other south east. *Agapulco*, a great haven town upon the south sea, standeth directly to the south, somewhat more than thirty leagues. The bishoprick of *Tlascula*, is next to *Guaxaca*, more to the north west, though extended also through the whole continent from sea to sea, no less than an hundred leagues in length, in breadth to the south-sea but eighteen, where we read of no haven of note but to the north sea, here called the gulph of *Mexico*, being full eighty leagues: there fall many rivers convenient for ships to harbour, lade and unlade; as namely, the rivers *de Banderas*, and *Zempoal*, *Almeria*, *St. Peters*, *St. Paul's* and *de los Cazon*. The first *Banderas*, being within five leagues of the famous river *Alucrado* in *Guaxaca*; the last not above three leagues from the river *Panuco*, in the province of *Panuco*; which two differ full four degrees in latitude; but the only ports of note, and now of use with the *Spaniard* are *Vera Cruz* and *St. Juan Ullua*, both very convenient and strongly defended; but the latter, as being somewhat more healthful, and coming up to the town, with sufficient water to bear ships of greatest burden, is at this present of greatest employment and therefore every day more and more fortified by the *Spaniard*. Sir *John Hawkins* in the year 1568 came into this haven, where he found twenty two *Spanish* ships, richly laden, which though he might have certainly seized upon, yet he condescended to mean conditions, whereof the chief was the victualling of his ships; yet neither that, nor any of the other were performed, but they, with a new navy from *Spain*, falling upon him unexpectedly, after agreement made, put him so to it, as he had much ado unvictualled, with two ships only to escape, and for want of provision was enforced to set one hundred of his men on land, who all perished, either by the inhumanity of the savages who killed and

eat them, or through the cruelty of the *Spaniard*, who, to revenge themselves under the pretence of religion, put them to death.

This large bishoprick of *Tlascula*, with the provinces annexed, do, as others, differ much in respect of temperature and fertility; the temperature and fertility arising not so much from the farther or nearer approach to the zodiack, as from the mountains and valleys, the mountainous parts in many places eight leagues over, being temperately cold and less fertile; the valleys, whereof here are many, *Atlixco* and *St. Paul's* being chief, exceedingly fruitful, but over hot. I make no question but that here, also, are some rich mines, though as yet few have been discovered; but of this I am well assured, that the native inhabitants are here more than usually to be found in any place, whose conversion to the true knowledge of Christ, ought in the first place to be considered by us.

The *Spanish* towns of note here, to take them as we pass from east to west, are *Sigura*, and the two haven towns, of which I spoke before, all three strongly and stately built, as also well provided with pleasant and profitable fields round about them. In the bishoprick itself standeth *Rubla los Angelos*, in the valley of *Atlixco*, inhabited with fifteen hundred *Spanish* families, now the chief city where the bishop resideth. Twenty two leagues from the metropolis of *Nova Hispania*, and within a little of the twentieth degree of north latitude, between which, *Mexico* more to the north west, intervene *Guaxacing* and old *Clascala*, from whence all the government hath its name.

And now we are to come unto the heart of *Nova Hispania*, even to the great city *Mexico*, the center of the archbishoprick, from whence it is denominated, and upon which government, under the command of the viceroy, all the rest depend. As it lieth to the west of *Tlascula*, so it hath to the north the wide province of *Panuco*, to the west and north west *Mecoacan*, of as large extent; the length of this arch-government is taken from the inland confines of *Panuco*, to the south-sea, where it is in breadth but eighteen leagues, though yet to the north it be reckoned at sixty: in which large tract of ground there are many petty provinces, now known rather by their names than dominions: it may therefore suffice only to name them, with some small touch of what they have in peculiar.

To the north of it are *Lateotalpa*, wherein lieth the rich silver mine of *Puchuca*, fourteen leagues from *Mexico*; then *Meslitalan*, a country abounding with allum and iron: then *Tula*, whereunto belongeth another silver mine called *Guaxanato*, sixty leagues

leagues remote; all three well provided of all necessary provisions for life, and affording many merchantable commodities.

To the north-east, the provinces of *Panpautlat* and *Tupax* are neither healthful, by reason of the excessive heat, nor much inhabited, in regard that lying so level with the sea, the many creeks which come from thence maketh the country adjoining barren and unuseful, fit only to breed innumerable swarms of *Musquitos*, a kind of pestilent flies, which as they are rife in many other places of the *West-Indies*, so are they here exceeding troublesome to the inhabitants.

The lake of *Mexico*, in the surrounding bosom whereof the city standeth to the north, being more than eight leagues in length, and in most places five in breadth, is on every side well planted and well inhabited: *Culula*, as is reported, consisting of twenty-thousand families; *Xztacapulpa* of ten thousand, some others four or five thousand. A strong argument to believe the regions round about to be exceeding fertile. Eight leagues to the south of *Mexico*, beyond the lake, is *Zalateco*, where is a plentiful silver mine; as are, also, *Tasco* twenty two, and *Zumpango* forty leagues to the south. Beyond which yet more to the south, eighty leagues from the metropolis, somewhat above seventeen degrees of north latitude lieth *Acapulco*, the most famous port belonging to the south-sea.

Of all *America*, concerning the city of *Mexico* itself, it may suffice to know that it is the greatest and richest of all this new world; standing, as was formerly noted, upon the north side of the lake, about the twentieth degree of latitude, and according to *Herera* one hundred and thirty in longitude, from the meridian of *Toledo*, no less than one thousand seven hundred forty leagues distant the one from the other. It consisteth, according to the relation of *Cortesi*, who first conquered it, of three streets, whereof the least to the west is a mile and half, a second to the north is three, the greatest to the south is full two leagues in length, it is credibly reported to be now inhabited with four thousand *Spaniards*, and thirty thousand natives, a small proportion in respect of what was formerly related. But then it is now far better built and beautified, with a stately cathedral, many churches, monasteries and schools for learning.

The temperature of this city differeth little from the regions adjacent, in the moist months annoyed with too much rain, in the dry, which are *November*, *December*, *January*, *February*, and *March*, much more infested with dust; that, being raised by sudden whirlwinds, getteth up in-

to their nostrils, and produceth many diseases, especially fevers.

There are yet two other things here very observable: First, that this great city, either through the negligence or avarice of the viceroy and his officers, in not dispensing what was yearly allowed for repairing the mounds of the lake, was in the year one thousand six hundred twenty nine miserably overflown, to the drowning of many thousand inhabitants, and to the loss of the greatest and best part of their household stuff and other goods, which were either driven away or corrupted by the waters.

A second thing here to be noted is, that this last year, as it was constantly reported in *London*, the viceroy of *Mexico*, and with him all *Nova Hispania* were revolted, and in open rebellion against the king of *Spain*, which if it shall, as yet it is verily believed, prove true, it will be of high concernment to this nation, or any other, into whose hearts it shall please God, to put an effectual desire of dispossessing the *Spaniard* of his usurped stewardship, so unfaithfully employed, in respect of the sincere promoting of the gospel, in the purity thereof, and so tyrannically exercised, in regard of incredible oppressions, rapines, and murders there, as their own authors confess, inhumanly committed by them.

Now for the two other greater provinces under the command of *Mexico* government; *Panuco* to the north, and *Mecoacan* to the south west, I will briefly set down so much as is of any concernment to be known.

That part of *Panuco*, which is said to be both in length and breadth fifty leagues, toward the archbishoprick of *Mexico*, is very habitable and fertile, and in times past of great note for silver mines, that are now thought to be near exhausted; but the other part which bendeth to the north east, for fifty leagues to *Florida*; so far as it is yet discovered, is found overgrown with woods and barren. The *Spanish* towns here are not greatly inhabited; besides *Panuco*, itself, by them called *St. Stephen*, are saint *Jago*, twenty five leagues to the west, and *Lewis de Tampice*, eight to the north, not far from the gulph of *Mexico*. The most western province belonging to the *Mexico* government is *Mecoacan*, lying between *Mexico* and the provinces of *Galacia*, bending into the continent towards the north, sixty, and being bounded to the south, by the south-sea full eighty leagues; whereunto belong the port town called *Zacatulca*, thirty leagues from *Acapulco*, then saint *Jago* and *Malaccan*, fifty more from thence to the north-west. There are belonging to this large province,

two other little ones, *Taximaroa*, within thirty leagues of *Mexico*, and *Colima* to the southwest, upon the confines of *Galæcia*, fifty leagues from *Valadolid*, the chief city of *Mecoachan*.

This *Colima* is constantly reported to be very healthful, apt for grain and cattle, but abounding with the choicest fish and fruit, and not without some gold mines, though it hath more brass, which is there so common, that since the *Spaniards* coming thither, they make all those instruments of brass, that we usually make of iron. And though this south-west part be the best of all, yet is there none, unless high to the north, not yet so fully discovered, but is as rich, and every way as convenient to be inhabited.

Besides *Valadolid*, which the natives call *Guagaugareo*, standing upon a great lake as big as that of *Mexico*: there are many other *Spanish* towns of note; first *Leon* very famous for the golden mines that have been found about it, then *Salaya*, *St. Miguel*, and *St. Philippo*, up to the north, both of *Mexico*, and *Valadolid*; though between them bending still westward, all built by the viceroys, many leagues distant the one from the other, of great use to secure the vast treasure which is constantly conveyed from the most plentiful silver mines of *Eleretia*, and many other, of which hereafter, against the *Pocacars*, the most barbarous of all savages, who live as wild men in woods, and cannot as yet be brought under by the *Spaniard*, though yet it hath been long endeavoured, not without great loss on either side.

GALÆCIA.

I Am now come to *Nova Galæcia*, to the west of *Mecoachan*, bounded to the west with the sea of *California*, but to the north and north west, though large and spacious countries are discovered, yet it is concluded by the learned in this kind, that there resteth much more to be discovered.

This government hath annexed unto it, divers others provinces, *Guaidalaia*, *Xalisco*, *Zacatecas*, *Chiametla*, *Biscaia*; as also *California*, *Cibola*, *Quivira* and *Nova Mexico*, of which when I have briefly spoken, you have all that I thought fit in so short a compendium, to communicate touching the northern *America*.

Guaidalaia, the principal and most southern province of *Galæcia*, is bounded to the east with some parts of the provinces of *Mexico* and *Mecoachan*; to the west with *Xalisco*; to the north with *Zacatecas*, where the most plentiful silver mines

are thought to begin; but of late it is found that about *Guaidalaia* the chief, and indeed the only town here, there are more plentiful silver mines, were they, as the other, so well searched, which for want of men they have not as yet been discovered. And it is further to be observed, that this inland province, is for temperature and fruitfulness in most respects second to none. *Xalisco* is to the west of *Guaidalaia*, upon that sea-coast called *mare pacificum*, that is the still sea. The only thing of observation here is an herb, which the natives call *Curcas*, highly extolled by *Monardes* the great herbalist, to be of singular use against most diseases.

Cametla likewise lyeth upon the same sea-coast, but a degree or two higher to the north: the great store of inhabitants which *Herera* mentioneth to have been there, shew it to be fertile: and *Ybara*, who in the year 1554, built *St. Sebastian*, the only *Spanish* town there, found many silver mines, and of late more hath been discovered.

Culcacan, a degree more to the north, bending to the west and coasting upon the foresaid sea, was found out by *Nonnius Gusmanus*, who anno 1531, did build a town, there called *Del Esperito Santo*. This province, as the former, is very fruitful and rich in silver mines; the women here are reported to be very comely and beautiful, and to go modestly attired, a thing not usual in these countries.

Cinaloa yet four degrees further to the north in the full extent of it towards the west, was discovered by the same *Gusmanus*; but I do not read of any thing (which after his long travels and search) was worth his labour: The maritime places belonging to these provinces in north latitude, of no less extent, than from the 19th to the 27th degree, are cape de *Corientes*, at the turning of the continent, then port de *Singuipaque*, upon the 22d degree, then *St. Sebastian* in *Chametla*, *St. Miguel* in *Culica*, the rivers de *Pascua* and *Petatlan* in *Cinaloa*, still higher to the north.

California, though it be esteemed to be of very large extent, yet hath it not been as yet discovered. Sir *Francis Drake* in his admirable happy voyage, compassing the world, fell upon it, (and was from such savages as there inhabiting, more kindly entertained than he expected) he took possession thereof in the name of the queen of *England*: a good presage, that the most remote parts being seized upon, the rest shall be possessed by us, in his good time who is the only disposer of the earth.

The inland provinces, *Zacatacas*, *Topia* and *Nova Biscaya*, lying between the *Californian* sea and the upper part of the gulph

gulf of *Mexico*: between *Cullacan* and *Panuco*, of the same latitude upon the tropick of *Cancer*, and between *Cinaloa* and the river *Escondido*, four degrees higher to the north, near the 28th degree of the north latitude, contain much ground, more rich than any, in regard of the many silver mines, but yet poorer than any, in regard of the small sustentation they afford for the life of man. *Ybara*, employed by *Velasco*, anno 1554, discovered in the province of *Zacatecas*, five exceeding rich silver mines, one that is known by the name of the province, forty leagues from *Guadalaajara*; then those of *Ellerena*, *St. Martin*, *Avinno*, and *Dios*, which last being near to the rising of the river *Panuco*, at least an hundred leagues from the north sea, is somewhat fertile. The abundant store of treasure taken forth of these rich mines, may be guessed at by the six hundred *Spaniards*, who are here continually employed in digging, and by the tax of the fifth part, amounting to fifty thousand pounds yearly. The other mines belonging to *Topia* and *Biscaia*, *Eudede*, *Barbara* and *Juan*, afford as much treasure and better provision for life.

Cibola, *Quivira*, and *Nova Mexico*, three other provinces, are yet much more to the north by many degrees. From the most southern parts of *Cibola* to the most northern of *Nova Mexico*, not less than fifteen, so as they must needs be of a very large extent, the longitude being considered with the latitude. But the relations of these most western north parts of *America*, are so variously reported and so contradicted, as little can here be set down for certain.

A Friar, *Marke de Niza*, in relation to the viceroy, telleth wonders concerning the riches, the stately buildings, the most pleasant inviting habitations in *Cibola*. But *Vasquius de Cornado*, who thereupon was presently sent away to make a further discovery with one hundred fifty horse, and two hundred foot, finding nothing worth his great travail and cost, certified so much to the viceroy, with an ample expression of his, and his soldiers detestation of the friars feigned relation.

Quivira, which *Gomara* and *Herera* likewise, place in the fortieth degree of the north latitude, is by both said to be barren and not much inhabited. The greatest riches here that serve to feed and cloath, and carry them, are infinite numbers of beasts, resembling in regard of their greatness our greatest horse and oxen, and their pells, are said, to afford wool not inferior to some of ours.

Nova Mexico, is, as I said, placed yet many degrees more to the north-west; of

which, unless I would endeavour to delude the reader, to write little or nothing is to write best. *Gonsalez de Mendoca*, in a little narrative printed at *Madrid*, anno 1589, maketh a strange relation of what had been lately performed by one *Augustinus Ruyz*, one of his own more hollow than holy fraternity, how by his powerful preaching to savages, not much inferior to his founder *St. Francis*, who is said to preach to wild beasts, converted instantly two great provinces of *Nova Mexico*, *Conchi* and *Tiguria*; but withal, he confesseth that for the killing of a zealous, it might more truly be said of a foolish, over venturous fryar, amongst men, who in regard of the knowledge of Christ, are but beasts, one *Anthomius de Espiro*, I cannot think him to be inspired with any better spirit than that of the *anticrist* of *Rome*, made slaughter of more than forty-thousand poor, silly, ignorant *Indians*, who had never learned to distinguish what their hollow fathers were better than other cruel, merciless *Spaniards*.

He telleth us of many thousands converted to the christian faith by the preaching of fryars, no better inspired than was the foresaid *Anthomius*. A strange thing that a few ignorant friars should do more in a few days, than all their *Spanish* clergy did in one hundred and seventy years in places far nearer.

He telleth us, also, as doth his brother *de Benevides*, in a more late narrative, of the conquering of *Peri*, *Tebe*, *Queres*, *Tompies*, and many more feigned provinces of *Nova Mexico*, and of the exceeding progress of the faith in those parts; all which, and many more their incredible expressions, are fit to be cast off, being in all probability but the subtle fictions of *Spanish* and *Popish* factors, who, like travellers, take liberty to lie, and like lapwings, to divert and carry us from those known places, as are every way convenient for habitation, and yield such incredible yearly revenue to the *Spanish* king, monarch, who would be, of christendom, that all the reformed churches of christendom, for the present extremely bleed for it, witness *England* and *Ireland*, which are now set on fire, and ready to perish, unless the great God of heaven and earth be pleased to put in and redeem both, from the most detestable imaginations, and most bloody contrivements of *Spanish* pensioners, the pope's grand engineers, who have captivated our king, and seek to undo the whole kingdom, that they may have their yearly three or four thousand pound pensions continued.

But

But he that dwelleth on high, seeth and laugheth their wicked counsels to scorn, and I doubt not but the wisdom of this present parliament, inspired and assisted from above, will find out these wicked men, the prime troublers of our church and kingdom, and bring them here to condign punishment.

Which I have good cause confidently to believe, because they are so forward and

zealous, as appeareth by a late ordinance to propagate the gospel in *America*, the only best way to continue it here in the purity and power of it, which is and shall be my constant prayer to God, for these so extremely distressed churches and kingdoms.

The southern description of *America*, God permitting, shall shortly be set forth in another book.

T O T H E

MOST HIGH AND HONOURABLE

COURT of PARLIAMENT

NOW ASSEMBLED;

The Humble PETITION of WILLIAM CASTELL,
Parson of *Courtenhall* in *Northamptonshire*, for the Propagating of the Gospel in *America*,

IN all humble manner sheweth unto your approv'd wisdoms, the great and general neglect of this kingdom, in not propagating the glorious gospel in *America*, a main part of the world: indeed, the undertaking of the work is, in the general, acknowledged pious and charitable, but the small prosecution that hath hitherto been made of it, either by us or others, having as yet never been generally undertaken in pity to mens souls, but in hopes to possess the Land of those infidels, or of gain by commerce, may well make this and all other Christian kingdoms confess, they have been exceeding remiss, in performing this so religious, so great, so necessary a work.

May it, therefore, please your wisdoms, to give your petitioner leave to propose briefly, (as the nature of a petition requireth) the more than ordinary piety and

charity of the work; the evident necessity, and benefit of undertaking, together with the easiness of effecting.

A greater expression of piety, your petitioner conceiveth, there cannot be, than to make God known where he was never spoken nor thought of, to advance the scepter of Christ's kingdom; and now again to reduce those, who at first were created after the image of God from the manifest worship of devils, to acknowledge and adore the blessed Trinity in unity. To do this, is to be happy instruments of effecting those often repeated promises of God, in making all nations bless'd by the coming of Christ, and by sending his word to all lands: it is to enlarge greatly the pale of the Church. And to make those, who were the most detestable synagogues of *Satan*) delightful temples of the Holy Ghost.

It was a high point of piety in the queen of the south, to come from the utmost parts of the world to hear the wisdom of *Solomon*: and so it was in *Abraham* to leave his native country for the better and more free service of his God.

And certainly it will be esteemed no less in those, who, either in their persons or purses) shall religiously endeavour to make millions of those silly seduced *Americans*, to hear, understand, and practise the mystery of Godliness.

And as is the piety, such is the charity of the work, exceeding great, to no less than the immortal souls of innumerable men, who will sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, continually assaulted and devoured by the dragon, whose greatest delight is to bring others with himself into the same irrecoverable gulf of perdition. What those blind and spiritual distress'd *Americans* are, we were, and so had continued had not apostolical men afforded greater charity unto us, *Divisis orbe Britannis*, by long journeying (and not without great hazard of their lives) than as yet hath been shewed by us unto them.

We are not indeed indued with such eminent extraordinary gifts as were the primitive Christians; but yet, if it be duly considered, how fully and how purely God hath imparted his gospel unto this island; how miraculously he hath lately protected us from *Spanish* invasions and popish conspiracies; how, at this time, we abound in shipping, and all manner of provision for sea: it will be found, that we, of all nations, are most for the work, and most engaged to do it in due thankfulness to God.

Nor is the arm of the Lord shortened, or his wonted bounty so restrained, but that undertaking the voyage principally for God's glory, and in compassion to mens souls, we may expect a more than an ordinary blessing from him, whose usual custom is to honour those that honour him, and most abundantly even in this life, to recompense such religious undertakings.

The *Spaniard* boasteth much of what he hath already done in this kind; but their own authors report their unchristian behaviour, especially their monstrous cruelties to be such, as they caused the infidels to detest the name of Christ. Your wisdoms may judge of the lion by his claw. In one of their islands called *Hispaniola*, of 2,000,000 of men, as *Benzo*, in his *Italian* history, affirmeth, they had not left 150 souls: and *Lipsius* justly complaineth, that wheresoever they came, they cut down men as they did corn without any compassion. And as for those that survived, they bought their lives at dear rates, for they put them to bear their carriages from

place to place; and if they failed by the way, they either miserably dismembered or killed them outright. They lodged them like brute beasts under the planks of their ships, till their flesh rotted from their backs; and if any failed in the full performance of his daily task, he was sure to be whipped till his body distilled with gore blood, and then poured they in either molten pitch or scalding oil to supple him.

A very strange and unlikely way to work infidels unto the faith, neither yet could they, if they would, impart unto others the gospel in the truth and purity thereof, who have it not themselves but very corruptly, accompanied with many idle, absurd, idolatrous inventions of their own, which are but as so many superstructures wickedly oppressing, if not utterly subverting the very foundations of Christianity.

And although some of the reformed religion, *English, Scotch, French, and Dutch*, have already taken up their habitations in those parts, yet hath their going thither as yet been to small purpose, for the converting of those nations, either for that they have placed themselves but in the skirts of *America*, where there are but few natives, as those of *New England*, or else for want of able and conscionable ministers, as in *Virginia*, they themselves are become exceeding rude, more likely to turn heathen, than to turn others to the Christian faith.

Besides, there is little or no hope our plantations there should be of any long continuance, since here in *England*, for some years last past, they have been rather diversly hindered than any ways furthered, how and by whom, your wisdoms either have, or will shortly find out: but this is evident, that the proud superstitious *Spaniard* (who hateth their religion, and feareth their neighbourhood) will spare them no longer than, to his over-swelling greatness, shall seem good: and in the judgment of most judicious travellers that way, they may, if they will, easily enough suppress and destroy all other our plantations, as they did of late that of *St. Christophers*, when they were no way provoked by us, as they will now pretend they are by a later taking of *Trinidado*, and the loss of more than 150 of their men there. At least they will be sure to be desperately assaulted, as was the isle of *Providence*, but the year last past.

Whence your petitioner offereth unto your honourable considerations a third argument, drawn from meer necessity, that as you tender the happy proceeding of those, as yet, but weakly settled plantations; the liberties, livelihood, and lives of many thousands our dear brethren and countrymen; and, which is yet more, the prosperous progress of the gospel, you

would be pleased to consult of such an able and speedy supply as may secure them against the now expected cruelty of the *Spaniard*.

To which needful supply, the better and sooner to induce your wisdoms, your petitioner desireth your yet a little further patience until he hath shewed some temporal benefits, that are thereby like to accrue unto this kingdom, together with the easiness of effecting.

When a kingdom beginneth to be overburthened with a multitude of people (as *England* and *Scotland* now do) to have a convenient place where to send forth colonies is no small benefit: and such are the north-east and north-west parts of *America*, between the degrees of 25 and 45 of the north latitude, which at this time do even offer themselves unto us, to be protected by us, against the known cruelty of the over near approaching *Spaniard*.

A very large tract of ground containing spacious, healthful, pleasant and fruitful countries, not only apt, but already provided of all things necessary for man's sustentation, corn, grasse, and wholesome cattle in good competency: but fish, fowl, fruits, and herbs in abundant variety.

If we should look no further than the south of *Virginia*, which is our own, we shall find there all manner of provision for life; besides merchantable commodities, silk, vines, cotton, tobacco, deer-skins, goat-skins, rich furr, and beavers good store; timber, brasse, iron, pitch, tar, rosin, and almost all things necessary for shipping, which, if they shall be employ'd that way, they who are sent away, may (with God's blessing) within short time, in due recompence of their setting forth, return this kingdom store of silver and gold, pearls, and precious stones; for undoubtedly (if there be not a general mistake in all authors who have written of these places) such treasure is to be had; if not there, yet in places not far remote, where as yet, the *Spaniard* hath nothing to do. And in case, the *Spaniard* will be troublesome to our plantations, or shall (as it is generally conceived) be found an enemy to this kingdom; there is no way more likely to secure *England*, than by having a strong navy there; hereby we may come to share, if not utterly to defeat him of that vast *Indian* treasure, wherewith he setteth on fire so great a part of the Christian world, corrupteth many counsellors of state, supporteth the papacy, and generally perplexeth all reformed churches.

Nor need any scrupulous query be made, whether we may not assault an enemy in any place, or not esteem them such, as shall assault us in those places, where

we have as much to do as they. The *Spaniard* claimeth indeed an interest, little less than hereditary in almost all *America* and the *West-Indies*; but it is but by virtue of the popes grant, which is nothing worth, as was long since determined by queen *Elizabeth* and her council; so as for the *Spaniard* to debar us in the liberty of our plantations, or freedom of commerce in those spacious countries, were over proudly to take upon him; and for us to permit it, were over-much to yield of our own right.

Especially when we may, as now we may, so easily help ourselves: for your petitioner conceiveth, there is no great difficulty in the preparation here, or tediousness in the passage thither, or hazard when we come there. The preparation of men and shipping, in respect of the daily happy expected accord between us and the *Scots*, is (upon the matter) already made. And as for money, it is in the power of this honourable house to give sufficient, without any grievance, or dislike of the common-wealth; who (undoubtedly) in the general, will think nothing grievous which shall be concluded by your wisdoms, expedient to such a pious and charitable work.

And as for the passage, how can it be thought either tedious or dangerous, it being ordinarily but six weeks sail, in a sea much more secure from pirates, and much more free from shipwreck and enemies coast, than our ten or twelve months voyage into the *East-Indies*. And as for our good success there, we need not fear it. The natives being now every where more than ever, out of an inveterate hatred to the *Spaniard*, ready and glad to entertain us. Our best friends the *Netherlanders*, being with eight and twenty ships gone before to assist and further us. And which is much more, our going with a general consent in God's cause, for the promoting of the gospel, and enlarging of his church, may assure us of a more than ordinary protection and direction. That hitherto we have been less successful in our voyages that way, we may justly impute it to this, that as yet, they have not been undertaken with such a general consent, and with such a full reference to God's glory as was requisite.

And so your petitioner, having delivered his apprehension herein, more briefly than so weighty a matter might well require, he submits all the premises to your more full deliberation and conclusion; which he humbly prayeth, may be with all convenient speed; the only best way under God to make it the better successful.

WILLIAM CASTELL,

We

We whose names are here under-written, having been upon occasion, acquainted with a motion intended to be made by Mr. *William Castell*, parson of *Courtenball*, in the county of *Northampton*, to the high and honourable court of parliament now assembled, concerning the propagation of the glorious gospel of Christ in *America*. And as we do well approve of the motion; so we do humbly desire his reasons may be duly considered: and so good a work furthered, their wiser judgments may resolve upon, to which we humbly submit the same. *John Moseley*, D. D. *R. Brownricke*, D. D. *Thomas Bambrig*, D. D. *Robert Sanderson*, D. D. *Richard Alleyne*, D. D. *Daniel Featly*, D. D. *Matthius Styles*, D. D. *Edmond Stanton*, D. D. *Stephen Denison*, D. D. *Edward Willimot*, D. D. *Jonatban Brown*, D. D. *Jasper Fisher*, D. D. *Hannibal Potter*, D. D. *Anthony Clapton*, D. D. *Thomas Drayton*, D. D. *John Grant*, D. D.

Ministers of London.

George Walker, *James Palmer*, *Edward Malbury*, *Joseph Caryll*, *Edmond Calamy*, *Adoniram Byfield*, *William Price*, *Richard Maden*, *James Batty*, *Matthew Griffith*, *Ephraim Paget*, *Robert Pory*, *William Janeway*, *Nathaniel Barry*.

Ministers of several other counties.

John White, *Dorsetshire*. *William Ford*, *John Pyns*, *Somersetshire*. *Zachary Caudry*, *Leicestershire*. *Henry Painter*, *Devonshire*. *Stephen Marshall*, *Samuel Joyner*, *Essex*. *John Ward*, *Suffolk*. *Jeremiab Burroughs*, *Norfolk*. *John Rawlinson*, *Derby*. *Moses Capell*, *William Rbet*, *Kent*. *Francis Charliot*, *Richard Gifford*, *Buckinghamshire*. *William Englesby*, *Hertford*.

Other worthy Ministers of the diocese of *Peterborough*, where the petitioner liveth.

Daniel Caudery, *Jeremy Whittaker*, *John Barry*, *James Cranford*, *Samuel Craddock*, *David Ensme*, *Edmund Castell*, *Samuel Male*, *Daniel Rogers*, *Benjamin Tomkins*, *Richard Cook*, *Richard Trueman*, *John Guderick*, *William Spencer*, *Edmund James*, *John Baynard*, *George Jay*, *Francis Presse*, *Miles Berket*, *Francis Atterbury*, *Jeremy Stephens*, *John Ward*, *Peter Fawtratt*, *William Malkinson*.

The motion made by Mr. *William Castell*, minister of the gospel, for propagating of the blessed evangel of Christ our lord and saviour, in *America*; we conceive in the general to be most pious, christian and charitable: and therefore worthy to be seriously considered of all that love the glorious name of Christ, and are zealous of the salvation of souls, which are without Christ, and without God in the world, wishing the opportunity and fit season, the instruments and means, and all things necessary for the prosecution of so pious a work, to be considered by the wisdoms of churches and civil powers; whom God hath called, and enabled with piety, prudence, and policy, for matters of publick concernment, and of so great importance; and beseeching the Lord to bless all their consultations and proceedings, for the advancing and establishing the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

Alexander Henderson.
Robert Blare.
R. Bailly.
M. Gallaspie.
N. Smith.
M. Borthrick.

A N

O R D I N A N C E

O F T H E

L O R D S and C O M M O N S

A S S E M B L E D i n P A R L I A M E N T :

W H E R E B Y

ROBERT Earl of *Warwick* is made Governor in Chief, and Lord High Admiral of all those Islands and Plantations, inhabited, planted, or belonging to any of His Majesty's the King of *England*'s Subjects, within the Bounds, and upon the Coasts of *America*.

And a Committee appointed to be assisting unto him, for the better Governing, Strengthening, and Preservation of the said Plantations; but chiefly for the Advancement of the true Protestant Religion, and farther spreading of the Gospel of Christ, among those that yet remain there, in great and miserable Blindness and Ignorance.

WHEREAS many thousands of the natives and good subjects of this kingdom of *England*, through the oppression of the prelates, and other ill affected ministers, and officers of state; have of late years, to their grief and miserable hardship, been enforced to transplant themselves and their families into several islands, and other remote and desolate parts of the *West-Indies*: and having there through exceeding great labour and industry, (with the blessing of God) obtained for themselves and their families, some competent and convenient means of maintenance and subsistence; so that they are now in a reasonable well settled condition. But fearing least the outrageous malice of papists, and other ill affected persons, should reach unto them in their poor and low, (but as yet peaceable condition) and having been informed, that there hath been lately procured from his majesty, several grants under the great seal, for erecting some new governors and commanders amongst the said planters in their afore-mentioned plantations: whereupon the said planters, adventurers, and owners of land in the said foreign plantations, have preferred their petition unto this present parliament; that for the better securing of them, and their present estates there obtained, through so much extream labour and difficulty; they might have some such governors and government, as should be approved of, and confirmed by the authority of both houses of parliament. Which petition of theirs, the lords and commons have taken into consideration; and finding it of great importance, both to the safety and preservation of the aforesaid natives and subjects of this kingdom, as well from all foreign invasions and oppressions, as from their own intestinedistractions and disturbances, as also much tending to the honour and advantage of his majesty's dominions, have thought fit, and do hereby constitute and ordain, *Robert* earl of *Warwick* governor in chief, and lord high admiral of all those islands, and other plantations, inhabited, planted, or belonging to any his majesty's the king of *England*'s subjects; or which hereafter may be inhabited, planted, or belonging to them within the bounds, and upon the coasts of *America*. And for the more effectual, speedier, and easier transaction of this so weighty and important a business, which concerns the well-being and preservation of so many of the distressed natives, of this, and other his majesty's dominions; the lords and commons have thought fit, that *Philip* earl of *Pembroke*, *Edward* earl of *Manchester*, *William* viscount

count Say and Seale, Philip lord Wharton, John lord Roberts, members of the house of peers; Sir Gilbert Gerard, knight and baronet, Sir Arthur Haslerig, baronet, Sir Henry Vane, junior, knight, Sir Benjamin Rudyer, knight, John Pym, Oliver Cromwell, Dennis Bond, Miles Corbet, Cornelius Holland, Samuel Vassal, John Rolles, and William Spurstow, esquires, members of the house of commons; shall be commissioners to join in aid and assistance with the said earl of Warwick, chief governor and admiral of the said plantations: which chief governor, together with the said commissioners, or any four of them, shall hereby have power and authority, to provide for, order and dispose, all things which they shall from time to time, find most fit and advantageous to the well-governing, securing, strengthening, and preserving of the said plantations; and chiefly to the preservation and advancement of the true protestant religion amongst the said planters, inhabitants; and the further enlargement and spreading of the gospel of Christ, amongst those that yet remain there in great and miserable blindness and ignorance. And for the better advancement of this so great a work; it is hereby further ordained by the said lords and commons, that the aforesaid governor and commissioners, shall hereby have power and authority, upon all weighty and important occasions, which may concern the good and safety of the aforesaid planters, to call unto their advice and assistance therein, any other of the aforesaid planters, owners of land, or inhabitants of the said islands and plantations, which shall then be within twenty miles of the place where the said commissioners shall then be; and shall have power and authority to send for, view, and make use of all such records, books and papers, which do, or may concern any of the said plantations. And because, the well-settling and establishing of such officers and governors, as shall be laborious and faithful in the right governing of all such persons as be resident in, or upon the said plantations, and due ordering and disposing of all such affairs as concern the safety and welfare of the same, is of very great advantage to the publick good of all such remote and new plantations.

It is thereby further ordained and decreed, that the said Robert earl of Warwick, governor in chief, and admiral of the said plantations, together with the aforesaid commissioners, Philip earl of Pembroke, Edward earl of Manchester, William viscount Say and Seal, Philip lord Wharton, John lord Roberts, Sir Gilbert Gerard, knight and baronet, Sir Arthur Haslerig, baronet, Sir Henry Vane, junior,

knight, Sir Benjamin Rudyer, knight, John Pym, Oliver Cromwell, Dennis Bond, Miles Corbet, Cornelius Holland, Samuel Vassal, John Rolles, and William Spurstow, esquires, or the greater number of them, shall have power and authority from time to time, to nominate, appoint, and constitute all such subordinate governors, counsellors, commanders, officers and agents, as they shall judge to be best affected, and most fit and serviceable for the said islands and plantations: and shall hereby have power and authority, upon the death or other avoidance of the aforesaid chief governor and admiral, or any the other commissioners before named, from time to time, to nominate and appoint such other chief governor and admiral, or commissioners, in the place or room of such as shall so become void. And shall also hereby have power and authority, to remove any of the said subordinate governors, counsellors, commanders, officers, or agents, which are, or shall be appointed to govern, counsel, or negotiate the publick affairs of the said plantations; and in their place and room, to appoint such other officers as they shall judge fit. And it is hereby ordained, that no subordinate governors, counsellors, commanders, officers, agents, planters, or inhabitants whatsoever, that are now resident, in, or upon the same islands, or plantations, shall admit or receive any other new governors, counsellors, commanders, officers, or agents whatsoever, but such as shall be allowed and approved of, under the hands and seals of the aforementioned commissioners, or any six of them, or under the hands and seals of such as shall authorize thereunto.

And whereas, for the better government and security of the said plantations and islands, and the owners and inhabitants thereof, there may be just and fit occasion to assign over some part of the power and authority (granted in this ordinance to the chief governor and commissioners aforesaid) unto the said owners, inhabitants, or others; it is hereby ordained, that the said chief governor and commissioners, before mentioned, or the greater number of them, shall hereby be authorized to assign, ratify, and confirm so much of their afore-mentioned authority and power; and in such manner, and to such persons, as they shall judge to be fit, for the better governing and preserving of the said plantations and islands, from open violence and private disturbance and distractions.

And lastly, that whosoever shall do, execute, or yield obedience to any thing contained in this ordinance, shall by virtue hereof, be saved harmless and indemnified.

Sir BENJAMIN RUDYER'S SPEECH,

Concerning a *West-India* Association, at a Committee of the whole House in the Parliament, 21 JACOBI.

Sir Dudley Digs,

I Do profess, that as my affection, my reason and my judgment, go strongly with the scope and drift of this proposition; so shall a good part of my poor fortune when it comes to execution.

For to my understanding, there was never propounded in parliament, a design more proper for this kingdom, nor of more pregnant advantage to it, whether we consider the nature of our situation, or the quality of our enemies forces.

As we are an island, it concerns our being to have store of ships to defend us, and also our well-being by their trade to enrich us.

This association for the *West-Indies*, when it shall be regulated and established by act of parliament, and thereby secured from the violence and injury of any intruding hand, it will certainly give many men encouragement and confidence, voluntarily to bring in large and liberal contributions, towards so notable, so profitable an enterprize. So that in short time, we shall see many new ships built, many brave men employed, and enabled for the service of their country, none of this money shall be carried out of the kingdom, but laid out for shipping, which is the defence of it, and bestowed upon our own men, who must be fed and maintained, though they stay at home. For this, we shall reap the fruit of whatsoever benefit, plantation, traffick, or purchase can procure us, besides honour and security.

Now, let us a little consider the enemy we are to encounter, the king of *Spain*. They are not his great territories which make him so powerful, and so troublesome to all christendom. For it is very well known, that *Spain* itself is but weak in men, and barren of natural commodities. As for his other territories, they lye divided and asunder, which is a weakness in it's self; besides, they are held by force,

and maintained at an extraordinary charge. Infomuch, as although he be a great king, yet is he like the great giant, who was said to have an hundred hands, but he had fifty bellies to feed, so that rateably he had no more hands than another man-

No, sir, they are his mines in the *West-Indies*, which minister fuel to feed his vast ambitious desire of universal monarchy: it is the money he hath from thence, which makes him able to levy and pay soldiers in all places, and to keep an army continually on foot, ready to invade and endanger his neighbours.

So that we have no other way, but to endeavour to cut him up at root, and seek to impeach, or to supplant him in the *West-Indies*. By part of which course, that famous queen of most gracious memory, had heretofore almost brought him on his knees. And this our undertaking (if it please God to bless it) must needs affect it sooner and quicker: the whole body of the kingdom being united and concurring in a perpetual supply to this action, so that he will have no free time given him to rest.

Moreover, this will be a means not only to save, but to fill his majesty's coffers, enabling the people to give him liberally, and often; the king's ships will have little to do, but to guard the coasts, for the sea war will chiefly be made at the charge of the subject.

Thus, (Sir Dudley Diggs) I doubt not but that in a short time, both king and people shall be safe at home, and feared abroad.

To conclude, I shall be very glad to hear any man make objections against this design, so that he do it with an intention to refine and perfect the work; but if any man shall speak against it with a mind to hinder and destroy it, I must entreat him to pardon me, if I do scarce think him to be a good englishman.

All the ENGLISH DOMINIONS on the Continent of NORTH AMERICA, from N. E. to S. W. with the Indian Nations bordering upon them.

Their NAMES.	Present State of RELIGION.	Assistance received from the Society.	Demands upon the Society for Ministers, Schools, Libraries, &c.
The five Nations of IRO-QUOIS, Commonly call'd, The Praying Indians of Canada.	They have been converted to some sort of profession of Christianity by the French jesuits chiefly, and the care of the governments of New England and New-York; but earnestly desire further instruction from us; which if timely granted, they would be our defence as well as glory; being the constant barrier between New York, Virginia, Maryland, and the French, and have more than once fought our battles. If not, they'll probably espouse the French and Popish interest, against that of England and the Reformed Religion, through the instigation of the bishops, jesuits, recollects, and other popish missionaries from Canada.	To Mr. Thoroughgood Moor 100 l. per Annum, besides which he is allowed 20 l. towards furnishing his house, and 15 l. for a library. To Mr. Lydius, and Mr. Detlius, 10 l. each, for their service among the Indians.	For the Mobocks. 1 For the Oncydes. 1 For the Onontages. 1 For the Cayouges. 1 For the Sinnekes, or Sinnon-towans. 1 For the River Indians at Shackook a little above Albany.
New England, or Massachusetts, with its neighbouring colonies.	In all these provinces, eastward of New York, there is no Church of England congregation; neither in Connecticut, Naraganset, Plymouth, New Hampshire, nor that of Mayne, except at Boston, where there is a large one, having two ministers, Mr. Miles and Mr. Bridge; and at Braintree, whither the society is sending one on the prospect of good success.	To a minister in the isle of Shoales, who was upon the spot, 20 l. for one year. To Mr. Barclay, at Braintree, 50 l. per Annum.	1 Minister for the people of New Hampshire: they'll do their best to maintain him. 1 Minister for Swansey much wanted. 1 Minister for Little Compton, alias Seconet. 1 Minister for Tiverton. 1 Minister for Naraganset, where a Church is built; they'll subscribe 50 l. per Annum.
5 English counties. New York, 5 Dutch counties.	The Protestant Religion is settled here by act of assembly, as establish'd in England, except in Suffolk county. There is provision for one minister of Trinity Church in the city of New York at 160 l. per Annum, with other advantages to Mr. Vesy, the present worthy incumbent. In Queen's county on Nassau island 120 l. for two between them: 40 l. for one in the county of Richmond. In West-Chester, a maintenance for two at 50 l. each, one in the town of West-Chester, and one at Rye: besides, her majesty allows 130 l. per Annum, for the chaplain of the forces; a Latin free-school is likewise establish'd at New York, by the influence of his excellency the lord Cornbury, with two others, by which means sound religion visibly gains ground there.	To Mr. John Bartow, at West-Chester, 50 l. per Annum, and a benevolence of 30 l. To Mr. Elias Nieu, Catechist at New-York, 50 l. per Annum, and 15 l. for books. To Mr. Pritchard, rector of Rye, 15 l. for books.	1 Minister for Richmond or Staten island, to whom they'll allow 40 l. per Ann. 1 Schoolmaster at New-York. 1 Schoolmaster for Albany. 1 Minister for Kingston in Ulster county. 1 Schoolmaster for Rye. 1 Catechist at New York, for the instruction of Negro and Indian slaves, much wanted. 1 Minister for Skennedy garison and Albany, who will do signal service. 1 Schoolmaster for West-Chester county.
Nova Caesarea, or, New Jersey,	Here is no Church nor School establish'd by act of assembly, either in the eight English towns, or two Dutch: but a considerable number of people that were Quakers, &c. are in a good disposition to join in communion with the Church of England ministry, particularly in the east part, and county of Monmouth, where are four congregations gather'd.	To Mr. John Talbot, rector of St. Mary's in Burlington, lately itinerant assistant to Mr. Keith in his mission, 60 l. per Annum, 7 l. &c. for books, &c. To Mr. John Sharpe 30 l. for his services.	1 Minister at the Falls in Shrewsbury, where colonel Morris is building a Church, and will endow it. 1 At Amboy, where they are building another Church. 1 At Hopewell between Croswick and Maidenhead, where they are building another. 1 In Monmouth county. 1 At Elizabeth town, where a Church is building. 1 For Salem where a Church is building.

Their NAMES.	Present State of RELIGION.	Assistance received from the Society.	Demands upon the Society for Ministers, Schools, Libraries, &c.
Pennsylvania	Is settled by people of almost all languages and religions in <i>Europe</i> : but the people call'd Quakers are the most numerous of any persuasions; and in <i>Philadelphia</i> , their capital city, there is an Episcopal Church call'd <i>Christ-Church</i> , having a very large congregation, supply'd by Mr. <i>Evans</i> , who, besides the voluntary subscriptions of the inhabitants, hath a grant from her majesty lately of 50 <i>l. per Annum</i> , and the schoolmaster 30 <i>l.</i> There is likewise here a Quaker's meeting, a Presbyterian one, an Anabaptist one, and a <i>Swedish</i> one without the town.	To Mr. <i>Henry Nichols</i> , at <i>St. Paul's</i> in <i>Uplands</i> 50 <i>l. per Annum</i> , and 20 <i>l.</i> in books. To a patent for a minister and schoolmaster 32 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> at <i>Philadelphia</i> . To Mr. <i>Tho. Crawford</i> at <i>Dover-Hundred</i> 50 <i>l. per Annum</i> , and 15 <i>l.</i> for books. To Mr. <i>Andrew Rudman</i> for the supply of <i>Oxford</i> 12 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> To Mr. <i>Club</i> , schoolmaster at <i>Philadelphia</i> 15 <i>l.</i> in books, as much in money.	1 Minister for <i>Newcastle</i> town, where there is a Church built, and a <i>Welsh</i> congregation mostly. 1 Minister at <i>Appelton</i> in <i>Newcastle</i> county, who would do great service. 1 Minister at the <i>Falls</i> , 30 miles above <i>Philadelphia</i> , where a Church is building. 1 Minister at <i>Oxford</i> near <i>Franckfort</i> . 1 School dependant on the minister of <i>Chester</i> of <i>Uplands</i> .
Maryland.	The eleven counties were divided into thirty parishes, by an act of assembly 1692; besides which here are several chapels: Popish priests and Quakers equally obstruct a good progress. Sixteen ministers have a competent maintenance, their glebes settled, and libraries fixed, and many thousand practical and devotional books have been dispersed among the people to good effect, by the assiduous and pious care of the reverend Dr. <i>Bray</i> , from whom a further account may shortly be expected.	To Mr. <i>George Macqueen</i> 6 <i>l.</i> in money, 4 <i>l.</i> in books. To Mr. <i>Robert Keith</i> 10 <i>l.</i> in money.	About 14 Churches unprovided with ministers, particularly <i>Shrewsbury</i> . Many schools much wanted.
Virginia.	Divided into fifty parishes, with about thirty chapels. Here is also a noble college erected for the education of the <i>American</i> youth in the studies of philosophy and divinity. Maintenance for ministers settled by act of assembly, but by disuse impaired in many places.	To Mr. <i>Tyliard</i> 20 <i>l.</i> To Mr. <i>Wallace</i> of <i>Elizabeth city</i> parish 15 <i>l.</i> in books.	Several parishes not supplied with ministers, particularly in <i>Princess Anne's</i> county. 1 Mathematical professor for <i>William</i> and <i>Mary</i> college much wanted.
Carolina, { North with 5 pre- cincts. { South. { Currituck, Paspi- tangb, Pe- quimmins, Chowan, Pamlico.	Here are about five thousand souls scatter'd like sheep without a shepherd, besides near a hundred thousand <i>Tuskarora</i> Indians, who would gladly receive our missionaries. This country is not divided into parishes; however, there is a Church at <i>Charles-Town</i> , Mr. <i>Marston</i> minister, and another to the southward near <i>Edisto</i> river, supplied by Mr. <i>Williams</i> .	To Mr. <i>Samuel Thomas</i> at <i>Cooper river</i> 50 <i>l. per Annum</i> , for three years, besides 47 <i>l.</i> at times. To Mr. <i>Stackhouse</i> at <i>Gooscreek</i> , 15 <i>l. per Ann.</i> and 15 <i>l.</i> for books.	3 Ministers wanted, with schools, here being three Churches built, and glebes appointed, with a library. 1 Particularly for <i>Roanoke</i> , who will be allow'd 60 <i>l. per Annum</i> . 1 Minister and a school or two wanted.
The <i>Yammonsea</i> Indians,	Mr. <i>Samuel Thomas</i> was sent to instruct these <i>Indians</i> in the Christian Religion; but finding it an improper season: his mission is respite'd for some time.	To Mr. <i>Trott</i> by the hand of Mr. <i>Samuel Thomas</i> , 10 <i>l.</i> for stuffs, by way of present to the <i>Indians</i> .	

Some AMERICAN ISLANDS under the ENGLISH Government.

<i>Their NAMES.</i>	<i>Present State of RELIGION.</i>	<i>Assistance received from the Society.</i>	<i>Demands upon the Society for Ministers, Schools, Libraries.</i>
<i>Newfoundland</i>	Has several settlements of <i>English</i> , with many occasional inhabitants; as workers, mariners, &c. at the fishing seasons, to the amount of several thousands: but no public exercise of religion except at St. John's, where there is a congregation, but unable to subsist a minister.	To Mr. Jackson 50 <i>l.</i> per Annum, for three years, besides a benefaction of 30 <i>l.</i>	
<i>Rhode-Island</i> , belonging to <i>New-York</i> .	All under Quaker government, except one congregation of Mr. Lockyer's, who is maintained partly by a contribution from <i>England</i> , and partly by the people of <i>Newport</i> .	To the minister and churchwardens of <i>Newport</i> 15 <i>l.</i> for communion-plate, pulpit-cloth, &c.	1 Minister for <i>Portsmouth</i> . 1 Schoolmaster.
<i>Long-Island</i> , belonging to <i>New-England</i> .	Here are many <i>Dutch</i> , who have several congregations; some independants, a few quakers, many of the inhabitants of no religion at all.	To Mr. William Urquhart, maintained by the subscription of the <i>Yorkshire</i> clergy at <i>Jamaica</i> , 50 <i>l.</i> per Annum, and 15 <i>l.</i> for books.	1 Minister for <i>Oyster-Bay</i> . 1 Minister for <i>Hempstead</i> , who will be allow'd 60 <i>l.</i> per Annum, there.
<i>Jamaica</i> .	Here were fifteen parish churches: one of which, <i>Port-Royal</i> , was burnt down January 2, 1702, and not retrievable; being annexed to <i>King's-Town</i> by a late act of the country, which prohibits any market for the future at <i>Port-Royal</i> .	To Mr. Phillip Bennet, commissary there, 5 <i>l.</i> for books, &c.	
<i>Antegoa</i> .	The <i>English</i> here residing have five parish churches, which are of the Church of <i>England</i> .	To Mr. Gifford and other ministers 20 <i>l.</i>	
<i>Montserrat</i>	Has two parishes of the Church of <i>England</i> likewise.	To Mr. Arbuthnot 20 <i>l.</i> for books.	

N. B. Thus stood the state of the *English* Church, and progress of the Gospel by the Reformed missionaries, in the year 1705; which I chose to insert in this place upon a two-fold account, *First*, To shew, (notwithstanding the parliamentary zeal, and the seeming fondness of the people in the 21st of king James I. to endeavour by a national charge, as the fore-mentioned ordinance, petition, and speech, record) that nothing was done on that solid foundation towards the desired conversion of the *West-Indians*, till king William III. by royal charter in 1701, encouraged that truly noble design. *Secondly*, I give you this early account, that thereby every well-disposed protestant, may the better understand the necessity of a society for propagating the Gospel, and discover the great harvest of souls which might be reaped in those barbarous nations, since it had succeeded so well in the space of four years only.

A
COMMISSION
FOR THE
WELL-GOVERNING
OF OUR
PEOPLE
INHABITING IN
NEWFOUNDLAND;

O R,

TRAFFICKING in BAYS, CREEKS, or fresh
RIVERS there.

H I S

MAJESTY'S COMMISSION

FOR THE

WELL-GOVERNING of His SUBJECTS

INHABITING IN

NEWFOUNDLAND.

CHARLES, by the grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come greeting.

Whereas the region, or country, called *Newfoundland*, hath been acquired to the dominion of our progenitors; which we hold, and our people have many years resorted to those parts; where, and in the coasts adjoining, they employ'd themselves in fishing, whereby a great number of our people have been set on work, and the navigation and mariners of our realm hath been much encreased.

And our subjects resorting thither, one by the other, and the natives of those parts were orderly and gently intreated, until of late some of our subjects of the realm of *England*, planting themselves in that country, and there residing and inhabiting, upon conceit, that for wrongs or injuries done there, either on the shore or in the sea adjoining, they cannot be here impeached, and the rather, for that we or our progenitors have not hitherto given laws to the inhabitants there, and by that example, our subjects resorting thither injure one another, and use all manner of excess to the great hinderance of the voyage, and common damage of this realm. For preventing such inconveniences hereafter, we do hereby declare in what manner our people in *Newfoundland*, and upon the sea adjoining, and the bays, creeks, or fresh rivers there, shall be guided and governed; do make and ordain the laws following in the things after specified, commanding that the same be obey'd, and put in execution.

First, If any man, on the land there, shall kill another, or if any shall secretly or forceably steal the goods of any other to the value of forty shillings, he shall be forthwith apprehended and arrested, detained and brought prisoner into *England*, and the crime committed by him shall be made known to the earl marshal of *England* for the time being; to whom the delinquent shall be delivered as prisoner: and the said earl marshal shall take cognizance of the cause; and if he shall find by the testimony of two witnesses, or more, that the party had there killed a man, not being at that time first assaulted by the party slain, or that the killing were by misadventure, or had stolen such goods, the delinquent shall suffer pain of death, and all the company shall endeavour to apprehend such malefactor.

Secondly, That no ballast, prestones, or any thing else hurtful to the harbourers be thrown out to the prejudice of the said harbours, but that it be carried ashore, and laid where it may not do annoyance.

Thirdly, That no person whatsoever, either fishermen or inhabitants, do destroy deface, or any way work any spoil or detriment to any stage, cook-room, flakes, spikes, nails, or any thing else that belongeth to the stages whatsoever, either at the end of the voyage, when he hath done and is to depart the country, or to any such stages as he shall fall withal at his coming into the country, but that he or they content themselves with such stage or stages only as shall be needful for them: and that for the repairing of such stages, as he or they take, they shall fetch timber out of the woods,

woods, and not to do it with the ruining or tearing down of other stages.

Fourthly, That according to the ancient custom every ship or fisher that first entreth a harbour, in behalf of the ship, be admiral of the said harbour; wherein, for the time being, he shall reserve only so much beach and flakes, or both, as is needful for the number of boats that he shall use, with an overplus only for one boat more than he needeth, as a privilege for his first coming.

And that every ship coming after content himself with what he shall have necessary use for, without keeping or detaining any more to the peejudice of others next coming.

And that any that are possess'd of several places in several harbours, with intent to keep them all, before they can resolve upon which of them to choose, shall be bound to resolve and send advice to such after-comers in those places as expect his resolution, and that within forty eight hours, if the weather so serve, that the said after-comers may likewise chuse their places, and so none receive prejudice by others delays.

Fifthly, That no person cut out, deface, or any way alter, or change the marks of any boats or train-fats, whereby to defraud the right owners: and that no person convert to his own use the said boats or train-fats so belonging to others, without their consents; nor remove, nor take them from the places, where they be left by the owners, except in case of necessity, and then to give notice thereof to the admiral and others, whereby the right owners may know what is become of them.

Sixthly, That no person do diminish, take away, purloin, or steal any of the fish, or train, or salt, which is put in casks, train-fats, or cook-room, or other house in any of the harbours or fishing-places of the country, or any other provision belonging to the fishing trade, or to the ships.

Seventhly, That no person set fire in any of the woods of the country, or work any detriment or destruction to the same, by rinding of the trees, either for the feeling of ships holds, or for rooms on shore, or for any other uses, except for the covering of the roofs for cook-rooms to dress their meat in, and these rooms not to extend above sixteen foot in length at the most.

Eighthly, That no man cast anchor, or aught else hurtful, which may breed annoyance, or hinder the haling of seanes for baite in places accustomed thereunto.

Ninthly, That no person rob the nets of others out of any drift, boat, or drover, for bait by night, nor take away any bait out of their fishing-boats by their ships sides, nor rob or steal any of their nets, or any part thereof.

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Tenthly, That no person do set up any tavern for selling of wine, beer, or strong waters, cyder, or tobacco, to entertain the fishermen, because it is found that by such means they are debauched, neglecting their labours, and poor ill-governed men, not only spend most part of their shares before they come home, upon which the life and maintenance of their wife and children dependeth, but are likewise hurtful in divers other ways, as by neglecting and making themselves unfit for their labour, by purloining and stealing from their owners, and by making unlawful shifts to supply their disorders, &c. which disorders they frequently follow since these occasions have presented themselves.

Lastly, That upon the *Sundays* the company assemble in meet places, and have divine service to be said by some of the masters of the ships, or some others, which prayers shall be such as are in the book of Common Prayer.

And because that speedy punishment may be inflicted upon the offenders against those laws and constitutions,

We do ordain that every of the mayors of *Southampton, Weymouth, and Melcomb-Regis, Lynne, Plymouth, Dartmouth, Estlow, Foye, and Barnstable*, for the time being, may take cognizance of all complaints made by any offender against any of these ordinances upon the land, and by oath of witnesses, examine the truth thereof, award amends to the parties grieved, and punish the delinquents by fine and imprisonment, or either of them, and of their goods found in the parts of *Newfoundland*, or in the sea, cause satisfaction thereof to be made by warrants under their hands and seals.

And the vice-admirals in our counties of *Southampton, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall*, upon complaint made of any of the premisses committed upon the sea, shall speedily and effectually proceed against the offenders.

Also we will and ordain, that these laws and ordinances, shall stand in force, and be put in due execution, until we shall otherwise provide and ordain.

And we do require the admiral in every harbour in this next season ensuing, calling together such as shall be in that harbour, publickly to proclaim these presents.

And that they also proclaim the same on the shore.

In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness ourself at *Westminster*, the 10th day of *February*, in the ninth year of our reign.

W I L L Y S.

God save the KING.

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E B E N E Z E R:

OR A

MONUMENT of THANKFULNESS.

BEING

A True Account of a late Miraculous Preservation of Nine Men in a small Boat, which was inclosed within Islands of Ice, about seventy Leagues from Land, and continued in Distress Twenty-eight Days.

Drawn up

By ALLEN GEARE, who was a Principal Sharer both in the Misery and Mercy;
and attested by Mr. JOSEPH HURLOCK, Surgeon, now living in *Coleman-Street*, LONDON.

T H E

P R E F A C E.

WHILST deep and lively impressions of a signal mercy are fresh in our minds and memories, it is doubtless the fittest season then to record the works of God. I have therefore taken this first opportunity, to manifest my grateful sense of a late wonderful preservation vouchsafed to me, and some few others ; which I choose to have in print, that it may be a perpetual remembrancer to us of so amazing a deliverance ; and that it may also be an encouragement to others, especially sea-faring men, to put their trust in God, who alone can deliver after this sort. I have written this narrative in a most plain and vulgar stile, that it may be understood by the meanest capacity, nothing but the glory of God, and the benefit of mankind, being aimed at, by

Allen Gear

A B R I E F
R E L A T I O N
O F T H E

Most remarkable *Passages* which happened in our
Voyage from *Plymouth* to the *Newfoundland*, in
the *Langdon* Frigate, Capt. *Arthur Holdsworth*,
Commander.

Feb. 27, 1706-7.

WE sailed from *Plymouth*, under
convoy of her majesty's ship
St. Albans, and two other ships
of war, together with a fleet of merchant
ships bound to the *Mediterranean*, having
a fresh gale in the north east quarter; the
wind continuing, we kept the said fleet
company 'till we were one hundred and
twenty leagues to the westward; then
judging ourselves clear of privateers, pro-
ceeded in our voyage; but e're we got
three hundred leagues westing, the wind
veering westerly, in our traversing, the
17th day of *March*, we came up with an
English built ship, of about two hundred
tons and twelve guns mounted, having a
jury main mast, and at our approach hoist-
ed an *English* ensign, who being hailed,
told us, he came from *Virginia*, and be-
longed to *London*, whither he was also
bound; which seemed very probable, see-
ing he had many tame fowl on board, and
a red bird flew from her to us.

Our captain seeing him disabled, desi-
red him to bring to, and if he wanted any
thing we would hoist out our boat and bring
it him; but he obstinately refused, and told
us our boat should not come on board,
and unless we would keep further off, he
would fire into us. Those morose words
caused our captain to suspect him, where-
fore we forthwith ran up with him, and
commanded him to bring to; at this he
presently fired on us, and fought us from
eleven in the morning 'till six in the even-
ing; then, being much torn, struck, and

desired us to save their lives, but too late,
for the wind increasing, made a great sea,
which forced our ship under a reefed main
sail, that we could by no means hoist out
our boat, without hazard of our own lives,
but by virtue of a light he carried, we kept
close to him, intending, if we had oppor-
tunity to hoist out our boat; but towards
midnight his light seem'd very low, and
by a great cry which was heard about one
of the clock, we judge, she foundered. He
told us when he struck, that he had four-
teen *Frenchmen* aboard, so that we con-
jecture he was an *English Virginia-man* taken
by the *French*, and had lost her main-mast
in the engagement. We followed him in
chace and fight about thirty leagues, and
when he struck, we were in the latitude of
forty five degrees and fifty minutes.

Having thus lost our booty, we made
the best of our way to the *Newfoundland*,
being bound thither of a fishing voyage.
But as one trouble seldom comes alone,
so it happened to us, for on the twenty
sixth of the foresaid month of *March*, hav-
ing ground in seventy five fathom, by ob-
servation forty six degrees fifty minutes,
by estimation fifty leagues off, though it
proved to seventy leagues, at four in the
afternoon we saw some shattered ice,
which we all supposed to be the harbour
ice broken up. However the wind being
at east, we handed our top-sails, and stood
to the northward with our courses, hoping
e'er night to get clear, but finding rather
more than less, tacked to the southward,

yet no alteration: wherefore for our better security, we furled our fore-sail, and brought to with our main-sail, night approaching, and a dead wind, that we could lie off upon neither tack, hoping if we should happen amongst greater ice, we might fall the easier.

About eight or nine of the clock we discovered a land of ice, which altho' we endeavoured to shun, by backing our main-sail, yet all to no purpose, for we fell into it; and notwithstanding all our contrivance to hang out cables, queels of ropes, hoops, &c. overboard to defend our ship, yet about eleven of the clock, amongst many stripes she received one unhappy blow near the garber, which bilg'd her so, that by two pumps, and bealing at three several hatchways, we had much difficulty to keep her 'till day. However the water gained little upon us this night.

Day coming on, and our men much fatigued, the water increased, so that by noon the hold was half full. Now every man is at his wits end, not knowing what to advise each other, all hopes of life being past; we continued pumping, though to little purpose, and concluded, that as we were all born to die, so, if God had appointed this the time, we would submit to his will, and die patiently.

In the midst of this fatal stroke, every one despairing of life, it pleased God to put it into the thoughts of some of us, that God could work wonders, and that the boat might be a second means to preserve some; wherefore it was moved to the captain to hoist her out, and commit some of us to her in hopes.

The captain's reply was, that though it was true God could work wonders, yet it was improbable so small a boat should preserve us, and that it was but living a few days longer in misery, and seeing God had allotted for him this calamity, he resolved to take his lot and die with his men. Nevertheless being much importuned, he ordered the boat out, and *William Saunders* and five others in her; and that the men might not suspect the design, it was given out that the boat should go a head to tow the ship clear of the ice, which how likely that was, let the reader judge, we having but one oar, all the rest being broken by defending the ship from the ice: yet the design went on.

The boat being out, and finding no good to be done in towing the ship, fell astern, intending to take in the captain and as many as it could conveniently carry: whilst some were preparing necessaries for a miserable voyage, a compass was convey'd into the boat, and other things ready. The captain, doctor, and several others,

being gotten at the cabin windows and galleries, I amongst the rest endeavoured to get out at the gallery, also, intending, if possible, to get into the boat, but being discovered by the men, they got the small arms and kept off the boat, resolving, seeing the boat could not preserve all, that all should perish together.

Being thus frustrated in the design, every one got into the ship again except myself and *William Langmead*, who were got so low that we could not recover ourselves, neither would any one haul us in. A desperate disease must have a desperate cure. Hanging so long as we could, and no one endeavouring to relieve us, we were forced to let go our hold and trust to the mercy of them in the boat, who seeing us swimming towards them, hove a rope to us, and took us in.

Now we are eight in number in the boat, who willing to save our captain, lay hovering about the ship till night; but the men continuing their resolution, fired at the boat and kept her off; night approaching, we began to seek shelter, and accordingly went among the shatter'd ice, and made fast our boat to a small lump of ice, and drove with it, and as we drove foul of great ice, would remove and make fast to another lump, and so lay all night.

In the morning, looking abroad, we espied our ship about three leagues to the eastward, in the same manner as we left her; whereupon a consultation was held, whether we should return and make another attempt to save the captain, and as many as possible, it was carried in the negative, everyone alledging the men would fire on us, or else run preposterously into the boat and sink her; so that it was resolved to make the best of our way to the shore. But I, considering how little it would tend to my honour to save my life, and see my captain perish, endeavoured to persuade them that the ship swam buoyant, and did hope they had stop'd the leak, and we might proceed on our voyage, but this would take no effect. When I saw I could not prevail that way, I desired them to row up, and set me upon that part of the ice next the ship, and I would walk to the ship and die with my commander. This was unanimously agreed to, and accordingly we rowed to the said ice, but when we came thither, I was loth to go out. However, calling the captain to us, Mr. *John Maddick* came first, and after him the doctor and some others, which the captain perceiving, came also. The captain being gone, the multitude ran so preposterously after him, that we had like to have spoil'd all; but by chance we got off the boat, having in her and hanging to her sides twenty one in number. Some we

we were forced to slip, others perished upon the said ice, being not able to return to the ship, the rest perished in the ship. Now we began to consider what course to take, and we conclude to make for the shore.

March the 28th we took a miserable farewell of our distressed brethren; every one's heart so laden with his own misery, as to have little room to pity another.

We had no other provision than a small barrel of flower and a five gallon rundlet of brandy, which being thrown overboard, we took up. We also took up an old chest, which stood us in good stead; for having, as before hinted, but one oar, by chance our ship's handspikes and a hatchet were in the boat, we would split the chest and nail it to the handspikes, which were our oars. Nails we had none but what we drew from sundry places in the boat; the rest of the chest would serve to kindle our fire. It also happened that our main tarpawling, being newly tarred, was laid in our boat, which was our mainsail; and an old piece of canvass, which had been a little yawl's sail, was our fore-sail. In this condition we put for the shore, and seeing the ice which inclosed us lay north and south, we steer'd north, and in the morning got clear.

Now being got into the ocean, we having still the wind eastwardly, hoisted our sails, and steered west north west, about fourteen leagues, then fell in with another land of ice, and attempting to sail through we were inclosed by the many great islands which drove so fast together, that we were forced to haul up our boat upon the said ice, or else must inevitably perish.

Here we lay with our little frigate eleven days, without sight of the sea. This ice being very hard, we took what seals we would, there being great plenty of this creature; we made the skin our fire-hearth, the fat would burn so freely, that we could therewith boil the lean.

Lying in this cold region so long, our men began to complain in their feet, and our boat too little to afford us all room, there was always an hideous cry among us, that we did hurt each other, but no remedy. We kept watch six and six, for conveniency of room, and also to beware the ice did not break under our boat, which would often happen; then must we launch our boat, till we found a convenient place, which we thought strong enough to bear the boat.

At the end of eleven days we saw the sea, and though with no small difficulty, yet launch'd our boat into it, sailing as

before north north west about ten or twelve leagues farther, then we were inclosed again, and after that manner five several times.

But this last ice was worse than the former, for here the ice was loose, and tho' so thick, we could not force our boat through, yet not so solid as to bear the weight of a man, so that although we daily saw seals enough, yet could take none.

It so happily fell out, that we had seven seals in store when we parted from the hard ice, and one we took up dead, which went down without questioning how he died.

Now we are necessitated to be at short allowance, having but one amongst us for two days, which with about three ounces of the flower, abovementioned, mixt with water and boiled upon the fat of the seal was forced to serve*.

Now we are obliged to share fat, skin, and all, every one allowing a little fat to make a fire. Here we were so hard put to it, that we were constrained to eat skin, bones and all, scarce affording to boil it. This made us so costive, that some of our company died. I, myself, did not ease my body in eighteen days, and yet it pleased the lord to spare me.

When we were clear of the islands of ice, and were put into the sea, if the wind were contrary or blew so hard that we could not row, we would bear away to a great island of ice, and cut a nook with our hatchet, and make fast our boat to it, and lie till better weather.

And though here we had shelter, yet were we often in great danger, by other great islands which did drive foul of us, insomuch, that it was astonishing to think we should be preserved.

Our drink was the ice, and a dram of the brandy out of a hole made with a four-penny nail. Our provision being grown scarce, it pleased God to save some of us, by taking others to himself, for now they began to die two or three in a day, 'till we were reduced to nine, so that with good management our provision carried us to the shore.

Several of those that died in the boat were so burnt in their feet, that when they were stript, which we always did to keep the survivors warm with their cloaths, we should pull off their toes with their stockings. The last that died was the boatswain, who lived till a day before we saw land.

The last shelf of ice we past through, happened to break our compass, and soon after we lost our water bucket, which was our

* A seal is a creature of a small body when the skin is off.

our pump, so that now though forty leagues from shore, we were forced to direct our course by the heavens, viz. by the sun by day, and stars by night.

Many other sad accidents befell us, too tedious to relate; yet after all this variety of distress, it pleased the lord to bring nine of us safe to land, having been twenty eight days in this little boat, under such dismal circumstances as above recited.

April 24. We arrived at *Baccalew*, and forthwith went to the bay of *Verds*, where we found three men providing for a fishing voyage. These men carried us to their house, and gave us such things as they had; viz. a little bread, a meal of pease, and each of us a dram of rum, which did a little revive us; we had also a fire made, before which we all lay down and slept heartily, though the snow was very thick.

Our benefactors here being badly stor'd and not able to sustain us, the wind being at north east, we concluded to go for *St. John's*, though we were so much burnt, that some of us were forced to be carried into the boat. But ere we got the length of cape *St. Francis*, the wind veered to south west, so that we were compelled in that low condition to row all night, and in the morning got to *Portugal* cove, where we found some men making pre-

parations for the summer's fishing. The unspeakable joy that each of us had at the sight of these men, I cannot express; for they had so much compassion on us, as to launch a boat and towed us over to *Belisle*, where we were received very courteously, every one of us being so weak, that we were forced to be carried a-shore on men's shoulders.

Here we tarry'd ten days, and being something recruited, went for *St. John's*.

When we landed at *Belisle*, we were so disfigured with hunger, cold and the oil of the seals, that we appeared as monsters rather than men, of which nothing but the shape was left; yet, in all this extremity, God miraculously preserved nine of ninety six that were in the ship.

The names of those that survived, are here set down, and can witness to the truth of this relation; they are as followeth,

Arthur Holdsworth, captain.

Allen Geare, chief mate.

William Sanders, second mate.

John Beedol, chirurgeon.

Samuel Penwel, carpenter.

John Maddick,

Thomas Foord,

Elias Sweetland,

William Langmead,

Soli Deo Gloria.

This account being published by ALLEN GEARE, the mate, was communicated to us by Mr. Joseph Hurlock, Surgeon, now living in Coleman Street, LONDON; to whom we are also obliged for this testimony of the truth of it; who arriving at St. JOHN's the 8th of May, 1707, in the Faukland man of war, had an opportunity of seeing some of the said men while in a weak condition, wearing deer's skin on their feet, instead of shoes, and the captain himself carried, by two men, in a chair to church.

CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

TRADE to NEWFOUNDLAND.

THE trade to *Newfoundland*, in the reign of king *James I.* was in a very flourishing condition, and then entirely without a rival, possessed and enjoyed by the *English*. It remained the same until the ninth of king *Charles I.* as may appear by letters patent, bearing date the 10th of *February* that year, reciting, “ That the region and country called *Newfoundland*, had been acquired to the dominions of his progenitors, which he held, and his people had many years resorted to those parts; where, and on the coasts adjoining, they employed themselves in fishing, &c. whereby a great number of his people had been set at work, and navigation and mariners much encreased, &c. and then ordained some laws for the better government of the fishing, ships and inhabitants, &c.

That about this time, the *French* first began to fish at *Newfoundland*, and by ways and means obtained liberty from king *Charles I.* for so doing; and as an acknowledgement of our right, they agreed to pay five pound *per Cent.* from all ships coming thither: their allotment for curing fish, &c. was to the westward of *Cape Raze*. And the tribute aforesaid was duly paid for many years afterwards.

Note, *At this time the French had very few ships.*

King *Charles II.* in the twenty seventh of his reign, confirmed to the *French* the aforesaid liberty, and then quitted to them the former tribute of five pound *per Cent.*

King *James II.* confirmed to them the grants aforesaid; from which may be observed, that the *French* were sensible of the weakness of their title, and therefore thought it was absolutely necessary, to have it confirmed by every king of *England* successively, which they found means some way or other to obtain. And we may consider, that the *French* by this trade, had so far encreased their riches and naval power at that time, as to make all *Europe* stand in fear of them; which plainly shews, that twenty years quiet possession of this trade, is capable of making any prince that has it, the most formidable both by

sea and land, by the yearly encrease of men, ships, bullion, &c.

King *William III.* of most glorious memory, being sensible of the vast importance of this trade*, did never confirm these grants to the *French*; but that his subjects might understand, that his predecessors could not justly dispose of this trade, as they pretended to do; did, in the tenth and eleventh year of his reign, give his royal assent to an act of parliament to resume it: by which it is enacted, *Stat. 10, 11. Cap. 25.* That whereas the trade of, and fishing at *Newfoundland*, is a beneficial trade to this kingdom, not only in the employing great numbers of seamen and ships, and exporting and consuming great quantities of provisions and manufactures of this realm, whereby many tradesmen, and poor artificers are kept at work, but also in bringing into this nation, by returns, (two thirds of the returns are bullion) of the effects of the said fishery from other countries, great quantities of wine, oyl, plate, iron, wool, and sundry other useful commodities, to the encrease of his majesty's revenue, and the encouragement of trade and navigation: Be it enacted, &c. That henceforth all his majesty's subjects, &c. shall have, use, and enjoy, the free trade and traffick, and art of merchandize and fishery, to and from *Newfoundland*, and take bait and fish, in any of the rivers, creeks, seas or islands, &c. thereunto belonging, as fully and freely, as at any time heretofore hath been used, or enjoyed, by any of the subjects of his majesty's royal predecessors, without any hindrance, &c. of, or from any person whatsoever; and that no alien or stranger whatsoever, not residing within *England*, shall at any time hereafter take any bait, or use any sort of trade or fishing whatsoever, in *Newfoundland*, or in any of the islands or places abovementioned.

So that the *English*, having had the entire possession of, and trade to, all *Newfoundland*, &c. until the tenth of king *Charles I.* consequently have the same right and title to it now.

It is before observed, that the whole encrease of the naval greatness of *France* had

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had

* The encroachments of the *French* on this trade, is the first particular reason assigned in King *William's* declaration of war against *France*, for making the said war; which was in these words, viz. --- That it was not long since the *French* took licences from the governor of *Newfoundland* to fish in the seas upon that coast, and paid a tribute for such licences, as an acknowledgement of the sole right of the crown of *England* to that island; yet of late, the encroachments of the *French* upon that island, and his majesty's subjects, trade and fishery there, had been more like the invasions of an enemy, than becoming friends, who enjoyed the advantages of that trade only by permission.

had its foundation from this trade ; for the nature of it is such, that about one fourth of the men employed in it are green men, that were never before at sea ; and the climate being very healthy, scarce one man in fifty dies in a voyage ; whereas in voyages to the *East* and *West-Indies*, few green men are made use of, and it is too well known what great numbers are swept away in those unhealthy countries.

And it farther appears, that their naval strength arises by this trade, by looking back to their first beginning therein ; they had then in number very few ships, and those of inconsiderable force and bulk ; whereas they have since been enabled, frequently to contend at sea, with the united powers of *England* and *Holland* ; and have besides a great many stout and large privateers, to infest our coasts and ruin our merchants ; and of late years, employ in the fishery of *Newfoundland*, four or five hundred sail of ships ; a great many of them of good burthen, and mounted from 16 to 40 guns ; to man which, there are by a moderate computation (allowing but from thirty to forty men a ship) about sixteen thousand men ; of which one fourth being green men, the enemy must consequently breed up by this single trade, four thousand sailors every year.

Besides, the *French* by their extraordinary frugality, joined with their other great advantages, as the cheapness of salt, and having the best and most convenient part of the country for fishing, &c. have quite eaten the *English* out of this trade ; as may be instanced in many of the out-ports of our nation, and particularly *Barnstable* and *Biddeford*, who formerly employed in this trade above fifty ships, which enabled them to supply king *William* for some years in the beginning of his reign, with three or four hundred volunteer sailors, to help to man the royal navy ; and now instead of fifty, they do not fit out of late, above six or eight small ships, and find it very difficult to man these few ; and believe the same scarcity of sailors is in all other ports, to the great discouragement of navigation, decrease of the queen's customs, the lessening the value of lands, and the strength of the kingdom.

These misfortunes proceed from letting the *French* into this most gainful trade, and into that part of *Newfoundland*, which is far better than what we kept to ourselves ; they are seldom annoyed with ice, as lying farther to the south, and best part of the land ; whereas our small portion (which now also is lost) lying more to the north-east, is sometimes not clear of firm lands of ice till the beginning of *May* ; and till that ice is gone no fish are taken, and it often hinders our ships from getting in ;

so that the *French* are in the country and at their business, long before the *English* ; they have better harbours, and greater quantities of fish ; they have also salt, and some other fishing craft, cheaper than us ; and generally kill one or two hundred quintals *per* boat more than the *English* kill : which (besides the great inequality in fishing) modestly computed, may make their fish at least five shillings *per* quintal cheaper than the *English* ; and what adds to their great profit, they are generally in *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, &c. before the time of our ships leaving the country, and consequently have the preference of all markets, which cannot be less than five shillings *per* quintal more than our latter fleets can get (their fish being also better esteemed.) The aforesaid ten shillings *per* quintal more to them than the *English* gain, is undeniable evidence what prodigious advantage they reap by this trade ; when we, under our present circumstances, are little better than losers, accounting fifteen or sixteen shillings *per* quintal a good price for our fish, as coming to after-markets.

From all which we may with great reason infer, that so long as that trade continues as at present, and for some years past has been carried on, the *French* must reap all the profit thereof ; and the *English*, with the *Silk-worm*, will only spin out their own bowels, and then be forced to give over : the consequences whereof may well be dreaded.

But our great satisfaction and hope is, that our most gracious queen will insist upon her right, and duly consider the extraordinary benefit that would accrue to this nation, if this trade were solely in the hands of her subjects ; that it would not only employ the ships we have at present in this trade, but also as many more as the *French* have now in it ; that the same advantages which they now reap, would then return to us ; that the number of mariners bred up yearly by this fishery, which now annoy us, would then defend us ; which now invade us, destroy our plantations, and rob our merchants, would then become our security and protection ; would bring us home vast quantities of bullion, would employ the poor, encourage the merchant, and enrich the farmer ; would fill the exchequer with money, and the royal navy with men. For all which reasons, it is most humbly hoped, that such regard will be had for her majesty's royal honour, and the welfare of her subjects, that no peace may be concluded with the enemy, unless the *French* king will restore to the crown of *Great-Britain*, all *Newfoundland* and the islands which belong to it.

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NB you will find Florida in this Map called Louisiana; The R. Mississippi R. St. Louis, Massacre Port & Haven of Isl. Dauphine; le Mission's R. R. St. Philip; Ouabach R. R. St. Jerome. For thus the French have altered y^e Names in y^e King's Grant of those Countries to Monsieur Crozat.

A MAP of
NEW FRANCE
Containing **CANADA, LOUISIANA &c. in N. AMERICA.**
According to the Patent granted by the King of France to Monsieur Crozat, dated the 14th of Sep. 1712. N. S. and registered in the Parliament of Paris the 24th of the same Month.
By H. Moll Geographer.

NOVA FRANCIA:
OR, THE
DESCRIPTION

OF THAT PART OF
NEW FRANCE,

Which is one Continent with VIRGINIA.

DESCRIBED

In the Three late VOYAGES and PLANTATION
made by *Monf. de Monts*, *Monf. du Pont-Gravé*, and *Monf.
de Poutrincourt*, into the Countries called by the *Frenchmen*,
LA CADIA, lying to the South-West of Cape BRETON.

TOGETHER WITH

An excellent several TREATY of all the COMMODITIES of the said
Countries, and MANNERS of the natural Inhabitants of the same.

Translated out of the FRENCH into ENGLISH, by P. E.

N O V A F R A N C I A :

T H E

Three late VOYAGES and PLANTATION of Mons.
de Monts, of Mons. *du Pont-Grave*, and of Mons.
de Poutrincourt, into the Countries, called by the
Frenchmen, LA CADIA, lying to the South-West
of Cape BRETON.

T O G E T H E R W I T H

An excellent several TREATY of all the *Commodities* of the
said Countries, and *Manners* of the natural Inhabitants of
the same.

C H A P. I.

*The Patent of the French King to Mons. de Monts, for the inhabiting of the
Countries of La Cadia, Canada, and other Places in New France.*

HENRY, by the grace of God,
king of *France* and *Navarre*. To
our dear and well beloved the lord
of *Monts*, one of the ordinary gentlemen
of our chamber, greeting. As our greatest
care and labour is, and hath always been,
since our coming to this crown, to maintain
and conserve it in the ancient dignity, great-
ness, and splendor thereof, to extend and
amplify, as much as lawfully may be done,
the bounds and limits of the same; we
being, of a long time, informed of the
situation and condition of the lands and
territories of *La Cadia*, moved above all
things, with a singular zeal, and devout
and constant resolution, which we have
taken, with the help and assistance of
God, author, distributor, and protector of
all kingdoms and estates, to cause the peo-
ple, which do inhabit the country, men
(at this present time) barbarous atheists,
without faith or religion, to be converted
to Christianity, and to the belief and pro-

fession of our faith and religion: and to
draw them from the ignorance and unbe-
lief wherein they are. Having also of a
long time known, by the relation of the
sea-captains, pilots, merchants, and others,
who of long time have haunted, frequented,
and trafficked with the people that are
found in the said places, how fruitful, com-
modious, and profitable may be unto us,
to our estates and subjects, the dwelling,
possession, and habitation of those countries,
for the great and apparent profit which
may be drawn by the greater frequentation
and habitude which may be had with the
people that are found there, and the traf-
fick and commerce which may be, by that
means, safely treated and negociated. We
then, for these causes, fully trusting on your
great wisdom, and in the knowledge and
experience that you have of the quality,
condition, and situation of the said country
of *La Cadia*; for the divers and sundry
navigations, voyages, and frequentations,
that

that you have made into those parts, and others near and bordering upon it : assuring ourselves that this our resolution and intention, being committed unto you, you will attentively, diligently, and no less courageously and valorously, execute and bring to such perfection as we desire, have expressly appointed and established you, and by these presents, signed with our own hands do commit, ordain, make, constitute, and establish you, our lieutenant-general, for to represent our person, in the countries, territories, coasts and confines of *La Cadia*. To begin from the 40th degree unto the 46th ; and in the same distance, or part of it, as far as may be done, to establish, extend, and make to be known our name, might, and authority. And under the same to subject, submit, and bring to obedience all the people of the said land and the borderers thereof : and by the means thereof, and all lawful ways, to call, make, instruct, provoke, and incite them to the knowledge of God, and to the light of the faith and Christian religion, to establish it there : and in the exercise and profession of the same, keep and conserve the said people, and all other inhabitants in the said places, and there to command in peace, rest and tranquility, as well by sea as by land : to ordain, decide, and cause to be executed all that which you shall judge fit and necessary to be done, for to maintain, keep, and conserve, the said places under our power and authority, by the forms, ways and means prescribed by our laws. And for to have there a care of the same with you, to appoint, establish, and constitute all officers, as well in the affairs of war, as for justice and policy, for the first time, and from thenceforward to name and present them unto us ; for to be disposed by us, and to give letters, titles, and such provisos as shall be necessary : and, according to the occurrences of affairs, yourself, with the advice of wise and capable men, to prescribe under our good pleasure, laws, statutes and ordinances conformable, as much as may be possible, unto ours, especially in things and matters that are not provided by them ; to treat and contract to the same effect, peace, alliance, and confederacy, good amity, correspondence, and communication with the said people and their princes, or others, having power or command over them ; to entertain, keep, and carefully to observe, the treaties and alliances wherein you shall covenant with them : upon condition that they themselves perform the same of their part. And for want thereof to make open wars against them, to constrain and bring them to such reason, as you shall think needful, for the honour, obedience,

and service of God, and the establishment, maintenance, and conservation of our said authority amongst them ; at least, to haunt and frequent by you, and all our subjects with them, in all assurance, liberty, frequentation, and communication, there to negotiate and traffick lovingly and peaceably ; to give and grant unto them favours and privileges, charges, and honours. Which entire power aforesaid, we will likewise and ordain, that you have over all our said subjects that will go that voyage with you and inhabit there, traffick, negotiate, and remain in the said places, to retain, take, reserve, and appropriate unto you, what you will and shall see to be most commodious for you, and proper to your charge, quality and use of the said lands, to distribute such parts and portions thereof, to give and attribute unto them such titles, honours, rights, powers, and faculties, as you shall see necessary, according to the qualities, conditions, and merits, of the persons of the same country, or others : chiefly to populate, to manure, and to make the said lands to be inhabited, as speedily, carefully and skilfully, as time, places, and commodities may permit. To make thereof, or cause to be made to that end, discovery, and view along the maritime coasts and other countries of the main land, which you shall order and prescribe in the aforesaid space of the 40th degree to the 46th degree, or otherwise as much and as far as may be, along the said coast, and in the firm land. To make carefully to be sought and marked all sorts of mines of gold and of silver, copper, and other metals and minerals, to make them to be digged, drawn from the earth, purified, and refined, for to be converted into use, to dispose according as we have prescribed by edicts, and orders, which we have made in this realm of the profit and benefit of them, by you or them whom you shall establish to that effect, reserving unto us only the tenth penny, of that which shall issue from them of gold, silver, and copper, leaving unto you that which we might take of the other said metals and minerals, for to aid and ease you in the great expences, that the foresaid charge may bring unto you. Willing, in the mean while, that as well for your security and commodity, as for the security and commodity of all our subjects, who will go, inhabit, and traffick in the said lands ; as generally of all others that will accommodate themselves there under our power and authority, you may cause to be built and frame one or many forts, places, towns, and all other houses, dwellings, and habitations, ports, havens, retiring places and lodgings, as you shall know to be fit, profitable and necessary for the

the performing of the said enterprize. To establish garrisons and foldiers for the keeping of them. To aid and serve you for the effects abovesaid with the vagrant, idle persons and masterless, as well out of towns as of the country; and with them that be condemned to perpetual banishment, or for three years at the least out of our realm; provided always that it be done by the advice, consent, and authority of our officers. Over and besides that which is abovementioned (and that which is moreover prescribed, commanded and ordained unto you by the commissions and powers, which our most dear cousin the lord of *Ampuille*, admiral of *France*, hath given unto you, for that which concerneth the affairs and the charge of the admiralty, in the exploit, expedition, and executing of the things abovesaid) to do generally whatsoever may make for the conquest, peopling, inhabiting and preservation of the said land of *La Cadia*; and of the coasts, territories adjoining, and of their appurtenances and dependencies, under our name and authority, whatsoever ourselves would, and might do, if we were there present in person, although that the case should require a more special order, than we prescribe unto you by these presents: to the contents whereof, we command, ordain, and most expressly do enjoin all our justices, officers and subjects, to conform themselves; and to obey and give attention unto you, in all and every the things abovesaid, their circumstances and dependencies. Also to give unto you in the executing of them, all such aid and comfort, help and assistance,

as you shall have need of, and whereof they shall be by you required; and this upon pain of disobedience and rebellion. And to the end, no body may pretend cause of ignorance of this our intention, and to busy himself in all, or in part of the charge, dignity and authority which we give unto you by these presents, we have of our certain knowledge, full power and regal authority, revoked, suppressed and declared void, and of none effect hereafter; and from this present time, all other powers and commissions, letters and expeditions given and delivered to any person soever, for to discover, people and inhabit in the foresaid extention of the said lands, situated from the said 40th degree, to the 46th, whatsoever they be. And furthermore, we command and ordain all our said officers, of what quality and condition soever they be, that after these presents, or the duplicate of them shall be duly examined by one of our beloved and trusty counsellors, notaries and secretaries, or other notary-royal, they do upon your request, demand and suit, or upon the suit of any our attornies, cause the same to be read, published, and recorded in the records of their jurisdiction, powers and precincts, seeking, as much as shall appertain unto them, to quiet and appease all troubles and hinderances which may contradict the same; for such is our pleasure. Given at *Fontainebleau*, the eighth day of *November*, in the year of our Lord 1603; and of our reign the 15th. Signed HENRY, and underneath, by the king, *Potier*; and sealed upon single label with yellow wax.

CHAP. II.

The voyage of Mons. de Monts into New-France; what accidents happened in the said voyage: The causes of the ice banks in Newfoundland: The imposing of names to certain ports: The perplexity wherein they were, by reason of the stay of the other ship.

MONSIEUR de Monts having made the commissions and prohibitions before-said, to be proclaimed thorough the realm of *France*, and especially thorough the ports and maritime towns thereof, caused two ships to be rigged and furnished, the one under the conduct of captain *Timothy* of *New-haven*, the other of captain *Morell* of *Honfleur*. In the first he shipped himself, with good number of men of account, as well gentlemen as others. And forasmuch, as Mons. de *Poutrincourt* was, and had been, those countries a long time desirous to see of *New-France*, and there to find out and chuse some fit place to retire himself into, with his family, wife,

and children; not meaning to be the last that should follow and participate in the glory of so fair and generous an enterprize, would needs go thither, and shipping himself with the said Mons. de Monts, carrying with him some quantity of armour and munitions of war, and so weighed the anchors from *New-haven* the seventh day of *March*, 1604. But being departed somewhat too soon, before the winter had yet left off her frozen weed, they found store of ice banks, against the which they were in danger to strike, and so be cast away; but God, which hitherto hath prospered the navigation of these voyages, preserved them.

One

One might wonder, and not without cause, why in the same parallel, there is more ice in this sea, than in that of *France*. Whereunto I answer, that the ice that is found in those seas, is not originally from the same climate, but rather come from the northerly parts, driven without any let thorough the vast of this great sea by the waves, storms, and boisterous floods, which the easterly and northerly winds do cause in winter and spring time, and drive them towards the south and west: but the *French* seas are sheltered by *Scotland*, *England* and *Ireland*; which is the cause that the ice cannot fall into it. Another reason also might be alledged, and that is the motion of the sea, which beareth more towards those parts, because of the larger course that it maketh towards *America*, than towards the lands of these our parts. The peril of this voyage was, not only in the meeting of the said banks of ice, but also in the storms that vexed them: one of them they had that brake the galleries of the ship; and in these turmoils, a joyner was carried away by a sea or flash of water, to the next door of death, overboard, but he held himself fast at a tackling, which by chance hung out of the said ship.

The voyage was long by reason of contrary winds, which seldom happeneth to them that set out in *March* for the new found lands, which are ordinarily carried with an east or northern wind, fit to go to those lands. And having taken their course to the south of the isle of *Sablon*, or *Sand*, for to shun the said ice, they almost fell from *Caribdis* into *Scylla*, going to strike towards the said isle, during the thick mists that are frequent in that sea.

In the end, the sixth of *May*, they came to a certain port, where they found captain *Rossignol* of *New-haven*; who did truck for skins with the savages, contrary to the king's inhibitions, which was the cause that his ship was confiscated. This port was called *Le Port du Rossignol*, having (in this his hard fortune) this only good, that a good and fit harbour or port, in those coasts beareth his name.

From thence coasting and discovering the lands, they arrived at another port, very fair, which they named *Le Port du Moutton*; by reason that a mutton or weather, having leaped overboard and drowned himself, came aboard again, and was taken and eaten as good prize. By such accidents, many names have anciently been given on the sudden, and without any great deliberation. So the capitol of *Rome* had its name; because that in digging there, a dead man's head was found. So the city of *Milan* hath been called *Mediolanum*, that is to say, half wool; for that the *Gauls*, casting the foundation

thereof, found a sow half covered with wool; and so of fundry others.

Being at the port *du Moutton*, they cabaned and lodged themselves after the savage fashion, expecting news of the other ship, wherein was the victuals, and other necessary provision for the food and entertainment of them that were to winter there; being about an hundred in number. In this port they tarried a month in great perplexity, for fear they had that some sinister accident had happened to the said other ship, who set out the tenth of *March*; wherein was *Monf. de Pont* of *Honfleur*, and the said *Capt. Morel*.

And this was so much the more important, for that of the coming of the said ship depended the whole success of the business. For even upon this long tarrying, it was in question, whether they should return into *France* or no. *Monf. de Poutrincourt* was of advice, that it was better to die there; whereto the said *Monf. de Monts* confirmed himself. In the meanwhile, many went a hunting, others to fishing, for to store the kitchen. Near the said *Moutton* port, there is a place so replenished with rabbits and conies, that they almost did eat nothing else. During that time, *Monf. Champlain* was sent with a shallop to seek farther off a fitter place to retire themselves; at which exploit he tarried so long, that deliberating upon the return they thought to leave him behind, for there was no more victuals; and they served themselves with that, that was found in the said *Rossignol's* ship; without which they had been forced to return into *France*, and so to break a fair enterprize at the very birth and beginning thereof, or to starve, having ended the hunting of conies, which could not still continue. Now the causes of the stay of the said *Monf. du Pont*, and *Capt. Morel*, were two; the one, that wanting a cock-boat, they employed their time in the building of one, in the land where they arrived first, which was the *English* port; the other, that being come at *Campsean* port, they found there four ships of *Baskes*, or men of *St. Campsean* *John de Luz*, that did truck with the port. savages, contrary to the said inhibitions, from whom they took their goods, and brought the masters to the said *Monf. de Monts*, who used them very gently.

Three weeks being expired, and the said *Monf. de Monts* having no news of the ship he looked for, he deliberated to send along the coast to seek for them; and for that purpose dispatched some savages, to whom he gave a *Frenchman* for company with letters. The said savages promised to return at the time prefixed, being eight days, whereof they failed not. But as the society of man and wife, agreeing well together, is a powerful

Store of conies.

English port. Campsean

Winds good in *March* for the new found lands.

The isle of *Sablon* or *Sand*.

Port *du Rossignol*.

Le port *du Moutton*.

Capitol of *Rome*.

Milan.

erful thing; so these savages before their departure, had a care of their wives and children, and required victuals for them, which was granted. And having hoisted up sails, within few days after, they found those that they fought for, at a place called *Le Bay des Isles*, who were themselves in no less fear or grief for the said *Monf. de Monts*, than he of them, because they found not, during their voyage, those marks and signs that were agreed upon between them; which was, that *Monf. de Monts*

should have left at *Campseau* some cross on a tree, or letter there fixed; which he did not, having far overshot the said *Campseau*, by reason that for the said iced banks, he took his way somewhat far on the south, as we have said. So having read the letters, the said *Monf. du Pont*, and captain *Morel*, gave up the victuals and provision that they had brought for them that should winter there, and so returned back towards the great river of *Canada*, for the trade of skins and furs.

Monf. du Pont, goeth to *Canada*, to trade for furs.

C H A P. III.

The leaving of Port du Moutton: The accident of a man lost in the woods for the space of sixteen days: Bay Francoise, or French Bay: Port-Royal: The river of L'Equille: A copper-mine: The mischief of golden-mines: Of diamonds: Turkey stones.

Cape de Sable.

St. Mary's bay.

Fair place to inhabit.

Mines of iron and silver.

Accident of a man lost in the woods fourteen days.

ALL *New-France* in the end being contained in two ships, they weighed anchors from port *du Moutton*, to employ their time, and to discover lands as much as might be before winter. We came to *Cape de Sable*, or the *Sandy Cape*; and from thence we sailed to the bay of *St. Mary*, where our men lay at anchor fifteen days, whilst the lands and passages, as well by sea as by river might be descried and known. This bay is a very fair place to inhabit, because that one is readily carried thither without doubling. There are mines of iron and silver, but in no great abundance, according to the trial made thereof in *France*. Having sojourned there some twelve or thirteen days, a strange accident happened, such as I will tell you. There was a certain churchman of a good family in *Paris*, that had a desire to perform the voyage with *Monf. de Monts*, and that against the liking of his friends, who sent expressly to *Honfleur* to divert him thereof, and to bring him back to *Paris*. The ships lying at anchor in the said bay of *St. Mary*, he put himself in company with some that went to sport themselves in the woods. It came to pass, that having staid to drink at a brook, he forgot his sword, and followed on his way with his company; which when he perceived, he returned back to seek it; but having found it, forgetful from what part he came, and not considering whether he should go east or west, or otherwise (for there was no path) he took his way quite contrary, turning his back from his company; and so long travelled that he found himself at the sea shore, where no ships were to be seen, (for they were at the other side of a nook of land far reaching into the sea). He imagined that he was forsaken, and began to bewail his fortune upon a rock. The night being come, every one being

retired, he is found wanting; he was asked for of those that had been in the woods; they report in what manner he departed from them, and that since they had no news of him. Whereupon a protestant was charged to have killed him, because they quarrelled sometimes for matters of religion. Finally, they sounded a trumpet thorough the forest, they shot off the cannon divers times, but in vain; for the roaring of the sea, stronger than all, that did expel back the sound of the said cannons and trumpets. Two, three and four days pass, he appeareth not. In the mean while, the time hastens to depart; so having tarried so long that he was then held for dead, they weighed anchors to go further, and to see the depth of a bay that hath some 40 leagues length, and 14 (yea 18) of breadth, which was named *La Baye Francoise*, or the *French-bay*.

In this bay is the passage to come into a port, whereinto our men entered, and made some abode; during the which they had the pleasure to hunt an ellan, or stag, that crossed a great lake of the sea, which maketh this port, and did swim but easily. This port is invironed with mountains on the north side: towards the south be small hills, which (with the said mountains) do pour out a thousand brooks, which make that place pleasanter than any other place in the world: there are very fair falls of waters, fit to make mills of all sorts. At the east is a river between the said mountains and hills, in the which, ships may sail fifteen leagues and more; and in all this distance, is nothing of both sides the river but fair meadows; which river was named *L'Equille*, because that the first fish taken therein was an *equille*. But the said port for the beauty thereof was called *Port Royal*. *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, having

La Baye Francoise

The river of *L'Equille*.

Port Royal having

having found this place to be to his liking, demanded it, with the lands thereunto adjoyning, of *Monf. de Monts*, to whom the king had by commission, before inserted, granted the distribution of the lands of *New-France*, from the 40th degree to the 46th. Which place was granted to the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, who since hath had letters of confirmation for the same of his majesty; intending to retire himself thither with his family, and there to establish the Christian and *French* name, as much as his power shall stretch, and God grant him the means to accomplish it. The said port containeth eight leagues of circuit, besides the river of *L'E-quille*. There are within it two isles very fair and pleasant; the one at the mouth of the said river, which I deem to be of the greatness of the city of *Beauvais*; the other at the side of the mouth of another river, as broad as the river of *Oise*, or *Marne*, entering within the said port; the said isle being almost of the greatness of the other; and they both are woody. In this port, and right over-against the former isle, we dwelt three years after this voyage. We will speak thereof more at large hereafter.

A copper mine.

From *Port Royal*, they sailed to the copper mine, whereof we have spoken before else-where. It is a high rock between two bays of the sea; wherein the copper is conjoined with the stone, very fair and very pure, such as is that, which is called *Rozette* copper. Many goldsmiths have seen of it in *France*, which do say, that under the copper mine there might be a golden mine; which is very probable: for if those excrements that nature expelleth forth be so pure, namely, small pieces that are found upon the gravel at the foot of the rock, when it is low water; there is no doubt that the metal which is in the bowels of the earth is much more perfect; but this is a work that requireth time. The first mining and working is to have bread, wine and cattle, as we have said else-where. Our felicity consisteth not in mines, especially of gold and silver; the which serve for nothing in the tillage of the ground, nor to handicrafts use. Contrarywise, the abundance of them is but a charge and burthen; that keepeth man in perpetual unquiet, and the more he hath thereof, the less rest enjoyeth he, and his life lesser assured unto him.

Things first to be provided in new plantations.

Before the voyages of *Peru*, great riches might have been set up in a small place; instead of that, in this our age, by the abundance of gold and silver, the same is come at no value or esteem: one hath need of huge chests and coffers to put in that; which a small budget might have contained: one might have travelled with a purse in one's sleeve, and now a cloak-

bag and a horse must expressly be had for that purpose. "We may justly curse the hour, that the greedy avarice did carry the *Spaniard* into the west, for the woeful events that have ensued thereof. For when I consider, that by his greediness he hath kindled and maintained the war thorough all Christendom, and his only study hath been how to destroy his neighbours (and not the *Turk*) I cannot think that any other but the devil hath been the author of their voyages. And let not the pretence of religion be alledged unto me; for (as we have said else-where) they have killed all the offspring of the country with the most inhuman torments that the devil hath been able to excogitate. And by their cruelties have rendered the name of God odious, and a name of offence to those poor people; and have continually and daily blasphemed him in the midst of the Gentiles, as the prophet reproacheth to the people of *Israel*: witness him that had rather be damned, than to go the paradise of the *Spaniards*."

The *Romans* (whose covetousness hath been unsatiable) have made cruel wars to the nations of the earth, but the *Spanish* cruelties are not to be found out in their histories. They have contented themselves to ransack the nations which they have overcome, and not to deprive them of their lives. An ancient heathenish author, making trial of his poetical humour, findeth no greater crime in them, but that if they found out or discovered some people that had gold, they took them for their enemies. The verses of this author have so good a grace, that I must needs insert them here; though I intend not to alledge much latin.

*Orbem jam totum Romanus victor habebat,
Quà mare, quà terra, quà sidus currit
utrumque,
Nec satiatum erat, gravidis freta pulsa
carinis
Jam peragrabantur: siquis sinus abditus
ultra,
Si qua foret tellus quæ fulvum mitteret
aurum,
Hostis erat: fatisque in tristia bella paratis
Quærebantur opes.*

Petronius Arbiter.

But the doctrine of the wise son of *Sirach* teacheth us a contrary thing. For knowing that the riches which are digged up, even from as deep as *Pluto's* dens, are that which some one hath said, *irritamenta malorum*, he declared, that man to be happy that hath not run after gold, and hath not put his hope in silver and treasures; adding, that he ought to be esteemed to have done wonderful things among all his people,

and to be the example of glory, which hath been tempted by gold, and remained perfect. And so by a contrary sense, the same to be unhappy that doth otherwise.

Diamonds

Turky-stones.

Now to return to our mines. Among these copper rocks, there are found sometimes small rocks covered with diamonds fixed to them: I will not assure them for fine, but that is very pleasing to the sight. There are also certain shining blue stones, which are of no less value or worth than *Turky* stones. *Monf. de Champdore*, our guide for the navigations in those countries, having cut within a rock one of those stones, at his return from *New-*

France, he brake it in two, and gave one part of it to *Monf. de Monts*, the other to *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, which they made to be put in gold, and were found worthy to be presented, the one to the king, by the said *Poutrincourt*, the other to the queen by the said *de Monts*, and were very well accepted. I remember that a goldsmith did offer fifteen crowns to *Monf. de Poutrincourt* for that he presented to his majesty. There be many other secrets, rare and fair things within the ground of those countries, which are yet unknown unto us, and will come to the knowledge and evidence by inhabiting the province.

C H A P. IV.

The description of the river St. John, and of the isle St. Croix.

St. John's river.

HAVING viewed the said mine, the company passed to the other side of the *French* bay, and went towards the bottom of the same; then turning back came to the river of *St. John*, so called, as I think, because they arrived thither the four and twentieth day of *June*, which is *St. John Baptist's* day. There is a fair port, but the entry or mouth is dangerous to them that know not the best ways, because that before the coming in, there is a long bank of rocks, which are not seen nor discovered but only at low water, which do serve as for defence to this port, within which, when one hath gone about a league there is found a violent fall of the said river, which falleth down from the rocks, when that the sea doth ebb, with a marvelous noise; for being sometimes at an anchor at sea, we have heard it from above twelve leagues off; but at full sea one may pass it with great ships. This river is one of the fairest that may be seen, having store of islands, and swarming with fishes. This last year, 1608, the said *Monf. de Champdore*, with one of the said *Monf. de Mont's* men, hath been some fifty leagues up the said river, and do witness that there is great quantity of vines along the shore, but the grapes are not so big as they be in the country of the *Ar-mouchiquois*; there are also onions, and many other sorts of good herbs. As for the trees they are the fairest that may be seen. When we were there we saw great number of cedar trees. Concerning fishes the said *Champdore* hath related unto us, that putting the kettle over the fire, they had taken fish sufficient for their dinner before that the water was hot. Moreover this river, stretching itself far within the lands of the savages, doth marvelously shorten

Vines.

Abundance of fishes.

the long travels by means thereof. For in six days they go to *Gashepe*, coming to the bay or gulph of *Chaleur*, or heat when they are at the end of it, in carrying their canoes some few leagues; and by the same river, in eight days, they go to *Tadoussac*, by a branch of the same which cometh from the north west, in such sort, that in *Port Royal* one may have, within fifteen or eighteen days news from the *Frenchmen* dwelling in the great river of *Canada*, by these ways, which could not be done in one month by sea, nor without danger.

Leaving *St. John's* river, they came following the coast, twenty leagues from that place, to a great river, which is properly sea, where they fortified themselves in a little island seated in the midst of this river, which the said *Champdore* had been to discover and view; and seeing it strong by nature, and of easy defence and keeping, besides that the season began to slide away, and therefore it was behoveful to provide of lodging, without running any farther, they resolved to make their abode there. I will not sift out curiously the reasons of all parts upon the resolution of this their dwelling; but I will always be of opinion, that whosoever goes into a country to possess it, must not stay in the isles, there to be a prisoner; for, before all things the culture and tillage of the ground must be regarded; and I would fain know how one should till and manure it, if it behoveth at every hour in the morning, at noon and the evening, to cross a great passage of water, to go for things requisite from the firm land. And if one feareth the enemy, how shall he that husbandeth the land, or otherwise busy in necessary affairs, save himself, if he be pursued; for one findeth

The isle of *St. Croix*, twenty leagues from *St. John's* river.

findeth not always a boat in hand in time of need, nor two men to conduct it; besides, our life requiring many commodities, an island is not fit for to begin the establishment and seat of a colony, unless there be currents and streams of sweet water for to drink, and to supply other necessaries in household, which is not in small islands; there needeth wood for fuel, which also is not there; but above all, there must be shelters from the hurtful winds and cold, which is hardly found in a small continent, environed with water on all sides. Nevertheless the company sojourned there in the midst of a broad river, where the north wind and north west bloweth at will; and because, that two leagues higher there be brooks that come cross-wise to fall within this large branch of the sea, the isle of the *Frenchmen's* retreat was called *St. Croix*, twenty five leagues distant from *Port-Royal*. Whilst that they begin to cut down cedars, and other trees of the said isle, to make necessary buildings, let us return to seek out master *Nicholas Aubri*, lost in the woods, which long time since is holden for dead.

Return to the bay of *St. Mary* where the lost man was found again. Long isle.

As they began to visit and search the island, *Monf. de Champdore*, of whom we shall henceforth make mention, because he dwelt four years in those parts, conducting the voyages made there, was sent back to the bay of *St. Mary*, with a mine-finder, that had been carried thither for to get some mines of silver and iron, which they did; and as they had crossed the *French* bay, they entered into the said bay of *St. Mary*, by a narrow streight or passage, which is between the land of *Port-Royal*, and an island called the *Long isle*, where after some abode, they going a fishing, the said *Aubri* perceived them, and began with a feeble voice to call as loud as he could; and for to help his voice he advised himself to do as *Ariadne* did heretofore to *Theseus*;

*Candidaque imposui longæ velamina virgæ,
Scilicet oblitos admonitura mei:*

for he put his handkerchief and his hat on a staff's end, which made him better to be known; for as one of them heard the voice, and asked the rest of the company if it might be the said *Monf. Aubri*, they mocked and laughed at it, but after they had spied the moving of the handkerchief and of the hat, then they began to think that it might be he; and coming near, they knew perfectly it was himself, and took him in their bark with great joy and contentment, the sixteenth day after he had lost himself. Divers in this latter age have stuffed their books and

histories with many miracles, wherein is not to be found so great cause of admiration as is this; for during these sixteen days he fed himself but by, I know not what, small fruits, like unto cherries, without kernel, yet not so delicate, which are scarcely found in those woods. And indeed in these last voyages a special grace and favour of God hath been evident in many occurrences, which we will mark as occasion shall be offered. The poor *Aubri*, I call him so by reason of his affliction, was, as one may easily think, marvelously weakened; they gave him food by measure, and brought him back again to the company at the island of *St. Croix*, whereof every one received an incredible joy and consolation, and especially *Monf. de Monts*, whom it concerned more than any other. Do not alledge unto me the history of the maid of *Consolans*, in the country of *Poitou*, which was two years without eating, some six years ago; nor of another near *Berne* in *Switzerland*, which lost, not yet full ten years ago, the desire and appetite of eating, during all her life-time; and other like examples; for they be accidents happened by the disordering of nature; and concerning that which *Pliny* reciteth, *lib. vii. cap. 2.* that in the remotest parts of the *Indies*, in the inferior parts of the fountain and spring of the river *Ganges*, there is a nation of *Astoms*, that is to say, mouthless people, that live but with the only odour and exhalation of certain roots, flowers, and fruits, which they assume through their noses; I would hardly believe it, but would think rather that in smelling they might bite very well of the said roots and fruits; as also those that *James Quartier* mentioneth to have no mouths, and to eat nothing, by the report of the savage *Donacona*, whom he brought into *France* to make recital thereof to the king, with other things as void of common sense and credit as that. But imagine it were true, such people have their nature disposed to this manner of living, and this case is not alike. For the said *Aubri* wanted no stomach, nor appetite, and hath lived sixteen days, partly nourished by some nutritive force, which is in the air of that country, and partly by those small fruits before spoken of, God having given him strength to endure this long want of food, preserving him from the step of death: which I find strange, and is so indeed. But in the histories * of our times there be found things of greater marvel; among other things, of one *Henry de Hassfeld*, merchant, trafficking from the low countries to *Berg*,
in

Cherries.

* *John Wier* in his treatise *De Jeuniis Comment.*

in *Norway*, who having heard a belly-god preacher speaking ill of the miraculous fasts, as though it were not in God's power to do that which he hath done in times past, provoked by it, did essay to fast, and abstained himself three days from eating; at the end whereof, being pinched with hunger, took a morsel of bread, meaning to swallow it down with a glass of beer, but all that stuck so in his throat, that he remained forty days and forty nights without either eating or drinking; that time being ended, he vomited out by the mouth that which he had eaten and drunk, which all that while remained in his throat. So long an abstinence weakened him in such sort, that it was needful to sustain and restore him with milk. The governor of the country having understood this wonder, called him before him, and enquired of the truth of the matter; whereof being incredulous, would make new trial of it, and having made him carefully to be kept in a chamber, found the thing to be true. This man is praised for great piety, especially towards the poor. Some time after being come for his private affairs to *Brussels* in *Brabant*, a creditor of his, to bereave him of his due, accused him of heresy, and so caused him to be burned in the year 1545.

And since one of the canons of the city of *Liege*, making trial of his strength in fasting, having continued the same even to the seventeenth day, felt himself so weakened, that unless he had been suddenly succoured by a good restorative, he had quite perished.

A young maid of *Buchold*, in the territory of *Munster*, in *Westphalia*, afflicted with grief of mind, and unwilling to stir or go abroad from home, was beaten by her mother for the same, which redoubled her dolour, in such sort, that having lost her natural rest, was four months without either drinking or eating, saving that sometimes she did chew some roasted apple, and washed her mouth with a little *Ptisan*.

The ecclesiastical histories*, among a great number of fasters, make mention of three holy hermits, all named *Simeon*, which did live in strange austerity and long fasts, as of eight days, and fifteen days continuance, yea longer, not having for all their dwelling but a column or hermitage where they dwelt and led their lives, by reason whereof they were named *Stelites*, that is to say *Columnaries*, as dwelling on pillars.

But all these before alledged, had partly resolved themselves to such fasts, and

partly had by little and little accustomed themselves to it, so that it was not very strange for them to fast so long, which was not in him of whom we speak, and therefore his fast is the more to be admired by so much as that he had not in any wise disposed himself thereto, and had not used these long austerities.

After he had been cherished, and they sojourned yet some time, to order the business, and to view the lands round about the isle *St. Croix*, motion was made to send back the ships into *France* before winter, and so they that went not thither to winter prepared themselves for the return. The mean while the savages from about all their confines came to see the manners of the *Frenchmen*, and lodged themselves willingly near them; also in certain variances which happened amongst themselves, they did make *Monf. de Monts* judge of their debates, which is a beginning of voluntary subjection, from whence a hope may be conceived, that these people will soon conform themselves to our manner of living.

Amongst other things happened before the departing of the said ships, it chanced one day, that a savage called *Bituani*, finding good relish in the kitchen of the said *Monf. de Monts*, settled himself therein, doing there some service; and yet did make love to a maid, by way of marriage, the which not being able to have with the good liking and consent of her father, he ravished her, and took her to wife. Thereupon a great quarrel ensued, and in the end the maid was taken away from him, and returned to her father's. A very great debate was like to follow, were it not that *Bituani* complaining to the said *Monf. de Monts* for this injury, the others came to defend their cause, saying, to wit, the father assisted with his friends, that he would not give his daughter to a man, unless he had some means by his industry to nourish and maintain both her and the children that should proceed of the marriage; as for him he saw not any thing he could do, that he loitered about the kitchen of the said *Monf. de Monts*, not exercising himself in hunting; finally, that he should not have the maid, and ought to content himself with that which was past. The said *Monf. de Monts* having heard both parties, told them, that he detained him not, and that the said *Bituani* was a diligent fellow, and should go a hunting to make proof of what he could do. But yet for all that they did not restore the maid unto him, until he shewed effectually that which the said *Monf.*
de

The fathers authority in marriage.

* *Evagrius*, lib. i. chap. 3. of the ecclesiastical history. *Baronius* upon the *Martyrol*. Rom. ix. Janu.

Store of
salmon.

Beavers.
* *Mata-*
chias are
beadslaces
bracelets,
or such
trinkets.

de Monts had promised of him. Finally, he goeth a fishing, taketh great store of salmons, the maid is redelivered him, and the next day following he came, cloathed with a fair new gown of beavers, well set on with *Matachias**, to the fort which was then a building for the *Frenchmen*, bringing his wife with him, as triumphing for the victory, having gotten her as it were by dint of sword, whom he hath ever since loved dearly, contrary to the custom of the other savages, giving us to understand that the thing which is gotten with pain, ought to be much cherished.

By this action we see the two most considerable points in matter of marriage to be observed among these people, guided only by the law of nature, that is to say,

the fatherly authority, and the husband's industry; a thing which I have much admired, seeing, that in our Christian church, by I know not what abuse, men have lived many ages, during which the fatherly authority hath been despised and set at naught, until that the ecclesiastical conventions have opened their eyes, and known that the same was even against nature itself, and that our kings by laws and edicts have re-established in his force this fatherly authority, which notwithstanding in spiritual marriages and vows of religion hath not yet recovered his ancient glory, and hath in this respect, his prop but upon the courts of parliament's orders, the which oftentimes have constrained the detainers of children, to restore them to their parents.

CH A P. V.

The description of the island of St. Croix continued: the enterprize of Mons. de Monts difficult and generous.

Descrip-
tion of the
isle of *St.*
Croix.

BEFORE we speak of the ship's return into *France*, it is meet to tell you how hard the isle of *St. Croix* is to be found out, to them that were never there; for there are so many isles and great bays to go by, before one be at it, that I wonder how ever one might pierce so far for to find it. There are three or four mountains, imminent above the others, on the sides; but on the north side, from whence the river runneth down, there is but a sharp-pointed one, above two leagues distant. The woods of the main land are fair, and admirable high and well grown, as in like manner is the grass. There are right over against the island fresh water-brooks, very pleasant and agreeable, where divers of *Mons. de Monts's* men did their business, and built there certain cabins. As for the nature of the ground it is most excellent and most abundantly fruitful; for the said *Mons. de Monts* having caused there some piece of ground to be tilled, and the same sowed with rye, for I have seen there no wheat, he was not able to tarry for the maturity thereof to reap it; and notwithstanding, the grain, fallen, hath grown and increased so wonderfully, that two years after we reaped and did gather of it, as fair, big, and weighty, as any in *France*, which the soil had brought forth without any tillage, and yet at this present it doth continue still to multiply every year. The said island containeth some half a league of circuit, and at the end of it on the sea side, there is a mount or small hill, which is, as it were, a little isle severed from the other, where

Mons. de Monts's cannon was placed; there is also a little chapel built after the savage fashion; at the foot of which chapel there is such store of muscles as is wonderful, which may be gathered at low water, but they are small; I believe that *Mons. de Monts's* people did not forget to chuse and take the biggest, and left there but the small ones to grow and increase. As for the exercise and occupations of our *Frenchmen*, during the time of their abode there, we will mention it briefly, having first conducted back our ships into *France*.

The sea and maritime charges in such enterprizes as that of *Mons. de Monts*, be so great, that he who hath not a good stock and foundation shall easily sink under such a burden; and for to supply, in some sort, those expences, one is forced to suffer and bear infinite discommodities, and put himself in danger to be discredited among unknown people, and which is worse, in a land which is unmanured, and all overgrown with forests; wherein this action is the more generous, by so much as the peril is more evidently dangerous: and notwithstanding all this, fortune is not left unattempted, and to tread down so many thorns that stop the way. *Mons. de Monts's* ships returning into *France*, he remaineth in a desolate place, with one bark and one boat only, and though he is promised to be sent for home at the end of the year, who may assure himself of *Æolus's* and *Neptune's* fidelity, two evil, furious, unconstant and unmerciful masters? behold the estate whereunto the said *Mons. de Monts* reduced himself, hav-

Store of
muscles.

ing had no help of the king, as have had all those voyages that have been heretofore described, except the late lord marquis *de la Roche's*, and yet it is he that hath done more than all the rest, not having yet lost his hold: but in the end I fear he shall be constrained to give over and forsake all, to the great shame and reproach of the *French* name, which by this means is made ridiculous and a by-word to other nations; for, as though one would of set purpose oppose himself to the conversion of these poor westerly people, and to the setting forward of the glory of God and the kings, there be men start up full of *avarice* and *envy*, men which would not give a stroke, or draw their swords for the king's service, as *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, shewed one day to his majesty; men which would not endure the least labour in the world for the honour of God, which do hinder that any profit be drawn from the very province itself, to furnish to that which is necessary to the establishment of such a work, chusing rather that *Englishmen* and *Hollanders* reap the profit thereof, than *Frenchmen*, and seeking to make the name of God unknown in those parts of the world; and such men, which have no fear of God, for if they had any they would be zealous of his name, are heard, believed, and carry away things at their pleasure.

The re-
turn of M.
de Poutrin-
court into
France.

Now let us prepare and hoist up sails. *Monf. de Poutrincourt* made the voyage into these parts with some men of good sort, not to winter there, but as it were to find out a land that might like him; which he having done, had no need to sojourn there any longer. So then the ships being ready for the return, he shipped himself, and those of his company, in one of them. The mean while the same was from all sides in these parts, of the wonders made in *Ostend*, then besieged by their highness of *Flanders*, already three years passed. The voyage was not without storms and great perils; for amongst others, I will recite two or three which might be placed among miracles, were it not that the sea accidents are frequent enough, not that I will, for all that, darken the special favour that God hath always shewed in these voyages.

The first is of a gust of wind, which in the midst of their navigation came by night instantly to strike in the sails, with such a violent boisterousness, that it overturned the ship, in such manner, that of the one part the keel was on the face of the water, and the sail swimming upon it, without any means or time to right it, or to loose the tackles. On the sudden the sea is all on fire, and the mariners themselves all wet, and did seem to be all compassed with flames, so furious was the sea; the

sailors call this fire *St. Goudrans* fire; and by ill fortune, in this sudden surprise, there was not a knife to be found for to cut the cables or the sail. The poor ship during this casualty, remained overturned, carried continually, one while upon mountains of waters, then another while sunken down even to hell. Briefly every one did prepare to drink more than his belly full, to all his friends, when a new blast of wind came, which rent the sail in a thousand pieces, ever after unprofitable to any use. Happy sail! having by his ruin saved all this people; for if it had been a new one, they had been cast away, and never news had been heard of them. But God doth often try his people, and bringeth them even to death's door, to the end they may know his powerful might and fear him. So the ship began to stir, and rise again by little and little; and well it was for them that she was deep keel'd, for if it had been a fly boat with a flat bottom and broad belly, it had been quite overturned upside down, but the ballast, which remained beneath, did help to stir her upright.

The second was at *Casquet*, an isle or rock in the form of a cask, between *France* and *England*, on which there is no dwelling, being come within three leagues of the same, there was some jealousy between the masters of the ship, an evil which oftentimes destroyeth both men and fair enterprizes, the one saying that they might double well enough the said *Casquet*, another that they could not, and that it behoved to cast a little from the right course for to pass under the island. In this case the worst was that one knew not the hour of the day, because it was dark by reason of mists, and by consequence they knew not if it did ebb or flow; for if it had been flood, they had easily doubled it; but it chanced that it was turning water, and by that means the ebb did hinder it; so that approaching the said rock, they saw no hope to save themselves, and that they necessarily must go strike against it. Then every one began to pray to God, to crave pardon one of another, and, for their last comfort, to bewail one another. Hereupon captain *Rossignol*, whose ship was taken in *New France*, as we have said before, drew out a great knife, to kill therewith captain *Timothy*, governor of this present voyage, saying to him, dost thou not content thyself to have undone me, but wilt thou needs yet cast me here away? but he was held and kept from doing that he was about to do; and in very truth it was in him great folly, yea great madness, to go about to kill a man that was going to die, and he, that went to give the blow, in the same peril. In the end

end as they went to strike upon the rock *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, who had already yielded his soul and recommended his family to God, asked of him that was at the top if there were any hopes, who told there was none: then he bad some to help him to change the sails, which two or three only did, and already was there no more water but to turn the ship, when the mercy and favour of God came to help them, and turned the ship from the perils wherein they saw themselves. Some had put off their doublets for to seek to save themselves by climbing upon the rock, but the fear was all the harm they had for that time, saving that few hours after, being arrived near to a rock called *Le nid a L'agle*, the eagle's nest, they thought to go board it, thinking in the darkness of the mist it had been a ship, from whence being again escaped, they arrived at *Newhaven*, the place from whence they first set out. The said *Monf. de*

Their re-
turn to
*Newha-
ven.*

Poutrincourt having left his armours and provisions of war in the isle of *St. Croix*, in the keeping of the said *Monf. de Monts*, as a gage and token of the good will he had to return hither.

But I may yet set down here a marvelous danger, from which the same vessel was preserved, a little after the departing from *St. Croix*, and this by a sad accident which God turned to good: for a certain tippling fellow being by night stealthily come down to the bottom of the ship for to drink his belly full, and to fill his bottle with wine, he found that there was but too much to drink, and that the said ship was already half full of water, in such sort, that the peril was imminent, and they had infinite pains to stanch her by pumping. In the end, being come about they found a great leak, by the keel, which they stopt with all diligence.

CHAP. VI.

The buildings of the isle St. Croix. Unknown sickness, &c.

The
buildings
at the isle of
St. Croix.

DURING the foresaid navigation, *Monf. de Monts's* people did work about the fort, which he seated at the end of the island opposite to the place where he had lodged his cannon: which was wisely considered, to the end to command the river up and down: but there was an inconvenience; the said fort did lie towards the north, and without any shelter, but of the trees that were on the isle shore, which all about he commanded to be kept, and not cut down. And out of the same fort was the Switzers lodging, great and large, and other small lodgings, representing, as it were, a suburb. Some had housed themselves on the firm land, near the brook. But within the fort was *Monf. de Monts's* lodging, made with very fair and artificial carpentry work, with the banner of *France* upon the same. At another part was the storehouse, wherein consisted the safety and life of every one, likewise made fair with carpentry work and covered with reeds. Right over-against the said storehouse, were the lodgings and houses of these gentlemen, *Monf. D'oruille*, *Monf. Champlain*, *Monf. Champdore*, and other men of reckoning. Opposite to *Monf. de Monts's* said lodging there was a gallery covered for to exercise themselves, either in play, or for the workmen in time of rain. And between the said fort and the platform, where lay the cannon, all was full of gardens, whereunto

every one exercised himself willingly. All autumn quarter was passed on these works, and it was well for them to have lodged themselves, and to manure the ground of the island before winter; whilst that in these parts pamphlets were set out under the name of master *Guillaume*, stuffed with all sorts of news: by the which, amongst other things, this prognosticator did say, *Monf. de Monts* did pull out thorns in *Canada*: and all well considered, it may well be termed the pulling out of thorns, to take in hand such enterprizes, full of toils and continual perils, with cares, vexations, and discommodities. But virtue and courage that overcometh all these things, makes those thorns to be but gilliflowers and roses, to them that resolve themselves in these heroic actions to make themselves praiseworthy and famous in the memory of men, despising the vain pleasures of delicate and effeminated men, good for nothing but to coffer themselves in a chamber.

The most urgent things being done, and hoary snowy father being come, that is to say, winter, then they were forced to keep within doors, and to live every one at his own home: during which time, our men had three special discommodities in this island, *viz.* want of wood (for that which was in the said isle, was spent in buildings) lack of fresh water, and the continual watch, made by night, fearing some surprise from the

Three dis-
commodi-
ties in win-
tering at
St. Croix.

the savages, that had lodged themselves at the foot of the said island, or some other enemy: for the malediction and rage of many Christians is such, that one must take heed of them much more than of infidels. A thing which grieveth me to speak: would to God I were a liar in this respect, and that I had no cause to speak it! when they had need of water or wood, they were constrained to cross over the river, which is thrice

The river
of Roan.

as broad on every side as the river *Sienna*. It was a thing painful and tedious, in such sort that it was needful to keep the boat a whole day, before one might get necessities. In the mean while, the cold and snows came upon them, and the ice so strong, that the cyder was frozen in the vessels, and every one his measure was given him out by weight. As for wine, it was distributed but at certain days of the week. Many idle sluggish companions drank snow-water, not willing to take the

Unknown
sicknesses.

pains to cross the river. Briefly, the unknown sicknesses, like to those described unto us by *James Quartier* in his relation, assailed us; for remedies there were none to be found: in the mean while, the poor sick creatures did languish, pining away by little for want of sweet meats, as milk or spoon-meat for to sustain their stomachs, which could not receive the hard meats, by reason of let, proceeding from a rotten flesh which grew and over-abounded within their mouths; and when one thought to root it out, it did grow again in one night's space more abundantly than before. As for the tree called *Annedda*, mentioned by the said *Quartier*, the savages of these lands know it not; so that it was most pitiful to behold every one, very few excepted, in this misery, and the miserable sick folks to die, as it were full of life, without any possibility to be succoured. There died of this sickness thirty-six, and thirty-six or forty more, that were stricken with it, recovered themselves by the help of the spring, as soon as the comfortable season appeared. But the deadly season for that sickness is in the end of *January*, the months of *February* and *March*, wherein most commonly the sick do die, every one in his turn, according to the time they have begun to be sick: in such sort, that he which began to be ill in *February* and *March*, may escape, but he that shall over-haste himself, and betake him to his bed in *December* and *January*, he is in danger to die in *February*, *March*, or the beginning of *April*, which time being passed, he is in good hope, and as it were assured of his safety. Notwithstanding some have felt some touch thereof, having been sharply handled with it.

Dangerous
months.

Monf. de Monts being returned into

France, did consult with our doctors of physic upon the sickness, which, in my opinion, they found very new and unknown, for I do not see, that when we went away, our apothecary was charged with any order for the cure thereof: notwithstanding it seemeth that *Hippocrates* hath had certain knowledge of it, or at least of some that was very like to it. For in the book *de internis affect.* he speaketh of a certain malady, where the belly, and afterward the spleen do swell and harden itself, and feel grievous and sharp gripes; the skin becometh black and pale, drawing towards the colour of a green pomegranate; the ears and gums do render and yield a bad scent, the said gums disjoining themselves from the teeth; the legs full of blisters, the limbs are weakened, &c.

But especially the northerly people, are more subject to it than other more southerly nations: witness, the *Hollanders*, *Friesland-men*, and others thereabout, amongst whom the said *Hollanders* do write in their navigations, that going to the *East-Indies* many of them were taken with the same disease, being upon the coast of *Guiney*; a dangerous coast, bearing a pestiferous air a hundred leagues far in the sea: and the same, I mean the *Hollanders*, being, in the year 1606, gone upon the coast of *Spain*, to keep the same coast, and to annoy the *Spanish* navy, were constrained to withdraw themselves by reason of this disease, having cast into the sea two-and-twenty of their dead. And if one will hear the witness of *Olaus Magnus*, writing of the northerly nations, of which part himself was, let him hearken to his report, which is this: *There is, saith he, yet another martial sickness (that is, a sickness that afflicteth them who follow the wars) which tormenteth and afflicteth them that are besieged, such whose limbs thickened by a certain fleshy heaviness, and by a corrupted blood, which is between the flesh and the skin, dilating itself like wax; they sink with the least impression made on them with the finger; and disjoineth the teeth as ready to fall out; changeth the white colour of the skin into blew, and causeth a benumbing, with a distaste to take physick; and that disease is called in the vulgar tongue of the country Sorbet, in Greek σαρκία, peradventure, because of this putrifying softness which is under the skin, which seemeth to proceed of indigesting and salt meats, and to be continued by the cold exhalation of the walls: but it shall not have so much force where the houses are inward wainscotted with boards. If it continue longer, it must be driven out by taking every day wormwood, as one expelleth out the root of the stone, by a decoction of stale beer drank with butter.* The same author doth yet say, in another place, a thing

Northerly
people
subject to
the land
disease of
New
France.

A medi-
cine for
the stone.

thing much to be noted: In the beginning, saith he, they sustain the siege with force, but in the end, the soldier being by continuance weakened, they take away the provisions from the invaders by artificial means, subtilties, and ambushments, especially the sheep, which they carry away, and make them to graze in grassy places of their houses, for fear that through want of fresh meats they fall into the loathsomest sickness of all sicknesses, called in the country language Sorbut, that is to say, a wounded stomach, dried by cruel torments and long anguishes; for the cold and indigesting meats, greedily taken, seem to be the true cause of this sickness.

Sorbut, or scurvy.

I have delighted myself to recite here the very words of this author, because he speaketh thereof as being skilful, and sets forth sufficiently enough the land disease of New France, saving that he maketh no mention of the stiffening of the hams, nor of a superfluous flesh which groweth and aboundeth within the mouth; and that if one think to take it away it increaseth still; but well speaketh he of the bad stomach. For Mons. de Poutrincourt made a negro to be opened, that died of that sickness in our voyage, who was found to have the inward parts very sound, except the stomach, that had wrinkles as though they were ulcered.

Causes of the said disease.

And as for the cause proceeding from salt meats, it is very true, there are many other causes concurring which feed and entertain this sickness: amongst which I will place in general the bad food, comprehending with it the drinks; then, the vice of the air of the country, and after, the evil disposition of the body: leaving the physicians to sift it out more curiously. Whereunto Hippocrates saith, that the physician ought also carefully to take heed, in considering the seasons, the winds, the aspects of the sun, the waters, the land itself, the nature and situation of it, the nature of men, their manner of living and exercise.

What food causes the land disease.

As for the food; this sickness is caused by cold meats, without juice, gross and corrupted. One must then take heed of salt meats, smoky, musty, raw, and of an evil scent, likewise of dried fishes, as Newfoundland fish, and stinking rays: briefly, from all melancholy meats, which are of hard digesting, are easily corrupted, and breed a gross and melancholy blood. I would not, for all that, be so scrupulous as the physicians, which do put in the number of gross and melancholy meats, beeves-flesh, bears, wild boars and hogs-flesh, (they might as well add unto them beavers flesh, which notwithstanding we have found very good) as they do amongst fishes, the tons, dolphins, and all those that carry lard; among the birds, the herns, ducks, and

all other water-birds: for in being an over-curious observator of these things, one might fall into the danger of starving, and die for hunger. They place yet among the meats that are to be shunned, bisket, beans, and pulse, the often using of milk, cheese; the gross and harsh wine, and that which is too small, white wine, and the use of vinegar; beer which is not well sodden, nor well scummed, and that hath not hops enough; also waters that run through rotten wood, and those of lakes and bogs; still and corrupted waters, such as are much in Holland and Friesland, where is observ'd that they of Amsterdam are more subject to palsies and stiffening of sinews than they of Rotterdam, for the abovesaid cause of still and sleepy waters; which, besides, do ingender dropfies, dysenteries, fluxes, quartan agues, and burning fevers; swellings, ulcers of the lights, shortness of breath, ruptures in children, swelling in the veins, sores in the legs: finally, they wholly belong to the disease whereof we speak, being drawn by the spleen, where they leave all their corruption.

Bad waters.

Sometimes this sickness doth also come by a vice, which is even in waters of running fountains; as if they be among or near bogs, or if they issue from a muddy ground, or from a place that hath not the sun's aspect. So Pliny reciteth, that in the voyage which the prince Caesar Germanicus made into Germany, having given order to his army to pass the river of Rhine, to the end to get still forward in the country, he did set his camp on the sea-shore, upon the coast of Friesland, in a place where was but one only fountain of fresh water to be found, which notwithstanding was so pernicious, that all they that drank of it lost their teeth in less than two years space, and had their knees so weak and disjointed that they could not bear themselves: which is verily the sickness whereof we speak, which the physicians do call Stomaccacè, that is to say, mouths sore, and Scelotyrbè, which is as much to say, as the shaking of thighs and legs. And it was not possible to find any remedy, but by the means of an herb called Britannica, or scurvy-grass, which besides is very good for the sinews, against the sores and accidents in the mouth: against the squinancy, and against the biting of serpents. It hath long leaves, drawing in colour to a dark green, and produceth a black root, from which liquor is drawn, as well as from the leaf. Strabo saith, that the like case happened to the army that Aelius Gallus brought into Arabia, by the commission of Augustus the emperor. And the like also chanced to king S. Lewis's army in Egypt, as the lord de Joinville reporteth. Other effects of bad waters

waters are seen near unto us, to wit, in *Savoy*, where the women, more than men, because they are of a colder constitution, have commonly swellings in their throats as big as bottles.

What air
is against
health.

Next to waters, the air is also one of the fathers and ingenderers of this sickness, in boggy and waterish places, and opposite to the south, which is often most rainy. But there is yet in *New France* another bad quality of the air, by reason of lakes that be thick there, and of the great rottenness in the woods, whose odour the bodies having drawn up, during the rains of autumn and winter, easily are engendered the corruptions of the mouth, and swelling in the legs before spoken, and a cold entrench insensibly into it, which benumbeth the limbs, stiffeneth the sinews, constraineth to creep with crutches, and in the end to keep the bed.

And for as much as the winds do participate with the air, yea, are an air running with a more vehement force than ordinary, and in this quality have great power over the health and sicknesses of men, we will speak something of it, not (for all that) straying ourselves from the sequel of our history.

Winds.

The easterly wind, called by the *Latins*, *Subsolanus*, is held for the healthfullest of all, and for that cause, wise builders give advice to set their buildings towards the aspect of the east. The opposite to it is the wind called *Favorinus*, or *Zephyrus*, which our seamen doth name west, which in these parts is mild and fructifying. The southern wind, called *Auster* by the *Latins*, is in *Africa* hot and dry: but in crossing the *Mediterranean* sea, it gathereth a great moistness, which makes it stormy and putrefying in *Provence* and *Languedoc*. The opposite to it, is the northern wind, otherwise called *Boreas*, *Bize*, *Tramontane*, which is cold and dry, chaceth the clouds and sweepeth the airy region. It is taken for the wholsomest next to the east wind. But these qualities of the wind found and noted in these parts, make not one general rule through over all the earth; for the north wind beyond the equinoctial line is not cold as in these parts, nor the south wind hot, because that by a long crossing, they borrow the qualities of the regions through which they pass: besides that, the south wind at his first issue is cooling, according to the report of those that have travelled in *Africa*. In like manner, there be regions in *Peru*, as in *Lima* and the plains, where the north wind is unwholsome and noisome. And thorough all that coast, which is about 500 leagues in length, they take the south wind for a sound and fresh cooling wind, and which more is, most mild and pleasant:

yea also, that it doth never rain by it, according to that which *Joseph Acosta* writeth of it, clean contrary to that we see in this part of *Europe*. And in *Spain* the east wind, which we have said to be found, the same *Acosta* saith, that it is noisome and unsound. The wind called *Circius*, which is the north west, is so stormy and boisterous in the westerly shores of *Norway*, that if there be any which undertaketh any voyage that way, when that wind bloweth, he must make account to be lost and cast away: and this wind is so cold in that region, that it suffereth not any tree, small or great to grow there: so that for want of wood they must serve themselves with the bones of great fishes, to seeth or roast their meats, which discommodity is not in these parts. In like sort, we have had experience in *New France* that the north winds are not for health: And the north east (which are the cold, strong, sharp and stormy *Aquilons*) yet worse; which our sick folks, and they that had wintered there the former year, did greatly fear, because that likely some of them drooped away, when that wind blew, for indeed they had some sensible feeling of this wind: as we see those that be subject to ruptures endure great pangs when that the south wind doth blow: and as we see the very beasts to prognosticate by some signs the change of weather. This noisome quality of winds proceedeth (in my judgment) from the nature of the country through which it passeth, which, as we have said, is full of lakes, and those very great, which be, as it were, standing and still waters. Whereto I add the exhalation of the rottenness of woods, that this wind bringeth, and that in so much greater quantity, as the north west part is great, large, and spacious.

Sick folks
and beasts
do feel the
wind and
weather a
coming.

The seasons are also to be marked in this disease, which I have not seen nor heard of, that it begins to work, neither in the spring time, summer, nor autumn, unless it be at the end of it, but in winter. And the cause thereof is, that as the growing heat of the spring maketh the humours closed up in the winter to disperse themselves to the extremities of the body, and so cleareth it from melancholy, and from the noisome humours that have been gathered in winter; so the autumn, as the winter approacheth, draweth them inward, and doth nourish this melancholy and black humour, which doth abound especially in this season, and the winter being come sheweth forth his effects at the costs and griefs of the poor patients. *Galen* yieldeth a reason for the same, saying that the humours of the body, having been parched by the burning of the summer, that which may rest of it, after the heat is expelled, be-

Seasons.

becometh forthwith cold and dry ; that is to say, cold by the privation of the heat, and dry in as much as in the drying of these humours, all the moistness that was therein hath been consumed : and thereby it cometh that sicknesses are bred in this season, and the farther one goeth the weaker nature is, and the intemperate coldness of the air being entered into a body already thereto disposed, doth handle it, as it were, at a beck and at will, without pity.

Bad food
and dis-
commodi-
ties of the
sea.

I would add willingly to all the foresaid causes the bad food of the sea, which in a long voyage brings much corruption in man's body. For one must of necessity, after four or five days, live of salt meat, or bring sheep alive, and store of poultry ; but this is but for masters and commanders in ships : and we had none in our voyage but for to reserve and multiply in the land whither we did go. The mariners then and passengers do suffer discomfort as well in the bread as in the meat and drink ; the bisket becometh dampish and rotten, the fishes that are given them alike, and the waters stinking ; they which carry sweet meats, be it flesh or fruits, and that use good bread, good wine and good broths, do easily avoid those sicknesses ; and I durst, in some sort, be answerable unto them for their healths, unless they be very unhealthful by nature. And when I consider that this disease is as well taken in *Holland*, *Friesland*, in *Spain* and in *Guiney*, as in *Canada*, I am brought to believe that the chief cause thereof is in that which I have said, and not peculiar nor particular to *New France*.

Disposi-
tion of
body.

After all these causes and considerations, it is good in every place to have a well disposed body, for to be in health and live long. For those which naturally gather cold and gross humours, and have the mass of their body pory : *Item*, they that be subject to the oppilations of the spleen, and they that use not a stirring life, but sitting and without frequent motion, are more apt and subject to these sicknesses. Therefore, a physician might say that a student is not fit for that country, that is to say, he shall not live there in health : nor those which over-toil in labours, nor melancholy people, men which have drowsy dreaming spirits, nor those that be often visited with agues, and such other sort of people. Which I might easily believe, because that these things do heap much melancholy, cold, and superfluous humours. Notwithstanding I have try'd the contrary, both by myself and by others, against the opinion of

some of ours, yea, of *Sagamos* † *Memberton* himself, who playeth the soothsayer among the savages, who, arriving in that country, said, that I should never return into *France*, nor *Monf. Boulet*, sometimes captain of *Monf. de Poutrincourt's* regiment, who, for the most part of the time, hath had agues there, but he did fare well. And they themselves did advise our labourers to take but small labour in their work, which counsel they could very well observe ; for I may say, and that truly, that I never made so much bodily work, for the pleasure that I did take in dressing and tilling my gardens, to inclose and hedge them, against the gluttony of the hogs, to make knots, to draw out alleys, to build arbours, to sow wheat, rye, barley, oats, beans, pease, garden herbs, and to water them ; so much desire had I to know the goodness of the ground by my own experience. So that summers days were unto me too short, and very often did I work by moon-light. Concerning the labour of the mind, I took a reasonable part of it ; for at night, every one being retired, among the pratings, noises, and hurliburlies, I was shut up in my study, reading or writing of something. Yea, I will not be ashamed to speak, that being requested by *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, our commander, to bestow some hours of my industry, in giving Christian instructions to our small company ; for not to live like beasts, and for to give to the savages an example of our manner of life, I have done it according to the necessity, and being thereof requested, every *Sunday*, and sometimes extraordinarily, almost during all the time we have been there ; and well was it for me that I had brought my bible, and some books unawares ; for otherwise it had been very difficult for me, and had been cause to excuse me of that work. It hath not been without fruit, many witnessing unto me, that they had never heard so much good talk of God, nor knowing before any principle of that which belongeth to Christian doctrine : and such is the state wherein live the most part of *Christendom* ; and if there were any edifying of one part, there was backbiting on the other, by reason, that using a *French* liberty, I willingly spake the truth : whereupon I remember the saying of the prophet *Amos*, *They have hated, saith he, him that reproved them in the gate, and have had in abomination him that spake in integrity*. But, in the end, we became all good friends ; and amongst these things God gave me always a sound and a perfect health, always a good

† *Sagamos* is a savage word which signifieth a lord, a ruler, or a captain.

a good taste; always merry and nimble, saying that having once lain in the woods, near to a brook in snowy weather, I was touched with a cramp, or *Sciatica*, in my thigh a fortnight's space, not losing my appetite nor stomach for the same; for indeed I took delight in that which I did, desiring to confine there my life, if it would please God to bless the voyages.

I should be over tedious, if I should set down here the disposition of all persons, and to speak concerning children that they are more subject to this sickness than others, for that they have very often ulcers in the mouth and gums, because of the thin substance that abound in their bodies: and also that they gather many crude humours by their disorder of living, and by the quantity of fruits they eat, being never fill'd with it, by which means they gather great quantity of waterish blood, and the spleen being stopped cannot soak up those moistures. And as for old folks that have their heat weakened, and cannot resist the sickness, being filled with crudities, and with a cold and moist temperature, which is the quality proper to stir up and nourish it: I will not take the physician's office in hand, fearing the censuring rod: and notwithstanding, with their leave, not touching with their orders and receipts of *Agarie*, *Aloes*, *Rhubarb*, and other ingredients, I will write here that which I think more ready at hand for the poor people, who have not the ability and means to send to *Alexandria*, as well for the preservation of their health, as for the remedy of this sickness.

Advice for
sicknesses
of New
France.

It is a certain axiom, That a contrary must be healed by his contrary. This sickness proceeding from an indigestion of crude, gross, cold and melancholy meats, which offend the stomach, I think it good, submitting myself to better judgment and advice, to accompany them with good sauces, be it of butter, oil, or fat, all well spiced, to correct as well the quality of the meat as of the body inwardly waxen cold. Let this be said for crude and gross meats, as beans, pease, and fish; for he that shall eat good capons, good partridges, good ducks, and good rabbits, he may be assured of his health, or else his body is of a very bad constitution. We have had some sick that have, as it were, been raised up from death to life; for having eaten twice or thrice of a coolice made of a cock, good wine taken according to the necessity of nature, is a sovereign preservative for all sicknesses, and particularly for this. Master *Macquin* and master *Georges*, worshipful merchants of *Rochel*, as associates to *Monf. de Monts*, did furnish us with forty-five tons of wine, which did us very much good. And our sick folks themselves, hav-

Good
wine.

ing their mouths spoiled, and not being able to eat, have never lost their taste of wine, which they took with a pipe. The same hath preserved many of them from death. The young buds of herbs in the spring time be also very sovereign. And besides that reason requires to believe it, I have tried it, being my self gone many times to gather some for our sick people, before that those of our garden might be used, which restored them to their taste again, and comforted their weak stomachs.

Herbs in
the spring
time.

And as for that which concerneth the exterior parts of the body, we have found great good in wearing wooden pantoffles, or pattens, with our shoes, for to avoid the moistness. The houses need no opening, nor windows on the north-west side, being a wind very dangerous, but rather on the east-side, or the south. It is very good to have good bedding (and it was good for me to have carried things necessary to this purpose) and above all, to keep my self neat. I would like well the use of stoves, such as they have in *Germany*; by means whereof they feel no winter, being at home but as much as they please. Yea they have of them in many places in their gardens, which do so temper the coldness of winter, that in this rough and sharp season, there one may see orange-trees, lemon-trees, fig-trees, pomegranate-trees; and all such sort of trees bring forth fruit as good as in *Provence*: which is so much the more easy to do in this new land, for that it is all covered over with woods (except when one come in the *Armouchiquois* country a hundred leagues further off than *Port-Royal*.) And in making of winter a summer, one shall discover the land; which not having any more those great obstacles that hinder the sun to court her, and from warming it with his heat, without doubt it will become very temperate, and yield a most mild air; and well agreeing with our humour, not having there, even at this time, either cold or heat that is excessive.

Stoves.

Stoves in
gardens.

The savages that know not *Germany*, nor the customs thereof, do teach us the same lesson, which being subject to those sicknesses (as we have seen in the voyage of *James Quartier*) use sweatings often, as it were every month; and by this means they preserve themselves, driving out by sweat all the cold and evil humours they might have gathered. But one singular preservative against this perfidious sickness, which cometh so stealthily; and which having once lodged itself within us, will not be put out; is to follow the counsel of him that is wise amongst the wise, who having considered all the afflictions that

The sweat-
ings of the
savages.

man

Means of
mirth.

man gives to himself during his life, hath found nothing better than *to rejoice himself, and do good, and to take pleasure in his own works.* They that have done so in our company, have found themselves well by it; contrariwise some always grudging, repining, never content, idle, have been found out by the same disease. True it is, that for to enjoy mirth it is good to have the sweetness of fresh meats, flesh, fishes, milk, butter, oils, fruits, and such like, which we had not at will (I mean the common sort; for always some one or other of the company did furnish *Monf. de Poutrincourt's* table, with wild-fowl, venison or fresh fish.) And if we had had half a dozen kine, I believe that no body had died there.

It resteth a preservative necessary for the accomplishment of mirth; and to the end one may take pleasure on the work of

his hands, is every one to have the honest company of his lawful wife; for without that, the cheer is never perfect; ones mind is always upon that which one loves and desireth; there is still some sorrow, the body becomes full of ill humours, and so the sickness doth breed.

And for the last and sovereign remedy, Tree of I send back the patient to the tree of life. (for so one may well qualify it) which *James Quartier* doth call *Annedda*, yet unknown in the coast of *Port-Royal*, unless it be, peradventure the *Sassafras*, whereof *Sassafras* there is quantity in certain places. And it is an assured thing, that the said tree is very excellent. But *Monf. Champlain*, who is now in the great river of *Canada*, passing his winter, in the same part where the said *Quartier* did winter, hath charge to find it out, and to make provision thereof.

CHAP. VII.

The discovery of lands by Monf. de Monts: Fabulous tales and reports of the river and feigned town of Norombega: The refuting of the authors that have written thereof: Fish banks in Newfoundland: Kinibeki: Chovacoet: Mallebarre: Armouchiquois, &c.

Monf. de
Monts's
voyage for
the disco-
very of
new lands.

THE rough season being passed, *Monf. de Monts* wearied with his bad dwelling at *St. Croix*, determined to seek out another port in a warmer country, and more to the south; and to that end made a pinnace to be armed and furnished with victuals, to follow the coast, and discovering new countries, to seek out some happier port in a more temperate air. And because that in seeking, one cannot set forward so much as when in full sails one goeth in open sea; and that finding out bays and gulfs, lying between two lands, one must put in, because that there one may as soon find that which is sought for, as else where, he made in this voyage but about six score leagues, as we will tell you now. From *St. Croix* to sixty leagues forward, the coast lieth east and west; at the end of which sixty leagues, is the river called by the savages *Kinibeki*. "From which place
"to *Mallebarre* it lieth north and south,
"and there is yet from one to the other
"sixty leagues in a right line, not following the bays. So far stretcheth *Monf. De Monts's* voyage, wherein he had for
"pilot in his vessel, *Monf. De Champo- dore*. In all this coast so far as *Kinibeki*,
"there are many places where ships may be
"harboured amongst the islands, but the
"people there are not so frequent as is be-

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Kinibeki
sixty
leagues
from *St. Croix*.

"yond that." And there is no remarkable thing (at least that may be seen in the outside of the lands) but a river, whereof many have written fables one after another, like to those that they (who grounding themselves upon *Hannos's* commentaries, a *Carthaginian* captain) have feigned of towns built by him in great number upon the coasts of *Africa*, which is watered with the ocean sea; for that he play'd an heroical part in sailing so far as the isles of *Cape Verd*, where long time since no body hath been; the navigation not being so secure then upon that great sea, as it is at this day by the benefit of the compass.

Therefore without alledging that, which the first writers (*Spaniards* and *Portuguese*) have said, I will recite that which is in the last book, intituled, *The universal history of the West-Indies*, printed at *Dorway*, the last year 1607, in the place where he speaks of *Norombega*: for in reporting this, I shall have also said that which the first have written, from whom they have had it.

"Moreover, towards the north (saith Fabulous
"the author, after he had spoken of *Vir- tales of
"ginia*) is *Norombega*, which is known the river
"well enough, by reason of a fair town, *Norombe-
"and a great river, though it is not found ga.*
"from whence it hath its name; for the
"Barbarians do call it *Agguncia*: at the
"mouth

Pempte-
goet.

“mouth of this river there is an island
“very fit for fishing. The region that
“goeth along the sea, doth abound in fish;
“and towards *New France*, there are great
“numbers of wild beasts, and is very com-
“modious for hunting; the inhabitants do
“live in the same manner as they of *New*
“*France*.” If this beautiful town hath ever
been in nature, I would fain know who
hath pulled it down: for there are but ca-
bins here and there made with pearkes
covered with bark of trees, or with skins;
and both the river and the place inhabited,
are called *Pemptegoet*, and not *Agguncia*.
The river (saving the tide) is scarce as the
river of *Oyse*. And there can be no great
river on that coast, because there are not
lands sufficient to produce them, by rea-
son of the great river of *Canada*, which
runneth like this coast, and is not four-
score leagues distant from that place in
crossing the lands, which from else-where
received many rivers falling from those
parts which are towards *Norombega*: at
the entry whereof, it is so far from having
but one island, that rather the number
thereof is almost infinite, for as much as
this river enlarging it self like the greek
Lambda λ; the mouth whereof is all full
of isles, whereof there is one of them ly-
ing very far off (and the foremost) in the
sea, which is high and markable above
the others.

But some will say that I equivocate in
the situation of *Norombega*, and that it is
not placed where I take it. To this I an-
swer, that the author, whose words I have
a little before alledged, is in this my suf-
ficient warrant; who in his geographi-
cal map, hath placed the mouth of this
river in the forty-fourth degree, and his
supposed town in the forty-fifth, wherein
we differ but in one degree, which is a
small matter. For the river that I mean
is in the forty-fifth degree; and as for any
town, there is none. Now of necessity it
must be this river, because that the same
being passed, and that of *Kinibeki*, (which
is in the same heighth) there is no other
river forward, whereof account should be
made, till one come to *Virginia*. I say
furthermore, that seeing the barbarians of
Norombega do live as they of *New France*,
and have abundance of hunting; it must
be, that their province be seated in our
New-France: for fifty leagues farther to
the south-west there is no great game; be-
cause the woods are thinner there, and the
inhabitants settled, and in greater number
than in *Norombega*.

True it is, that a sea captain, named
John Alfonse, of *Xaintonge*, in the relati-
on of his adventurous voyages, hath writ-
ten; that, having passed *St. John's* island
(which I take for the same that I have

called heretofore the isle of *Bacaillos*) the
coast turneth to the west, and west south-
west, as far as the river of *Norombega*,
“newly discovered (saith he) by the *Por-*
“*tugueze* and *Spaniards*, which is in thirty
“degrees: adding that this river hath
“at the entrance thereof many isles, banks,
“and rocks; and that fifteen or twenty
“leagues within it, is built a great town,
“where the people are small and blackish,
“like them of the Indies; and are cloath-
“ed with skins, whereof they have a
“bundance of all sorts. Item, that the
“bank of *Newfoundland* endeth there;
“and that that river being passed, the coast
“turneth to the west, and west north-
“west, above two hundred fifty leagues
“towards a country, where there are both
“towns and castles. But I see very little
“or no truth at all, in all the discourfes
“of this man:” and well may he call his
voyages adventurous, not for him, who was
never in the hundredth part of the places
he describeth (at least it is easy so to think)
but for those that will follow the ways
which he willeth mariners to follow.
For if the said river of *Norombega* be in
thirty degrees, it must needs be in *Flori-*
da; which is the contrary to all them that
ever have written of it, and to the very
truth itself.

Concerning that which he saith of the
bank of *Newfoundland*, it endeth (by the
report of mariners, about the isle of *Sab-*
lon, or *Sand*) about cape *Breton*. True it
is, that there are some other banks, that are
called *Lebanquereau*, and *Lebanjacquet*; The great
bank of
New-
foundland.
but they are but five or six, or ten leagues,
and are divided from the great bank of *New-*
foundland; and touching the men in the land
of *Norombega*, they are of fair and high sta-
ture. And to say, that this river being passed
the coast lieth west, and west north-west,
that hath no likelihood. For from cape
Breton, so far as the point of *Florida*, that
lieth over against the isle *de Cuba*; there is
not any coast standing west north-west,
only there are in the parts joyning upon the
true river called *Norombega*, some fifty
leagues coast, that standeth east and west.
Finally, of all that which the said *John Al-*
fonse doth report, I receive but that which
he saith that this river, whereof we speak,
hath at the coming in many islands, banks
and rocks.

The river of *Norombega* being passed, *Kinibeki*.
Monf. de Monts went still coasting, un-
til he came to *Kinibeki*; where a river is,
that may shorten the way to go to the great
river of *Canada*. There is a number of
savages cabined there; and the land begin-
neth there to be better peopled. From *Kini-*
beki going farther, one findeth the bay of
Marchin, named by the captain's name
that

The bay
of Mar-
chin.
Chova-
coet.

Vines.

Mallebar-
re.

The Ar-
mouchi-
quois.
traitors
and
thieves.

Shoals
stretching
far into
the sea.

The swift-
ness of the
Armouchi-
quois.

that commandeth therein. This *Marchin* was killed the year that we departed from *New France* in 1607. Farther is another bay called *Chovacoet*, where, (in regard of the former countries) is a great number of people; for there they till the ground, and the region beginneth to be more temperate; and for proof of this, there is in this land store of vines; yea even there be islands full of it, (which be more subject to the injuries of the wind and cold) as we shall say hereafter. There is between *Chovacoet* and *Mallebarre*, many bays and isles; and the coast is sandy, with shallow ground, drawing near to the said *Mallebarre*, so that scarce one may land there with barks.

The people that be from *St. John's* river to *Kinibeki* (wherein are comprised the rivers of *St. Croix* and *Norombega*) are called *Etechemins*; and from *Kinibeki*, as far as *Mallebarre*, and farther, they are called *Armouchiquois*. They be traitors and thieves; and one had need to take heed of them. *Monf. de Monts*, having made some stay at *Mallebarre*, victuals began to be scarce with him; and it was needful to think upon return, especially seeing all the coast so troublesome, that one could pass no further without peril, for shoals that stretch far into the sea, in such wise, that the farther one goeth from the land, lesser depth there is. But before departing, a carpenter of *St. Maloes* died casually; who going to fetch water with some kettles; an *Armouchiquois* seeing fit opportunity to steal one of those kettles, when that the *Frenchman* took no heed, took it, and ran away speedily with his booty. The *Malovine* running after, was killed by this wicked people; and although the same had not happened, it was in vain to pursue after this thief; for all these *Armouchiquois* are as swift in running as greyhounds; as we will yet further say in speaking of the voyage that *Monf. de Poutrincourt* made in the same country, in the year 1606. It grieved sore *Monf. de Monts*, to see such a thing; and his men were earnest for revenge (which they might do; for the other barbarians were not so far from the *Frenchman*, but that a musket shot might have scared them; which they had already on rest, to level every one at his man) but the said *Monf. de Monts*, upon some considerations, which many other of this place and dignity might have missed to consider; made every one to put down their muskets cocks, and left

them alone, not having hitherto found a fit place to make a settled dwelling. And so the said *Monf. de Monts*, caused all things to be in a readiness for the return to *St. Croix*, where he had left a good number of his men, yet weak by the winter sickness, of whose health he was careful.

Many that know not what belongeth to the sea, do think, that the setting of an habitation in an unknown land is easy: but, by the discourse of this voyage, and others that follow, they shall find that it is far easier to say, than to do; and that *Monf. de Monts*, hath exploited many things this first year, in viewing all the coast of this land, even to *Mallebarre*; which is four hundred leagues, following the same coast, and searching to the bottom of the bays; besides the labour he forced to, in causing houses to be made at *St. Croix*; the care he had of those which he had brought thither, and of their return into *France*; if any peril or shipwreck should come to those that had promised him to fetch him at the end of the year. But one may run and takes pains to seek ports and havens, where fortune favoureth; yet she is always like to herself. "It is good for one to lodge himself in a sweet mild climate, when one may chuse, notwithstanding death follows us every where." I have heard of a pilot of *New-baven*, that was with the *Englishmen* in *Virginia* twenty-four years ago; that being come thither, there died thirty-six of them in three months. Nevertheless, *Virginia* is taken to be in the 36th, 37th, and 38th degrees of latitude, which is a good temperate country. Which considering, I yet believe (as I have already said before) that such mortality cometh by the bad fare; and it is altogether needful to have in such a country, at the very beginning, household, and tame cattel of all sorts; and to carry store of fruit trees and grafts, for to have there quickly recreation necessary to the health of them that desire to people the land. That if the savages themselves be subject to the sickness, whereof we have spoken; I attribute that, to the same cause of evil fare. For they have nothing that may correct the vice of the meats which they take; and are always naked amongst the moistures of the ground, which is the very means to gather quantities of corrupted humours; which cause those sicknesses unto them, as well as to the strangers that go thither, although they be born to that kind of life.

C H A P. VIII.

The arrival of Monsf. du Pont to St. Croix : return of Monsf. de Monts into France : The Furniture of the said Monsf. du Pont for the discovery of new lands beyond Mallebarre, &c.

THE spring-time season being passed in the voyage of the *Armouchiquois*, Monsf. de Monts, did temporise at *St. Croix* for the time that he had agreed upon ; in the which if he had no news from *France*, he might depart and come to seek some ship of them that come to *Newfoundland* for the drying of fish ; to the end to repass into *France* within the same, he and his company, if it were possible. This time was already expired, and they were ready to set sails, not expecting more any succour nor refreshing ; when Monsf. du Pont, surnamed *Gravé*, dwelling at *Honfleur*, did arrive with a company of some forty men, for to ease the said Monsf. de Monts and his troop ; which was to the great joy of all, as one may well imagine ; and cannon shots were free and plentiful at the coming according to custom, and the sound of trumpets. The said Monsf. du Pont, not knowing yet the state of our *Frenchmen*, did think to find there an assured dwelling, and his lodgings ready ; but considering the accidents of the strange sickness whereof we have spoken, he took advice to change place. Monsf. de Monts was very desirous that the new habitation had been about forty degrees, that is to say, four degrees farther than *St. Croix* : but having viewed the coast as far as *Mallebarre*, and with much pain, not finding what he desired ; it was deliberated to go and make their dwelling in *Port Royal*, until means were had to make an ampler discovery. So every one began to pack up their things ; that which was built with infinite labour was pulled down, except the store-house, which was too great and painful to be transported ; and in executing of this, many voyages are made. All being come to *Port Royal*, they found out new labours ; the abiding place is chosen right over against the island, that is at the coming in of the river *L'Equille* ; in a place where all is covered over and full of woods, as thick as possible may be. The month of *September* did already begin to come ; and care was to be taken for the unlading for Monsf. du Pont's ship, to make room of them that should return back into *France*. Finally there is work enough for all. When the ship was in a readiness to put to sails, Monsf. de Monts having seen the beginning of the new habitation,

shipped himself for his return, with them that would follow him. Notwithstanding, many of good courage (forgetting the griefs and labours passed) did tarry behind, amongst whom were Monsf. *Champlein* and Monsf. *Champdore* ; the one for geography, and the other for the conducting and guiding of the voyages that should be necessary to be made by sea. Then the said Monsf. de Monts hoisted up sails, and leaveth the said Monsf. du Pont, as his lieutenant and deputy in these parts ; who wanting no diligence (according to his nature) in making perfect that which was needful for to lodge both himself and his people, which was all that might be done for that year in that country. For to go far from home in the winter, and after so long a toil, there was no reason : and as for the tillage of the ground, I believe they had no fit time to do it ; for the said Monsf. du Pont was not a man to be long in rest, nor to leave his men idle, if there had been any means for it.

The winter being come, the savages of the country did assemble themselves, from far to *Port Royal*, for to truck with the frenchmen, for such things they had ; some bringing beavers skins, and otters (which are those whereof most account may be made in that place) and also *ellans* or stags, whereof good buff may be made ; others bringing flesh newly killed, wherewith they made many good *tabagies*, or feasts, living merrily as long as they had wherewithal. They never wanted any bread, but wine did not continue with them till the season was ended. For when we came thither the year following, they had been above three months without any wine, and were very glad of our coming, for that made them to take again the taste of it.

The greatest pain they had, was to Hand-grind the corn to have bread, which is milis. very painful with hand-mills, where all the strength of the body is requisite : and therefore it is not without cause, that in old time, bad people were threatned to be sent to the mill, as to the painfulest thing that is ; to which occupation poor slaves were set to, before the use of water and wind-mills was found out, as the prophane histories make mention ; and the same of the coming of the people of *Israel* out of the land

land of *Egypt* : where, for the last scourge that God will send to *Pharaoh*, he declareth by the mouth of *Moses*, that *about midnight he will pass thorough Egypt ; and every first-born shall die there, from the first born of Pharaoh, that should sit upon his throne, to the first born of the maid servant which grindeth the mill.* And this labour is so great, that the savages (although they be very poor) cannot bear it ; and had rather to be without bread, than to take so much pains, as it hath been tried, offering them half of the grinding they should do, but they chused rather to have no corn. And I might well believe that the same with other things, hath been great means to breed the sickness spoken of, in some of *Monf. du Pont's* men ; for there died some half a dozen of them that winter. True it is, that I find a defect in the buildings of our *Frenchmen* ; which is, they had no ditches about them, whereby the waters of the ground next to them did run under their lowermost rooms, which was a great hindrance to their health. I add besides the bad waters which they used, that did not run from a quick spring, but from the nearest brook.

The furniture of *Monf. du Pont* to go the discovery of new lands.

The winter being passed, and the sea navigable, *Monf. du Pont* would needs achieve the enterprize begun the year before by *Monf. de Monts*, and to go seek out a port more southerly, where the air might be more temperate, according as he had in charge of the said *Monf. de Monts*. He furnished then the bark which remained with him to that effect ; but being set out of the port, and full ready, hoisted up sails for *Mallebarre*, he was forced by contrary winds twice to put back again ; and at the third time, the said bark struck against the rocks at the entry of the said port. In this disgrace of *Neptune*, the men were saved with the better part of provision and merchandise ; but as for the bark it was rent in pieces. And by this mis-hap the voyage was broken, and that which was so desired intermitted ; for the habitation of *Port Royal* was not judged good ; and notwithstanding it is on the north and north-west sides, well sheltered with mountains, distant some one league, some half a league from the port and the river *L'Equille*. So we see how that enterprizes take not effect according to the desires of men, and are accompanied with many perils ; so that one must not wonder if the time be long in establishing of colonies, especially in lands so remote, whose nature, and temperature of air is not known, and where one must fell and cut down forrests, and be constrained to take heed, not from the people that we call savages, but from them that term themselves Christians ; and yet

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have but the name of it, cursed and abominable people, worse than wolves, enemies to God and human nature.

This attempt then being broken, *Monf. du Pont* knew not what to do, but to attend the succour and supply that *Monf. de Monts* promised, parting from *Port Royal* at his return into *France*, to send him the year following. Yet for all events he built another bark and a Shalop for to seek *French* ships in the places where they use to dry fish ; such as *Campseau-Port*, *English Port*, *Misamichis Port*, the bay of *Chaleur* (or heat) the bay of *Morves* or *Coddes*, and others in great number, according as *Monf. de Monts* had done the former year ; to the end to ship himself in them, and to return into *France*, in case that no ship should come to succour him. Wherein he did wisely, for he was in danger to hear no news from us, that were appointed to succeed him, as it shall appear by the discourse following.

But in the mean while we must consider that they, which in these voyages have transported themselves into these parts, have had an advantage over those that would plant in *Florida* ; which is, in having that refuge before said, of *French* ships that frequent the *Newfoundlands* for fishing, not being forced to build great ships, nor to abide extream famines, as they have done in *Florida*, whose voyages have been lamentable for that respect, and these by reason of the sicknesses that have persecuted them : but they of *Florida* have had a blessing, for that they were in a mild and fertile country, and more friendly to man's health than *New France*, spoken of elsewhere. If they have suffered famines, there was great fault in them, for not having tilled the ground, which they found plain and champion ; which before all other things is to be done, of them that will lodge themselves so far from ordinary succour. But the *Frenchmen*, and almost all nations at this day (I mean of those that be not born and brought up to the manuring of the ground) have this bad nature ; that they think to derogate much from their dignity in addicting themselves to the tillage of the ground, which notwithstanding is almost the only vocation where innocency remaineth. And thereby cometh that every one shunning this noble labour, our first parents and antient kings exercised, as also of the greatest captains of the world, seeking to make himself a gentleman at others costs, or else willing only to learn the trade to deceive men, or to claw himself in the sun, God taketh away his blessing from us, and beateth us at this day, and hath done a long time with an iron rod ; so that in all parts the people languisheth

The comparing of these latter voyages.

guisheth miserably, and we see the realm of *France* swarming with beggars and vagabonds of all kinds ; besides an infinite

number, groaning in their poor cottages, not daring, or ashamed, to shew forth their poverty and misery.

C H A P. IX.

The first motive and acceptation of the voyage by Mons. de Poutrincourt, together with the author, into New France : Their departure from Paris to go to Rochel.

ABOUT the time of the before mentioned shipwreck, Mons. de Monts being in *France*, did think carefully upon the means how to prepare a new supply for *New France* : which seemed hard and difficult to him, as well for the great charges that that action required, as because that province had been so discredited at his return, that the continuing of these voyages any longer did seem vain and unfruitful. Besides, there was some reason to believe that no body would adventure himself thither : notwithstanding, knowing Mons. de Poutrincourt's desire (to whom before he had given part of the land, according to the power which the king had given him) which was to inhabit in those parts ; and there to settle his family and his fortune, together with the name of God ; he wrote unto him, and sent a man of purpose to give him notice of the voyage that was in hand ; which the said Mons. de Poutrincourt accepted of, leaving all affairs, to attend on this action, though he had suits in law of great weight, to the prosecuting and defence whereof his presence was very requisite. And that at his first voyage he had tried the malice of some, which during his absence prosecuted against him with rigour ; and at his return gave over and became dumb. He was no sooner come to *Paris*, but that he was forced to depart, not having scarce time to provide for things necessary ; and, I having had that good hap to be acquainted with him some years before, asked me if I would take part in that business ; whereunto I demanded a days respite to answer him. Having well consulted with my self, not so much desirous to see the country, for I knew well that there were woods, lakes and rivers ; and that one must go over seas (which I had before done in the streights) as to be able to give an eye judgment of the land, whereto my mind was before inclined ; and to avoid a corrupted world I engaged my word unto him, being induced thereto specially for the injustice done to me a little before, by some presidial judges, in favour of a parsonage of emi-

The causes
of the au-
thors
voyage.

nent quality, whom I have always honoured and revered : which sentence at my return hath been recalled, by order and sentence of the court of parliament, for which I am particularly obliged to Mons. Seruin, the king's advocate general, to whom doth belong properly this elege, attributed according to the letter, to the most wise and most magnificent of all kings, *Thou hast loved justice and hated iniquity.*

So it is that God awaketh us sometimes, to stir us up to generous actions ; such as be these voyages, which (as the world doth vary) some will blame, other some will approve. But without answering any body in this respect, I care not what discourses idle men, or those that cannot, or will not, help me, may make, enjoying contentment in my self ; and being ready to render all service to God and to the king in those remote lands, that bear the name of *France*, if either my fortune or condition call me thither, for there to live in quiet and rest, by an acceptable pleasing labour, and to shun the hard and miserable life, whereto I see reduced the most part of men in this part of the world.

To return then to Mons. de Poutrincourt as he had dispatched some business, he inquired in some churches if some learned priest might be found out that would go with him ; to relieve and ease him, whom Mons. de Monts had left there at his voyage, whom we thought to be yet living. But because it was the holy week, in which time they are employed, and wait on confessions and shrivings, there was none to be found ; some excusing themselves upon the troubles and discomforts of the sea, and the length of the voyage ; others deferring it till after Easter : which was cause that none could be had out of *Paris* : but by reason the season hastened on ; for time and tide tarry for no man, we were forced to depart.

There rested to find out fit and necessary workmen for the voyage of *New France*, whereunto some were speedily provided, and a price was agreed upon for their wages, and money given before hand in part thereof,

thereof, to bear their charges to *Rochel*, where the rendezvous was, at the dwelling houses of master *Macquin*, and master *Georges*, worshipful merchants of the said town, the associates of *Monf. de Monts*, which did provide our furniture and provision.

Our meaner people being gone, three or four days after we took our way to *Orleans*, upon *Good-Friday*, for there to so-

lemnise and pass our Easter, where every one accomplished the duty usual to all good Christians, in taking the spiritual food; that is to say, the holy communion, seeing we did undertake, and were going on a voyage. From thence we came down the river *Loyre* to *Saumur*, with our carriage; and from *Saumur* we went by *Tours* and *Maran* to *Rochel*, by hackney horses.

CHAP. X.

Of what passed at Rochel, before they set out on their voyage.

BEING come to *Rochel*, we found there *Monf. de Monts*, and *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, that were come post, and our ship called the *Jonas*, of the burthen of 150 tuns, ready to pass out of the chains of the town, to tarry for wind and tide. The tide I say, because that a great ship laden, cannot come to sea from *Rochel*, but in spring tides, upon the new and full moon; by reason that in the town road there is no sufficient depth. In the mean while we made good cheer, yea so good, that we did long to be at sea to make diet; which we did but too soon, being once come thither; for during two whole months we saw not a whit of land, as we will farther tell anon. But the workmen, through their good cheer (for they had every one two shillings a day hire) did play marvellous pranks in *St. Nicholas* quarter, where they were lodged, which was found strange in a town so reformed as *Rochel* is; in the which no notorious riots nor dissolutions be made; and indeed one must behave himself orderly there, unless he will incur the danger either of the censure of the mayor, or of the ministers of the town. Some of those disordered men were put in prison, which were kept in the town-house till the time of going; and had been further punished, had it not been upon consideration of the voyage, where they knew they should not have all their eases, but should afterwards pay dear enough for their mad bargain; in putting the said master *Macquin* and master *Georges* to so much trouble, to keep them in order. I will not, for all that, put in the number of this disordered people, all the rest, for there were some very civil and respective: but I will say that the common people is a dangerous beast; and this maketh me remember the *Croquans* * war, amongst whom I was once

in my life, being in *Querci*. It was the strangest thing in the world to see the confusion of those wooden shod fellows, from whence they took the name of *Croquans* (that is to say *Hookers*) because that their wooden shoes, nailed before and behind, did hook or stick fast at every step. This confused people had neither rhyme nor reason among them; every one was master there; some armed with a hedge-hook at a staff's end, others with some rusty sword, and so accordingly,

Our *Jonas* having her full load, was in the end rowed out of the town into the road, and we thought to set out the 8th or 9th of *April*. *Capt. Foulques* had taken the charge for the conducting of the voyage: But as commonly there is negligence in mens business, it happened that this captain (who notwithstanding I have known very diligent and watchful at sea) having left the ship ill manned, not being in her himself, nor the pilot, but only six or seven mariners good and bad; a great south-east wind arose in the night, which brake the *Jonas* cable, fastened with one only anchor, and driveth her against a forewall which is out of the town, backing and propping the tower of the chain, against which she struck so many times, that she break and sunk down; and it chanced well that it was then ebbing, for if this mishap had come in flowing time, the ship was in danger to be overwhelmed with a far greater loss than we had, but she stood up, and so there was means to mend her, which was done with speed. Our workmen were warned to come and help in this necessity, either to draw at the pump, at the capstan, or to any other thing, but few there were that endeavoured themselves to do any thing, the most part of them going away, and most of them

* *Croquans* signifies hookers.

them made a mock of it. Some having gone so far as to the oar, went back, complaining that one had cast water upon them, being of that side that the water came out of the pump, which the wind did scatter upon them. I came thither with *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, and some other willing men, where we were not unprofitable. Almost all the inhabitants of *Rochel* were beholding this spectacle upon the rampiers. The sea was yet stormy, and we thought our ship would have dashed oftentimes against the great towers of the town; in the end, we came in with less loss than we thought of. The ship was all unladen, being forced to tackle and furnish her anew; the loss thereby was great, and the voyages almost broken off for ever; for I believe, that after so many trials, none would have ventured to go plant colonies in those parts; that country being so ill spoken of, that every one did pity us, considering the accidents happened to them that had been there before. Notwithstanding *Monf. de Monts* and his associates, did bear manfully this loss; and I must needs be so bold as to tell in this occurrence, that if ever that country be inhabited with Christians, and civil people, the first praise thereof must of right be due to the authors of this voyage.

The courage of *M. de Monts* and his associates.

This great trouble hindered us above a month, which was employed in the unloading and lading again of our ship, during that time, we did walk sometimes unto the places near about the town, and chiefly unto the convent of the *Cordeliers*, which is but half a league off from the town; where being one *Sunday*, I did marvel how in those places of frontier, there is no better garrison, having so strong enemies near them. And seeing I take in hand to relate an history of things, according to the true manner of them; I say that it is a shameful thing for us, that the ministers of *Rochel* pray to God every day, in their congregations for the conversion of the poor savage people, and, also, for our safe conducting, and that our churchmen do not the like. In very truth, we never required neither the one nor the other to do it, but therein is known the zeal of both sides. In the end, a little before our departing, it came to my mind to ask of the parson or vicar of *Rochel* if there might be found any of his fraternity that would come with us, which I hoped might easily be done, because there was a reasonable good number of them: and besides, that being in a maritime town, I thought they took delight to haunt the seas, but I could obtain nothing; and for all excuses, it was told me, that none would go to such voyages, unless they were moved with an extraordinary zeal and piety;

and that it would be the best way to seek to the fathers jesuits for the same; which we could not then do, our ship having almost her full lading: whereupon I remember to have heard oftentimes of *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, that after his first voyage, being at the court, an ecclesiastical person esteemed very zealous in the Christian religion, demanded of him what might be hoped for in the conversion of the people of *New France*, and whether there were any great number of them; whereunto he answered, that a hundred thousand souls might be gotten to Jesus Christ, naming a number certain for an uncertain, this clergyman making small account of such a number, said thereupon by admiration *Is that all!* as if that number did not deserve the labour of a churchman. Truly, though there were but the hundredth part of that; yea, yet less; one must not suffer it to be lost. The good shepherd having among an hundred sheep one a stray, left the ninety nine for to go and seek out the one that was lost. We are taught, and I believe it so, that though there were but one man to be saved, our lord Jesus Christ had not disdained to come, as well for him, as he hath done for all the world. In like manner, one must not make so small account of the salvation of these poor people, though they swarm not in number, as within *Paris* or *Constantinople*.

Seeing it availed me nothing in demanding for a churchman, to administer the sacrament unto us, be it during our navigation, or upon the land; the ancient custom of the Christians came into my mind, which going in voyage, did carry with them the holy bread of the eucharist, and this they did, because they found not in all places priests to administer this sacrament unto them, the world being then yet full either of heathens or hereticks; so that it was not improperly called viatic, which they carried with them travelling on the way; yet notwithstanding I am of opinion that it hath a spiritual meaning. And considering that we might be brought to that necessity, not having in *New France* but one priest only, of whose death we heard when we came thither, I demanded if they would do unto us as to the ancient Christians, who were as wise as we. I was answered that the same was done in that time for considerations which are not now at this day. I replied that *Satirus*, *St. Ambrose's* brother, going on a voyage upon the sea, served himself with this spiritual physic, as we read in his funeral oration made by his said brother *St. Ambrose*, which he did carry in *Orario*, which I take to be a linnen cloth, or taffeta; and well did it happen unto him by it; for having made shipwreck, he saved himself upon a board

Custom of the ancient Christians carrying the eucharist in their voyages.

board, left of his vessel's wreck ; but I was as well refused in this as of the rest, which gave me cause of wondring, seeming to me a very rigorous thing to be in worse condition than the first Christians ; for the eucharist is no other thing at this day than it was then ; and if they held it precious, we do not demand it to make lesser account thereof.

Let us return to our *Jonas*. Now she was laden and brought out of the town into the road, there resteth nothing more than fit weather and tide, which was the hardest of the matter. For in places where is no great depth, as in *Rochel*, one must tarry for the high tides of the full and new moons, and then peradventure the wind will not be fit, and so one must defer till a fortnight's time. In the mean while the season goeth away, as it was almost with us ; for we saw the hour that after so many labours and charges, we were in danger to tarry for lack of wind, because the moon was in the wane, and consequently the tide. Captain *Foulques* did not seem to affect his charge, making

no ordinary stay in the ship, and it was reported that other merchants, not being of *Monf. de Monts's* society, did secretly solicit him to break off the voyage ; and indeed it hath been thought that he caused us to make wrong courses, which kept us two months and a half at sea, as hereafter we shall see ; which thing the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt* perceiving, himself took upon him the charge of captain of the ship, and went to lie in her, the space of five or six days, for to get out with the first wind, and not to lose the opportunity. In the end, with much ado the eleventh day of *May*, 1606, by the favour of a small easterly wind he went to sea, and made our *Jonas* to be brought to the *Palisse**, and the next day being the twelfth of the same month, came again to *Chef de Bois*, which be the places where ships put themselves for shelter from winds, where the hope of *New France* was assembled, I say the hope, because that of this voyage, did depend the continuance, or total breach, of the enterprise.

CHAP. XI.

Their departure from Rochel : Sundry meetings of ships, and pirates : an account of storms and winds, porpoisses, and of the banks of ice in Newfoundland, &c.

THE *Saturday, Whitsun-eve*, the thirteenth of *May*, we weighed our anchors, and sailed in open sea, so that by little and little we lost the sight of the great towers and town of *Rochel*, then of the isles of *Rez* and *Oleron*, bidding *France* farewell. It was a thing fearful for them that were not used to such a dance, to see them carried upon so moveable an element, and to be at every moment, as it were, within two fingers breadth of death. We had not long sailed, but that many did their endeavour to yield up the tribute to *Neptune*. In the mean while we went still forward ; for there was no more going back, the plank being once taken up. The sixteenth of *May* we met with thirteen *Hollanders*, going for *Spain*, which did enquire of our voyage, and so held their course. Since that time we were a whole month, seeing nothing else out of our floating town but sky and water ; one ship excepted, near about the *Azores*, well filled with *English* and *Dutchmen*. They bare up with us, and came very near us, and, according to the manner of the sea, we asked them

whence their ship was ; they told us they were *Newfoundlandmen*, that is to say, going a fishing for *Newfoundland* fish ; and they asked us if we would accept of their company, we thanked them ; thereupon they drank to us, and we to them, and they took another course ; but having considered their vessel all set with green moss on the belly and sides, we judged them to be pirates, and that they had of a long time beaten the sea in hopes to make some prize. It was then that we began to see more than before, *Neptune's* sheep to skip up, so do they call the frothy waves, when the sea beginneth to stir, and to feel the hard blows of his trident ; for commonly in that place before named the sea is stormy ; if one ask me the cause why ? I will answer, that I think it to proceed of a certain conflict between the east and westerly winds, which do encounter in that part of the sea, and especially in summer, when the west winds do rise up, and with a great force pierce and pass thorough a great distance of sea, until they find the winds of these parts, which do resist them ; then it is dangerous

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* A place so called near *Rochel*.

Why the sea is stormy about the *Azores*.

Hardness to come forth from a port.

Bad suspicion of Captain *Foulques*.

Meeting of a pirate or outlawed.

Westerly
winds or-
dinary in
in the west-
ern sea.

From
whence
the winds
do come.

gerous for a ship to be at these windy encounters. This reason seemeth the more probable unto me, in this, that until we came near the *Azores* we had the wind fit enough, and afterward, we had almost always either south-west or north-west, little north and south, which were not good for us, but to sail with the bowline; foreasterly winds we had none at all, but once or twice, which continued nothing with us to speak of. Sure it is that the westerly winds do reign much along that sea; whether it be by a certain repercussion of the east wind, which is stiff and swift under the equinoctial line, whereof we have spoken elsewhere, or because that this western land, being large and great, also, the wind that issueth from thence doth abound the more, which cometh especially in summer, when the sun hath force to draw up the vapours of the earth, for the winds come from thence, issuing from the dens and caves of the same; and therefore the poets do feign that *Æolus* holdeth them in prisons, from whence he draweth them, and giveth them liberty when it pleaseth him. But the spirit of God doth confirm it unto us yet better, when he saith by the mouth of the prophet, that almighty God, among other his marvels, draweth the winds out of his treasures, which be the caves whereof I speak; for the word *treasure* signifieth in *Hebrew* a secret hidden place.

*He bringeth forth the clouds, from the
earth's furthest parts,*

*The lightnings with the rains he makes,
and them imparts,*

*On some in his anger, on others for plea-
sures:*

*The winds he draweth forth out of his
deep treasures.*

Psalm cxxxv.

And upon this consideration, *Christopher Columbus*, a *Genoese*, first navigator of these last ages, unto the islands of *America*, did judge that there was some great land in the west, having observed, sailing on the sea, that continual winds came from that part.

Continuing then our course, we had some other storms and hindrances procured by winds, which we almost had always contrary, by reason we sat out too late; but they that set out in *March* have commonly good winds, because that then the east, north-east and northern winds do reign, which are fit and prosperous for these voyages. These tempests were very often foretold us by porpoisses, which did haunt about our ship by thousands, sporting themselves after a very pleasant manner: some of them did pay for their so near approaching, for some men waited for them at the beak head, which is the

Porpoisses
do prog-
nosticate
storms.

forepart of the ship, with harping irons in their hands, which met with them sometimes, and drew them in, aboard, with the help of the other sailors, which, with iron hooks, which they call *Gaffes*, tied at the end of a long pole, pulled them up. We have taken many of them in that sort, both in going and coming, which have done us no harm. There be two sorts of them, some of which have a blunt and big nose, others which have it sharp; we took none but of these last, but yet I remember to have seen in the water some of the short nosed ones. This fish hath two fingers breadth of fat, at the least, on the back; when it was cut in two, we did wash our hands in his hot blood, which, they say, comforteth the sinews. He hath a marvellous quantity of teeth along his jaws, and I think that he holdeth fast that which he once catcheth; moreover the inward parts have altogether the taste of hogs flesh, and the bones not in form of fish bones, but like a four footed creature; the most delicate meat of it is the fin which he hath upon the back, and the tail, which are neither fish nor flesh, but better than that, such as also is in substance of tail, that of the beavers, which seemeth to be scaled. These porpoisses be the only fishes we took, before we came to the great bank of *Morues* or cod-fish. But far off we saw other great fishes, which did shew out of the water, above half an acre's length of their backs, and did thrust out in the air, above a spears height, of great pipes of water, thorough the holes they had upon their heads.

The de-
scription
of the por-
pois.

But to return to our purpose of storms. During our voyage, we had some which made us strike down sail, and to stand with our arms across, carried at the pleasure of the waves, and tossed up and down after a strange manner. If any coffer or chest was not well made fast, it was heard to rowl from side to side, making a foul noise; sometimes the kettle was overturned, and in dining or supping, our dishes and platters flew from one end of the table to the other, unless they were held very fast. As for the drink, one must carry his mouth and the glass according to the motion of the ship. Briefly it was a sport but somewhat rude, to them that cannot bear this jogging easily: for all that, the most of us did laugh at it: for there was no danger in it, at least evident, being in a good ship, and strong to withstand the waves. We had also sometime calms, very tedious and wearisome, during which we washed ourselves in the sea, we danced upon the deck, we climbed up the main top, we sung in musick. Then when a little small cloud was perceived to issue from under the horizon, we were forced

Storms and
their ef-
fects.

Whirl-
wind,
what it is,
how it is
made; the
effects
thereof.

to give over those exercises, for to take heed of a gust of wind, which was wrapp'd in the same cloud, which dissolving itself, grumbling, snorting, whistling, roaring, storming, and buzzing, was able to overturn our ship up-side down, unless men had been ready to execute that which the master of the ship, (who was captain *Foulques*, a man very vigilant) commanded them. There is no harm in shewing how these gusts of wind, otherwise called storms, are formed, and from whence they proceed. *Pliny* speaketh of them in his natural history, and saith, that they be exhalations and light vapours raised from the earth to the cold region of the air, and not being able to pass further, but rather forced to return back, they sometimes meet sulphury and fiery exhalations, which compass them about and bind so hard, that there come thereby a great combat, motions, and agitation, between the sulphury heat, and the airy moistness, which being constrained by the stronger enemy to run away, it openeth itself, maketh itself way, whistleth, roareth, and stormeth; briefly, becometh a wind, which is great or lesser according that the sulphury exhalation which wrappeth it, breaketh itself and giveth it away, sometimes all at once, as we have shewed before, and sometimes with longer time, according to the quantity of the matter whereof it is made, and according as, either more or less, it is moved by his contrary qualities.

But I cannot leave unmentioned the wonderful courage and assurance that good sailors have in these windy conflicts, storms, and tempests, when as a ship being carried and mounted upon mountains of waters, and from thence let down, as it were, into the profound depths of the world, they climb among the tackling and cords, not only to the main top, and to the very height of the main mast, but also without ladder-steps, to the top of another mast, fastened to the first, held only with the force of their arms and feet, winding about the highest tacklings. Yea much more, that if, in this great tossing and rowling, it chanceth that the main sail, which they call *Papbil* or *Papefust*, be untied at the higher ends, he, who is first commanded, will put himself straddling upon the main yard, that is, the tree which crossed the main mast, and with a hammer at his girdle, and half a dozen nails in his mouth, will tie again and make fast that which was untied, to the peril of a thousand lives. I have sometimes heard great account made of a *Switzer's* boldness, who, after the siege of *Laon*, and the city being rendered to the king's obedience, climbed and stood straddling upon the thwart branch of the cross of our lady's church steeple of the said town, and

stood there forked-wise, his feet upward; but that, in my judgment, is nothing in regard of this, the said *Switzer* being upon a firm and solid body, and without motion, and this contrariwise hanging over an inconstant sea, toss'd with boisterous winds, as we have sometimes seen.

After we had left these pirates spoken of before, we were, until the 18th of *June*, tossed with divers and almost contrary winds without any discovery, but of one ship far off from us, which we did not board, and yet notwithstanding the very sight thereof did comfort us: and the same day we met a ship of *Honfleur*, wherein captain *la Roche* did command, going for *Newfoundland*, who had no better fortune upon the sea than we. The custom is at sea, that when some particular ship meeteth with the king's ship (as ours was) to come under the lee, and to present herself, not side by side, but bias-wise: also to pull down her flag, as this captain *la Roche* did, except the flag, for she had none, no more had we, being not needful in so great a voyage, but in approaching the land, or when one must fight. Our sailors did cast then their computation, on the course that we had made: for in every ship, the master, pilot, and master's mate, do write down every day of their courses, and winds that they have followed, for how many hours, and the estimation of leagues. The said *la Roche* did account that they were then in the forty-fifth degree, and within a hundred leagues of the *Bank*; our pilot, called master *Oliver Fleuriot*, of *St. Malo*, by his computation, said that we were within sixty leagues of it; and Capt. *Foulques* within one hundred and twenty leagues: I believe he gave the best judgment. We received much contentment by the meeting this ship, and did greatly encourage us, seeing we did begin to meet with ships, seeming unto us that we did enter in a place of acquaintance.

But by the way a thing must be noted, which I have found admirable, and which giveth us occasion to play the philosophers. For about the same 18th day of *June*, we found the sea-water, during three days space, very warm, and by the said warmth our wine also was warm in the bottom of our ship, yet the air was not hotter than before. And the 21st of the said month, quite contrary we were two or three days so much compassed with mists and colds, that we thought ourselves to be in the month of *January*, and the water of the sea was extreme cold. Which continued with us until we came upon the said *Bank*, by reason of the said mists, which outwardly did procure this cold unto us. When I seek out the cause of this *Antiperistase*, I attribute it to the ices of the north which come floating the cause

Computa-
tion of the
voyage.

The rea-
son of this
*Antiperis-
tase*, and
floating the cause

of the ice floating down upon the coast and sea adjoining to *Newfoundland* and *Labrador*, which we have said elsewhere is brought thither with the sea, by her natural motion, which is greater there than elsewhere, because of the great space it hath to run, as in a gulf, in the depth of *America*, where the nature and situation of the universal earth doth bear it easily. Now these ices, which sometimes are seen in banks of ten leagues length, and as high as mountains and hills, and thrice as deep in the waters, holding, as it were, an empire in this sea, drive out far from them that which is contrary to their coldness, and, consequently, do bind and close on this side, that small quantity of mild temperature that the sum-

mer may bring to that part, where they come to seat and place themselves. Yet for all that, I will not deny but this region in one and the self-same parallel is somewhat colder than those of our part of *Europe*, for the reasons that we will alledge hereafter, when we shall speak of the foulness of seasons. Such is my opinion, being ready to hear another man's reason. And being mindful hereof, I did, of purpose, take heed of the same at my return from *New France*, and found the same warmth of water, or very near, though it was in the month of *September*, within five or six days sailing on this side of the said bank, whereof we will now intreat.

C H A P. XII.

Of the great Bank of Morues or Coddes; of the Sound; our coming to the said Bank; the description thereof; the fishing of Newfoundland fish, and of birds; the causes of frequent and long mists in the western sea; the landing at the port du Moutton; the coming into Port Royal, &c.

BEFORE we come to the *Bank*, spoken of before, which is the great *Bank* where the fishing of green cod-fish is made, so are they called when they are not dry, for one must go a-land for the drying of them, the sea-faring men, besides the computation they make of their course, have warnings when they come near to it, by birds which are known; even as one doth them of these our parts, returning back into *France*, when one is within 100 and 120 leagues near it. The most frequent of these birds, towards the said *Bank*, be *Godes*, *Fouquets*, and others called *Happefoyes*, for a reason that we will declare anon. When these birds then were seen, which were not like to them that we had seen in the midst of the great sea, we began to think ourselves not to be far from the said *Bank*. Which made us to sound with our lead upon a *Thursday* the 22d of *June*, but then we found no bottom. The same day in the evening, we cast again with better success; for we found bottom at thirty-six fathoms. The said sound is a piece of lead of seven or eight pound weight, made pyramidal-wise, fastened at one or divers lines; and at the biggest end, which is flat, one putteth some grease to it, mingled with butter; then all the sails are stricken down, and the sound cast; and when that the bottom is felt, and the lead draweth no more line, they leave off letting down of it. So our sound being drawn up, brought with it

some small stones, with a white one, and a piece of shell, having moreover a pit in the grease, whereby they judged that the bottom was a rock. I cannot express the joy that we had, seeing us there, where we had so much desired to be. There was not any one of us more sick, every one did leap for joy, and did seem unto us to be in our own country, though we were come but to the half of our voyage, at least for the time, that passed before we came to *Port Royal*, whither we were bound.

Here I will, before I proceed any further, decipher unto you, what meaneth this word *Bank*, which peradventure putteth some in pain to know what it is. They sometimes call *banks* a sandy bottom which is very shallow, or which is dry at low water. Such places be mortal for ships that meet with them. But the *Bank* whereof we speak, is mountains grounded in the depth of the waters, which are raised up to thirty, thirty-six, and forty fathoms, near to the upper face of the sea. This *Bank* is holden to be of 200 leagues in length, and eighteen, twenty, and twenty-four leagues broad, which being passed, there is no more bottom found out, than in these parts, until one come to the land. The ships being there arrived, the sails are rowled up, and there, fishing is made of the green fish, as I have said, whereof we shall speak in the book following. For the satisfying of my reader, I have drawn it in my geographical map

Warnings near the great *Bank*.

What the sound is, and how it is cast.

The arrival to the *Fish-bank*.

Of the word *Bank* and the description of the fishing *Bank*.

map of *Newfoundland*, with pricks, which is all may be done to represent it. There are farther off, other branches, as I have marked in the said map, upon the which good fishing may be made; and many go thither that know the places. When that we parted from *Rochel*, there was, as it were, a forest of ships lying at *Chef de Bois*, whereof that place hath taken its name, which went all in a company to that country, preventing us in their going but only of two days.

Having seen and noted the *Bank*, we hoisted up sails and bore all night, keeping still our course to the west. But the dawn of day being come, which was *St. John Baptist's* eve, in God's name we pulled down sails, passing that day a fishing of cod fish, with a thousand mirths and contentments, by reason of fresh meats, whereof we had as much as we would, having long before wished for them. *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, and a young man of *Retel* named *le Feure*, who, by reason of the sea-sickness, were not come out from their beds nor cabins, from the beginning of the navigation, came upon the hatches that day, and had the pleasure, not only of fishing of cod, but also of those birds that be called by *French* mariners, *Happe-foyes*, that is to say *Liver-catchers*, because of their greediness to devour the livers of the cod-fish that are cast into the sea after their bellies be open'd, whereof they are so covetous, that though they see a great pole over their heads, ready to strike them down, yet they adventure themselves to come near to the ship, to catch some of them at what price soever. And they which were not occupied in fishing did pass their time in that sport. And so did they, by their diligence that we took some thirty of them. But in this action one of our shipwrights fell down in the sea. And it was good for him that the ship went but slow, which gave him means to save himself by taking hold of the rudder, from which he was pulled in aboard, but for his pains was well beaten by *Capt. Foulques*.

In this fishing we sometimes did take sea dogs, whose skins our joyners did keep carefully to smooth their work withal: *Item*, fish called by *Frenchmen*, *Merlus*, which be better than cod, and sometimes another kind of fish called *Bars*: which diversity did augment our delight. They which were not busy in taking either fish or birds, did pass their time in gathering the hearts, guts, and other inward parts most delicate of the cod-fish, which they did mince with lard and spices, and with those things did make as good *Bologna* sausages, as any can be made in *Paris*, and

Excellent
sausages
made with
the in-
wards of
cod.

we did eat of them with a very good stomach.

On the evening we made ready to continue our course, having first made our cannons to roar, as well because of *St. John's* holy day, as for *Monf. de Poutrincourt's* sake, which beareth the name of that saint. The next day some of our men told us they had seen a bank of ice. And thereupon was recited unto us, how that the year before, a ship of *Olone* was cast away, by approaching too near to it, and that two men having saved themselves upon the ice, had this good fortune that another ship, passing by, the men took them in aboard them.

It is to be noted that from the 18th of *June* until we did arrive at *Port Royal*, we have found the weather quite otherwise to that we had before: for, as we have already said, we had cold mists or fogs, before our coming to the *Bank*, where we came in fair sun-shine, but the next day, we fell to the fogs again, which a-far off we might perceive to come and wrap us about, holding us continually prisoners three whole days, for two days of fair weather that they permitted us: which was always accompanied with cold, by reason of the summer's absence. Yea, even divers times we have seen ourselves a whole seven night, continually in thick fogs, twice without any shew of sun, but very little, as I will recite hereafter. And I will bring forth a reason for such effects which seemeth unto me probable. As we see the fire to draw the moistness of a wet cloath, opposite unto it, likewise the sun draweth moistness and vapours both from the sea and from the land. But for the dissolving of them there is here one virtue, and beyond those parts another, according to the accidents and circumstances that are found. In these our countries it raiseth up vapours only from the ground, and from our rivers: which earthly vapours, gross and weighty, and participating less of the moist element, do cause us a hot air, and the earth discharg'd of those vapours becomes thereby more hot and parching. From thence it cometh that the said vapours, having the earth of the one part, and the sun on the other which heateth them, they are easily dissolved, not remaining long in the air, unless it be in winter, when the earth is waxen cold, and the sun beyond the equinoctial line, far off from us. From the same reason proceedeth the cause, why mists and fogs be not so frequent nor so long in the *French* seas as in *Newfoundland*, because that the sun, passing from his rising above the grounds, this sea, at the coming thereof, receiveth almost but earthly vapours, and

The causes
of mists on
the west
sea.

by a long space retaineth this virtue to dissolve very soon the exhalations it draweth to itself. But when it cometh to the midst of the ocean, and to the said *Newfoundland*, having elevated and assumed in so long a course a great abundance of vapours, from this moist wide ocean, it doth not so easily dissolve them, as well, because those vapours be cold of themselves and of their nature, as because the element which is nearest under them doth sympathize with them and preserveth them, and the sun beams being not holpen in the dissolving of them, as they are upon the earth: which is even seen in the land of that country, which, although it hath but small heat, by reason of the abundance of woods, notwithstanding it helpeth to disperse the mists and fogs, which be ordinarily there in the morning, during summer, but not as at sea; for about eight o'clock in the morning they begin to vanish away, and serve as a dew to the ground.

A small bank.

I hope the reader will not dislike these small digressions, seeing they serve to our purpose. The 28th of *June* we found ourselves upon a little small bank (other than the great bank whereof we have spoken) at forty fathoms; and the day following, one of our sailors fell by night into the sea, who had been lost if he had not met with a cable hanging in the water. From that time forward, we began to descry landmarks (it was *Newfoundland*) by herbs, mosses, flowers, and pieces of wood that we always met, abounding the more, by so much we drew near to it. The 4th of *July* our sailors, who were appointed for the last quarter watch, descried in the morning very early, every one being yet a-bed, the isles of *St. Peter*; and the *Friday*, the seventh of the said month, we discovered on the larboard a coast of land, high raised up, appearing unto us as long as one's sight could stretch out, which gave us greater cause of joy than yet we had had, wherein God did greatly shew his merciful favour unto us, making this discovery in fair calm weather. Being yet far from it, the boldest of the company went up to the main top, to the end to see it better, so much were all of us desirous to see this land, true and most delightful habitation of man. *Monf. de Poutrincourt* went up thither, and myself also, which we had not yet done. Even our dogs did thrust their noses out of the ship, better to draw and smell the sweet air of the land, not being able to contain themselves from witnessing, by their gestures, the joy they had of it. We drew within a league near unto it, and the sails being let down, we fell a fishing of cod, the fishing of the *Bank* beginning to

Land marks.

The discovery of *St. Peter's* islands.

fail. They who had before us made voyages in those parts, did judge us to be at cape *Breton*. The night drawing on, we stood off to the seaward: the next day following, being the eighth of the said month of *July*, as we drew near to the bay of *Campseau*, came about the evening mists, which did continue eight whole days, during the which we kept us at sea, hulling still, not being able to go forward, being resisted by west and south-west winds. During these eight days, which were from one *Saturday* to another, God (who hath always guided these voyages, in the which not one man hath been lost by sea) shewed us his special favour, in sending unto us, among the thick fogs, a clearing of the sun, which continued but half an hour; and then had we sight of the firm land, and knew that we were ready to be cast away upon the rocks if we had not speedily stood off to sea-ward. A man doth sometimes seek the land as one doth his beloved, who sometimes repulseth her sweetheart very rudely. Finally, upon *Saturday* the 15th of *July*, about two o'clock in the afternoon, the sky began to salute us, as it were, with cannon shots, shedding tears, as being sorry to have kept us so long in pain; so that fair weather being come again, we saw coming strait to us, we being four leagues off from the land, two shallops with open sails, in a sea yet wrathed. This thing gave us much content: but whilst we followed on our course, there came from the land odours incomparable for sweetness, brought with a warm wind, so abundantly that all the orient parts could not produce greater abundance. We did stretch out our hands, as it were to take them, so palpable were they, which I have admired a thousand times since. Then the two shallops did approach, the one manned with savages who had a stag painted at their sails, the other with *Frenchmen* of *St. Malo*, who made their fishing at the port of *Campseau*, but the savages were more diligent, for they arrived first. Having never seen any before, I did admire at the first sight their fair shape and form of visage. One of them did excuse himself, for that he had not brought his fair beaver gown, because the weather had been foul. He had but one red piece of frieze upon his back, and *Matachias* about his neck, at his wrists, above the elbow, and at his girdle. We made them to eat and drink; during that time they told us all that had passed, a year before, at *Port Royal*, whither we were bound. In the mean while, them of *St. Malo* came, and told us as much as the savages had; adding that the *Wednesday*, when that we did shun the rocks, they had seen us, and would have

The bay of *Campseau*.

Marvelous odours coming from the land.

The savages goodly men.

have come to us with the said savages, but that they left off, by reason we put to sea: and moreover that it had been always fair weather on the land; which made us much to marvel; but the cause thereof hath been shewed before. Of this discommodity may be drawn hereafter a great good, that these mists will serve as a rampier to the country, and one shall know with speed what is pass'd at sea. They told us also, that they had been advertised, some days before, by other savages, that a ship was seen at cape Breton. These Frenchmen of St. Malo were men that did deal for the associates of Mons. de Monts, and did complain that the Basks, or men of St. John de Lus, against the king's inhibitions, had trucked with the savages, and carried away above six thousand beavers-skins. They gave us sundry forts of their fish, as *bars*, *marlus*, and great *fletans*. As for the savages, before to depart, they asked bread of us to carry to their wives, which was granted and given them, for they deserved it well, being come so willingly to shew us in what part we were; for since that time we failed still in assurance, and without doubt.

The care of the savages for their wives.

At the parting, some number of ours went a-land at the port of *Campseau*, as well to fetch us some wood and fresh water, whereof we had need, as for to follow the coast from that place to *Port Royal* in a shallop, for we did fear lest Mons. du Pont should be at our coming thither already gone from thence. The savages made offer to go to him thorough the woods, with promise to be there within six days to advertise him of our coming; to the end, to cause his stay, for as much as word was left with him to depart, unless he were succoured within the 16th day of that month, which he failed not to do; notwithstanding, our men, desirous to see the land nearer, did hinder the same which promised us to bring unto us the next day the said wood and water, if we would approach near the land, which we did not, but followed on our course.

The *Tuesday*, the 17th of *July*, we were, according to our accustomed manner, surprized with mists and contrary wind; but the *Thursday* we had calm weather, so that whether it were mist or fair weather, we went nothing forward. During this calm, about the evening, a shipwright washing himself in the sea, having before drank too much *Aqua-vitæ*, found himself overtaken, the cold of the sea-water striving against the heat of this spirit of wine. Some mariners seeing their fellow in danger, cast themselves into the water to succour him, but his wits being troubled he mocked them, and they not able to rule him;

Drunkenness causes divers perils.

which caused yet other mariners to go to help; and they so hindered one another, that they were all in danger. In the end, there was one of them, which among this confusion, heard the voice of Mons. de *Poutrincourt*, who did say to him, John Hay look towards me, and with a rope that was given him he was pulled up, and the rest withal were saved. But the author of the trouble fell into a sickness that almost kill'd him.

After this calm we had two days of fogs. The *Sunday* the 23d of the said month, we had knowledge of the port *du Rossignol*, Port du Rossignol. and the same day in the afternoon, the sun shining fair, we cast anchor at the mouth of port *du Moutton*, and we were in danger to fall upon a shoal, being come to two fathoms and a half depth. We went a-land seventeen of us in number to fetch the wood and water, whereof we had need. There we found the cabins and lodgings, yet whole and unbroken, that Mons. de *Monts* made two years before, who had sojourn'd there by the space of one month, as we have said in its place. We saw there, being a sandy land, store of oaks bearing acorns, cyprus-trees, fir-trees, bay-trees, musk-roses, gooseberries, purslain, raspies, ferns, *Lyfimachia*, (a kind of *Sammonée*) *calamus odoratus*, *angelica*, and other simples, in the space of two hours that we tarried there. We brought back in our ship wild pease, which we found good. We had not the leisure to hunt after rabbits that be there in great number, not far from the port, but we returned aboard as soon as we had laden ourselves with water and wood; and so hoisted up sails.

What grows in the land at port du Moutton.

Tuesday the 25th day, we were about the cape *de Sable*, in fair weather, and made a good journey, for about the evening we came to sight of *Long Isle*, and the bay of *St. Mary*, but because of the night we put back to the seaward. And the next day we cast anchor at the mouth of *Port Royal*, where we could not enter, by reason it was ebbing water, but we gave two cannon-shot from our ship to salute the said port, and to advertise the Frenchmen that we were there.

Le Cap de Sable.
Long-island.
The bay *St. Mary.*

Thursday, the 27th of *July*, we came in with the flood, which was not without much difficulty, for that we had the wind contrary, and gusts of wind from the mountains, which made us almost to strike upon the rocks. And in these troubles our ship bare still contrary, the poop before, and sometimes turned round, not being able to do any other thing else. Finally, being in the port, it was unto us a thing marvelous to see the fair distance and largeness of it, and the mountains and hills that environed

The beauty of the port.

roned it, and I wondered how so fair a place did remain desert, being all filled with woods, seeing that so many pine away in the world, which might make good of this land, if only they had a chief governor to conduct them thither. By little and little we drew near to the island, which is right over-against the fort where we have dwelt since: an island, I say, the most agreeable thing to be seen in her kind that is possible to be desired, wishing in ourselves to have brought thither some of those fair buildings that are unprofitable in these our parts, that serve for nothing but to retire wild fowl in, and other birds. We knew not yet, if *Monf. du Pont* was gone or no, and therefore we did expect that he should send some men to meet us; but it was in vain; for he was gone from thence 12 days before: and whilst we did hull in the midst of the port, *Membertou*, the greatest *Sagamos* of the *Souriquois* (so are the people call'd with whom we were) came to the *French* fort to them that were left there, being only two, crying as a mad man, saying in his language, *What! you stand here a dining* (for it was about noon) *and do not see a great ship that cometh here, and we know not what men they are!* Suddenly these two men ran upon the bulwark, and with diligence made ready the cannons, which they furnished with pellets and touch powder. *Membertou*, without delay, came in a canoe made of barks of trees, with a daughter of his, to view us: And having

found but friendship, and knowing us to be *Frenchmen*, made no alarm. Notwithstanding one of the two *Frenchmen* left there, called *La Taille*, came to the shore of the port, his match on the cock, to know what we were, though he knew it well enough, for we had the white banner display'd at the top of the mast, and on the sudden four volley of cannons were shot off, which made innumerable ecchoes: and from our part, the fort was saluted with three cannon shots, and many musket shots, at which time our trumpeter was not slack of his duty. Then we landed, viewed the house, and we passed that day in giving God thanks, in seeing the savage-cabins, and walking thorough the meadows. But I cannot but praise the gentle courage of these two men, one of them I have already named, the other is called *Miquelet*: which deserve well to be mentioned here for having so freely exposed their lives in the conservation of the welfare of *New France*: for *Monf. du Pont* having but one bark and shallop, to seek out towards *Newfoundland* for *French* ships, could not charge himself with so much furniture, corn, meat, and merchandises as were there, which he had been forced to cast into the sea, and which had been greatly to our prejudice, and we did fear it very much, if these two men had not adventured themselves to tarry there, for the preserving of those things, which they did with a willing and joyful mind.

C H A P. XIII.

The happy meeting of Mons. du Pont; his return unto Port-Royal; rejoicing; description of the said port; conjecture touching the head and spring of the great river of Canada; the return of Mons. du Pont into France; the voyage of Mons. de Poutrincourt unto the country of the Armouchiquois; the exercises and manner of living in Port Royal, &c.

The tilling of the ground.

THE *Friday*, next day after our arrival, *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, affected to this enterprise as for himself, put part of his people to work in the tillage and manuring of the ground, whilst the others were employed in making clean of the chambers, and every one to make ready that which belonged to his trade. In the mean time those people of ours that had left us at *Campseau*, to come along the coast, met, as it were miraculously, with *Monf. du Pont*, among islands, that be in great number in those parts. To declare how great was the joy of each side; is a thing

not be expressed. The said *Monf. du Pont*, at this happy and fortunate meeting, returned back to see us in *Port-Royal*, and to ship himself in the *Jonas*, to return into *France*. As this chance was beneficial unto him, so was it unto us, by the means of his ships that he left with us. For without that, we had been in such extremity that we had not been able to go nor come any where, our ship being once returned into *France*. He arrived there on *Monday* the last of *July*, and tarried yet in *Port Royal* until the 8th of *August*. All this month we made merry. *Monf. de Poutrincourt* did

did set up and opened a hoghead of wine, one of them that was given him for his own drinking, giving leave to all comers, to drink as long as it should hold, so that some of them drunk until their caps turned round.

At the very beginning, we were desirous to see the country up the river, where we found meadows, almost continually above twelve leagues of ground, among which, brooks do run without number, which come from the hills and mountains adjoining. The woods very thick on the water-shores, and so thick that sometimes one cannot go thorough them; yet for all that, I would not make them such as *Joseph Acosta* reciteth those of *Peru* to be, when he saith, *one of our brethren, a man of credit, told us, that being gone astray, and lost in the mountains, not knowing what part nor which way he should go, found himself among bushes so thick, that he was constrained to travel upon them, without putting his feet on the ground, a whole fortnights space.* I refer the believing of that to any one that will, but this belief cannot reach so far, as to have place with me.

Now in the land whereof we speak, the woods are thinner far off from the shores and waterish places; and the felicity thereof is so much the more to be hoped for, in that it is like the land, which God did promise to his people, by the mouth of *Moses*, saying, *The Lord thy God doth bring thee into a good land, of rivers of waters, with fountains and depths, which do spring in fields, &c. A land where thou shalt eat thy bread without scarcity, wherein nothing shall fail thee, a land whose stones are of iron, and from whose mountains thou shalt dig brass.* And further in another place, confirming the promises for the goodness and state of the land that he would give them. *The country, saith he, wherein you are going for to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence you are come forth, where thou didst sow thy seed, and watered it with the labour of thy feet, as a garden of herbs. But the country thorough which you are going to pass, for to possess it, is a land of mountains and fields, and is watered with waters that raineth from heaven.* Now according to the description that heretofore we have made of *Port-Royal*, and the confines thereof, in describing the first voyage of *Monf. de Monts*, and as yet we do mention it here, brooks do there abound at will, and, for this respect, this land is no less happy than the country of the *Gauls*, now called *France*, to whom king *Agrippa*, making an oration to the *Jews*, recited by *Josephus* in his wars of the *Jews*, attributed a particular felicity, because they had store of domes-

tical fountains; and, also, that a part of those countries is called *Aquitain*, for the same consideration. As for the stones ^{Iron stones} which our God promised should be of iron, ^{Mountains} and the mountains of brass, that signifi- ^{of brass.} eth nothing else, but the mines of copper, of iron, and of steel, whereof we have already heretofore spoken, and will speak yet hereafter. And as for the fields, whereof we have not yet spoken, there be some on the west side of the said *Port Royal*, and above the mountains there be some fair ones, where I have seen lakes and brooks, even as in the valley; yea, even in the passage to come forth from the same fort, for to go to sea, there is a brook which falleth from the high rocks down, and in falling disperseth itself into a small rain, which is very delightful in summer, because that at the foot of the rock, there are caves, wherein one is covered, whilst that this rain falleth so pleasantly; and in the cave, wherein the rain of this brook falleth, is made, as it were, a rainbow, when the sun shineth; which hath given me great cause of admiration. Once we went from our fort as far as the sea thorough the woods, the space of three leagues, but in our return we were pleasantly deceived, for at the end of our journey, thinking to be in a plain champion country, we found ourselves on the top of a high mountain, and were forced to come down with pain enough, by reason of snows. But mountains be not perpetual in a country. Within fifteen leagues of our dwelling, the country thorough which the river *l'Equille* passeth, is all plain and even. I have seen in those parts many countries, where the land is all even, and the fairest of the world, but the perfection thereof is, that it is well ^{Country} watered; and for witness whereof, not on- ^{well wa-} ly in *Port Royal*, but also in all *New France* ^{tered.} the great river of *Canada* is proof thereof, which at the end of four hundred leagues, is as broad as the greatest rivers of the world, replenished with isles and rocks innumerable; taking her beginning from one ^{Conjec-} of the lakes which do meet at the stream ^{ture on the} of her course, and so I think, so that it ^{spring of} hath two courses, the one from the east ^{the great} towards *France*, the other from the west ^{river of} towards the south-sea; which is admirable but not without the like example found in our *Europe*: for the river which cometh down to *Trent* and to *Verone*, proceedeth from a lake, which produceth another river, whose course is bent opposite to the river *Lins*, which falleth into the river *Danube*. So the *Nile* issueth from a lake that bringeth forth other rivers, which discharge themselves into the great ocean.

Let us return to our tillage; for to that we must apply ourselves; it is the first ^{What is} mine that must be sought for, which is ^{the first} mine.

Sowing of
corn.

more worth than the treasures of *Atabalipa*; and he that hath corn, wine, cattle, woollen and linnen, leather, iron, and afterward cod-fish, he needeth no other treasures for the necessities of life; now all this is, or may be, in the land by us described; upon the which *Monf. de Poutrincourt* having caused a second tillage to be made, in fifteen days after his arrival thither, he sowed it with our *French* corn, as well wheat and rye, as with hemp, flax, turnip seed, radish, cabbages, and other seeds, and the eighth day following, he saw that his labour had not been in vain, but rather a fair hope, by the production that the ground had already made of the seeds which she had received; which being shewed to *Monf. du Pont*, was unto him a fair subject to make his relation in *France*, as a thing altogether new there.

The twentieth day of *August* was already come, when these fair shews were made, and the time did admonish them that were to go in the voyage to make ready, whereunto they began to give order, so that the twenty-fifth day of the same month, after many peals of ordnance, they weighed anchor to come to the mouth of the port, which is commonly the first days journey.

Cause of
the voyage
made into
the coun-
try of the
*Armouchi-
quois*.

Monf. de Monts being desirous to reach as far into the south as he could, and seek out a place very fit to inhabit, beyond *Mallebarre*, had requested *Monf. de Poutrincourt* to pass further than yet he had done, and to seek a convenient port in good temperature of air, making no greater account of *Port Royal* than of *St. Croix*, in that which concerneth health. Whereunto the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt* being willing to condescend, would not tarry for the spring time, knowing he should have other employments to exercise himself withal. But seeing his sowings ended, and his field green, resolved himself to make this voyage and discovery before winter. So then he disposed all things to that end, and with his bark anchored near to the *Jonas*, to the end to get out in company. Whilst they lay there for a prosperous wind, the space of three days, there was a whale of mean bigness, which the savages do call *Maria*, who came every day into the port, with the morning flood, playing there within at her pleasure, and went away back again with the ebb. And then, taking some leisure, I made in *French* verses, a farewell to the said *Monf. du Pont*, and his company, which I have placed among the muses of *New France*.

The twenty eighth day of the said month, each of us took his course, one, one way, and the other another, diversly to God's keeping. As for *Monf. du Pont* he purposed by the way to set upon a merchant of *Roan*, named *Boyer*, who con-

trary to the king's inhibitions, was in those parts to truck with the savages, notwithstanding he had been delivered out of prison in *Rochel*, by the consent of *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, under promise he should not go thither; but the said *Boyer* was already gone. And as for *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, he took his course for the isle of *St. Croix*, the *Frenchmens* first abode, having *Monf. de Champdore* for master and guide of his bark; but being hindered by the wind, and because his bark did leak, he was forced twice to put back again. In the end he quite passed the bay *Françoise*, and viewed the said isle, where he found ripe corn, of that which two years before was sowed by *Monf. de Monts*, which was fair, big, weighty and well filled. He sent unto us some of that corn to *Port-Royal*, where I was requested to stay, to look to the house, and to keep the rest of the company there in concord; whereunto I did agree, though it was referred to my will, for the assurance that we had among ourselves, that the year following we should make our habitation in a warmer country, beyond *Mallebarre*, and that we should all go in company, with them that should be sent to us out of *France*. In the mean while, I employed myself in dressing the ground, to make inclosures and partitions of gardens, for to sow corn and kitchen herbs. We caused, also, a ditch to be made all about the fort, which was very needful to receive the waters and moistness that before did run underneath among the roots of trees, that had been fallen down, which peradventure did make the place unhealthful. I will not stand in describing here, what each of our other workmen and labourers did particularly make. It sufficeth that we had store of joiners, carpenters, masons, stone-carvers, lock-smiths, tailors, board-sawyers, mariners, &c. who did exercise their trades, which in doing their duties, were very kindly used, for they were at their own liberty for three hours labour a day. The overplus of the time, they bestowed it in going to gather muscles, which are at low water in great quantities before the fort, or lobsters, or crabs, which are in *Port-Royal* under the rocks in great abundance, or cockles, which are in every part of the ooze, about the shores of the said port; all that kind of fish is taken without net or boat. Some there were that sometimes took wildfowl, but not being skilful, they spoiled the game; and as for us, our table was furnished by one of *Monf. de Monts's* men, who provided for us in such sort that we wanted no fowl, bringing unto us, sometimes half a dozen of birds, called by *Frenchmen*, *Outards*, a kind of wild geese, sometimes as many mallards, or wild geese

white and grey, very often two or three dozen of larks, and other kinds of birds. As for bread, no body felt want thereof, and every one had three quarts of pure and good wine a day; which hath continued with us as long as we have been there, saving that, when they, who came to fetch us, instead of bringing commodities unto us, helped us to spend our own, as we shall have occasion hereafter to declare, we were forced to reduce that portion to a pint, and notwithstanding there was very often something more of extraordinary. This voyage, for this respect, hath been the best voyage of all, whereof we are to give much praises to the said *Monf. de Monts*, and his associates *Monf. Macquin*, and *Monf. Georges of Rochel*, in providing so abundantly for us. For truly, I find that this *Septembral* liquor, I mean wine, is among other things, a sovereign preservative against the sickness of that country. And the spiceries, to correct the vice that might be in the air of that region, which nevertheless I have always found very clear and pure, notwithstanding the reason that I may have alledged for the same, speaking heretofore of the same sickness. For our allowance, we had pease, beans, rice, prunes, raisins, dry cod, and salt flesh, besides oyl and butter. But whensoever the savages, dwelling near us, had taken any quantity of sturgeon, salmon, or small fishes; item, any beavers, *Ellans*, *Cara-bous*, (or fallow deer) or other beasts mentioned in my farewell to *New France*, they brought unto us half of it; and that which remained they exposed it sometimes to sale publickly, and they that would have any thereof did truck bread for it; this was partly our manner of life in those parts. But although every one of our

The liberal nature of the savages.

workmen had his particular trade or occupation, yet for all that it was necessary to employ himself to all uses, as many did. Some masons and stone-carvers applied themselves to baking, which made us as good bread as is made in *Paris*. Also one of our sawyers, divers times made us coals in great quantity.

Wherein is to be noted a thing that now I remember: it is, that being necessary to cut turfs to cover the piles of wood, heaped to make the said coals; there were found in the meadows three foot deep of earth, not earth, but grass or herbs, mingled with mudd, which have heaped themselves yearly one upon another from the beginning of the world, not having been moved. Nevertheless the green thereof serveth for pasture to the ellans; which we have many times seen in our meadows of those parts, in herds of three or four, great and small; suffering themselves sometimes to be approached, then they ran to the woods: but I may say moreover, that I have seen, in crossing two leagues of our said meadows, the same to be all trodden with tracks of ellans, for I know not there any other cloven-footed beasts. There was killed one of those beasts, not far off from our fort, at a place where *Monf. de Monts* having caused the grass to be mowed two years before, it was grown again the fairest of the world. Some might marvel how those meadows are made, seeing that all the ground in those places is covered with woods: For satisfaction whereof, let the curious reader know, that in high spring tides, specially in *March* and *September*, the flood covereth those shores, which hindereth the trees there to take root. But every where, where the water over-floweth not, if there be any ground, there are woods.

C H A P. XIV.

Their departing from the isle of St. Croix: The bay of Marchin: Choüakoet: A description of the Armouchiquois, &c.

LET us return to *Monf. du Poutrincourt*, whom we have left in the isle of *St. Croix*: having made there a review, and cherished the savages that were there, he went in the space of four days to *Pemptegoet*, which is that place so famous under the name of *Norombega*. There needeth not so long a time in coming thither, but he tarried on the way to mend his bark; for to that end he had brought

Pemptegoet.

with him a smith and a carpenter, and quantity of boards. He crossed the isles, which be at the mouth of the river, and came to *Kinibeki*, where his bark was in danger, by reason of the great streams that the nature of the place procureth there. This was the cause why he made there no stay, but passed further to the bay of *Marchin*, which is the name of a captain of the savages; who at the arriv-

Kinibeki.

The bay of Marchin.
al

Confederacy.

The river of Olmechin.
Port de Chouïakoet.

An island of vines.

The river of Olmechin.

al of the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, began to cry oualoud *Hé Hé*; whereunto the like answer was made unto him. He replied, asking in his language, what are ye? they answered him, friends; and thereupon *Monf. de Poutrincourt* approaching, treated amity with him, and presented him with knives, hatchets, and *matachias*; that is to say, scarfs, carknets and bracelets made of beads, or quilts made of white and blew glass, whereof he was very glad; as also for the confederacy that the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt* made with him, knowing very well that the same would be a great aid and support unto him. He distributed to some men that were about him, among a great number of people, the presents that the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt* gave him, to whom he brought store of *Orignac*, or ellans flesh (for the *Basks* do call a stag, or *Ellan*, *Orignac*) to refresh the company with victuals. That done, they set sails towards *Chouïakoet*, where the river of *Capt. Olmechin* is, and where the year following was made the war of the *Souriquois* and *Etechemins*, under the conduct of the *Sagamos Membertou*, which I have described in verses, which verses I have inserted among the muses of *New France*. At the entry of the bay of the said place of *Chouïakoet*, there is a great island about half a league compass, wherein our men did first discover any vines (for, although there be some in the lands near to *Port Royal*, notwithstanding there was yet no knowledge had of them) which they found in great quantity, having the trunck three and four foot high, and as big as ones fist in the lower part, the grapes fair and great, and some as bigg as plumbs, others lesser, but as black, that they left a stain where their liquor was spilled. Those grapes, I say, lying over bushes and brambles that grow in the same island, where the trees are not so thick as in other where, but are six or seven rods distant asunder, which causeth the grapes to be ripe the sooner; having besides a ground very fit for the same, gravelly and sandy. They tarried there but two hours; but they noted, that there were no vines on the north-side, even as in the isle *St. Croix* are no cedar-trees, but on the west-side.

From this Island they went to the river of *Olmechin*, a port of *Chouïakoet*, where *Marchin* and the said *Olmechin* brought to *Monf. de Poutrincourt* a prisoner of the *Souriquois* (and therefore their enemy) which they gave unto him freely. Two hours after there arrived two savages one an *Etechemin*, named *Chkoudun*, captain of the river *St. John*, called by the savages *Oigoudi*: The other a *Souaiguois*, named *Messamoet*, *Capt. or Sagamos* of the river

of the port *de la Heve*, where this prisoner was taken. They had great store of merchandise trucked with *Frenchmen*, which they were coming to utter; that is to say, great, mean, and small kettles, hatchets, knives, gowns, short cloaks, red waistcoats, bisket, and other things; whereupon there arrived twelve or fifteen boats, full of savages of *Olmechins* subjection, being in very good order, all their faces painted, according to their wonted custom, when they will seem fair, having their bow and arrow in hand, and the quiver, which they laid down aboard.

At that hour *Messamoet* began his oration The Oration of Messamoet.
“ before the savages; shewing them,
“ how that in times past, they often had
“ friendship together; and that they
“ might easily overcome their enemies,
“ if they would have intelligence, and
“ serve themselves with the amity of the
“ *Frenchman*, whom they saw there pre-
“ sent to know their country, to the end
“ to bring commodities unto them here-
“ after, and to succour them with their
“ forces; which forces he knew, and he
“ was the better able to make a demon-
“ stration thereof unto them, by so much
“ that he which spake, had before time
“ been in *France*, and dwelt there with
“ *Monf. de Grandmont*, governor of *Bay-
“ onne*.” Finally, his speech continued almost an hour with much vehemency and affection, with a gesture of body and arms, as is requisite in a good orator. And in the end he did cast all his merchandizes (which were worth about three hundred crowns, brought into that country) into *Olmechin*’s boat, as making him a present of that, in assurance of the love he would witness unto him. That done the night hastened on, and every one retired himself: but *Messamoet* was not pleased, for that *Olmechin* made not the like oration unto him, nor requited his present; for the savages have that noble quality, that they give liberally, casting at the feet of whom they will honour, the present that they give him: But it is with hope to receive some reciprocal kindness, which is a kind of contract, which we call, without name, *I give thee, to the end thou should’st give me*; and that is done thorough all the world. Therefore *Messamoet* from that day had in mind to make war to *Olmechin*. Notwithstanding the next day in the morning, he and his people did return with a boat laden with that which they had, to wit, corn, tobacco, beans and pompions, which they distributed here and there. Those two *Capt. Olmechin* and *Marchin* have since been killed in the wars: in whose stead was chosen by the savages one named *Bessabes*, which since our return had been killed

A corn-country, beans, pompions and grapes.

led by *Engliffmen*; and inftead of him they have made a captain to come from within the lands, named *Afticou*, a grave man, valiant and redoubted, which, in the twinkling of an eye, will gather up one thoufand favages together, which thing *Olmechin* and *Marchin* might alfo do. For our barks being there, prefently the fea was feen all covered over with their boats, laden with nimble and lufly men, holding themfelves up ftraight in them; which we cannot do without danger, thofe boats being nothing elfe but trees hollowed after the fafhion that we will fhew you in the book following. From thence *Monf. de Poutrincourt* following on his courfe, found a certain port very delightful, which had not been feen by *Monf. de Monts*. And during the voyage they faw ftore of fmoak, and people on the fhore, which invited us to come a-land; and feeing that no account was made of it, they followed the bark along the fand, yea moft often they did out-go her, fo fwift are they, having their bows in hand, and their quivers upon their backs, always finging and dancing, not taking care with what they fhould live by the way. Happy people! yea, a thoufand times more happy than they which in thefe parts make themfelves to be worfhipped; if they had the knowledge of God and of their falvation.

Monf. de Poutrincourt having landed in this port, beheld among a multitude of favages a good number of fifes, which did play with certain long pipes, made as it were with canes of reeds, painted over, but not with fuch an harmony as our fhepherds might do; and to fhew the excellency of their art, they whiffled with their nofes in gambolling, according to their fafhion.

And as this people did run headlong, to come to the bark, there was a favage which hurt himfelf grievoufly in the heel againft the edge of a rock, whereby he was inforced to remain in the place. *Monf. de Poutrincourt's* chirurgeon, at that instant would apply to this hurt that which was of his art, but they would not permit it, until they had firft made their mouths and mops about the wounded man. They then laid him down on the ground, one of them holding his head on his lap, and made many bawlings and fingings, whereunto the wounded man answered but with a *Ho*, with a complaining voice, which having done they yielded him to the cure of the faid chirurgeon, and went their way, and the patient alfo after he had been drefsed; but two hours after he came again, the moft jocund in the world, having put about his head the binding cloth, where-

with his heel was wrapped, for to feem the more gallant.

The day following, our people entered farther into the port, where being gone to fee the cabins of the favages, an old woman of an hundred or fix fcore years of age, came to caft at the feet of *Monf. de Poutrincourt* a loaf of bread, made with the wheat called *Mabis*, or *Mais*; and in thefe our parts, *Turky* or *Saracen* wheat, then very fair hemp of a long growth: *item*. beans, and grapes newly gathered, becaufe they had feen *Frenchmen* eat of them at *Choüakoet*; which the other favages feeing, that knew it not, they brought more of them than one would, emulating one another; and for recompence of their kindnefs, there was fet on their fore- heads a fillet, or band of paper, wet with fpittle, of which they were very proud. It was fhewed them, in preffing the grape into a glafs, that of that we did make the wine which we did drink. We would have made them to eat of the grape, but having taking it into their mouths, they spit it out, fo ignorant is this people of the beft thing that God hath given to man, next to bread. Yet notwithstanding they have no want of wit, and might be brought to do fome good things, if they were civilized, and had the ufe of handicrafts. But they are fubtil, thievifh and traiterous; and though they be naked, yet one cannot take heed of their fingers; for if one turn never fo little his eyes afide, and that they fpy the opportunity to fteal any knife, hatchet, or any thing elfe, they will not mifs or fail of it; and will put the theft between their buttocks, or will hide it within the fand with their foot fo cunningly, that one fhall not perceive it. Indeed I do not wonder if a people poor and naked be thievifh, but when the heart is malicious, it is inexcufable. This people is fuch that they muft be handled with terror; for if through love and gentlenefs, one give them too free accefs, they will praftife fome furprize, as it hath been known in divers occafions heretofore, and will yet hereafter be feen. And without deferring any longer, the fecond day after our coming thither, as they faw our people bufy a washing linnen, they came fome fifty, one following another, with bows, arrows and quivers, intending to play fome bad part, as it was conjectured upon their manner of proceeding; but they were prevented, fome of our men going to meet them, with their mufkets and matches at the cock, which made fome of them run away, and the others being compaffed, in having put down their weapons, came to a *Peninfule*, or fmall head of an ifland, where our men were;

The fim-
plicity and
ignorance
of the
favages.

The bad
nature of
the *Ar-
mouchi-
quois*.

and making a friendly shew, demanded to truck the tobacco they had for our merchandizes.

The next day the captain of the said place and port, came into *Monf. de Poutrincourt's* bark to see him ; we did marvel to see him accompanied with *Olmebin*, seeing the way was marvellous long to come thither by land, and much shorter by sea. That gave cause of bad suspicion, albeit he had promised his love to the *Frenchmen*. Notwithstanding they were gently received: and *Monf. de Poutrincourt* gave to the said *Olmebin* a compleat garment, wherewith being clothed, he viewed himself in a glass, and did laugh to see himself in that order. But a little while after, feeling that the same hindred him, although it was in *October*, when he was returned unto his cabin, he distributed it to sundry of his men, to the end that one alone should not be over-pestered with it. This ought to be a sufficient lesson to so many finical, both men and women, of these parts, who cause their garments and breast-plates to be made as hard and stiff as wood, wherein their bodies are so miserably tormented, that they are in their clothes unable to all good actions. And if the weather be too hot they suffer in their great bums with a thousand folds, unsupportable heats, that are more intolerable, than the torments which felons and criminal men are sometimes made to feel.

Now during the time that the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt* was there, being in doubt whether *Monf. de Monts* would come to make an habitation on that coast, as he wished it, he made there a piece of ground to be tilled, for to sow corn and to plant vines, which they did, with the help of our apothecary master *Lesves Hebert*, a man, who, besides his experience in his art, taketh great delight in the tilling of the ground. And the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt* may be here compared to good father *Noah*, who after he had made the

tillage most necessary for the sowing of corn, he began to plant the vine, whose effects he felt afterwards.

As they were a deliberating to pass farther, *Olmebin* came to the bark to see *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, where having tarried certain hours, either in talking or eating, he said that the next day one hundred boats should come, containing every one six men ; but the coming of such a number of men, being but troublesome, *Monf. de Poutrincourt* would not tarry for them : but went away the same day to *Mallebarre*, not without much difficulty, by reason of the great streams and shoals that are there. So that the bark having touched at three foot of water only, we thought to be cast away, and we began to unload her, and put the victuals into the shallop, which was behind, for to save us on land ; but being no full sea, the bark came afloat within an hour. All this sea is a land overflowed, as that of *Mount St. Michael's*, a sandy ground, in which, all that resteth is a plain flat country as far as the mountains, which are seen fifteen leagues off from that place ; and I am of opinion, that as far as *Virginia*, it is all alike. Moreover, there is here great quantity of grapes, as before, and a country very full of people. *Monf. de Monts* being come to *Mallebarre* in another season of the year, gathered only green grapes ; which he made to be preserved, and brought some to the king. But it was our good hap to come thither in *October*, for to see the maturity thereof. I have here before shewed the difficulty that is found in entering into *Mallebarre*. This is the cause why *Monf. de Poutrincourt* came not in with his bark, but went thither with a shallop only, which thirty or forty savages did help to draw in ; and when it was full tide (but the tide doth not mount here but two fathom high, which is seldom seen) he went out, and retired himself into his said bark, to pass further in the morning, as soon as he should ordain it.

Corn sowed, and vines planted.

C H A P. XV.

Dangers : unknown languages : the making of a forge and of an oven : crosses set up : plenty : a conspiracy : disobedience : murder : the flight of three hundred against ten : the agility of the Armouchiquois : bad company dangerous : the accident of a musket that did burst : the insolency of the savages ; their timorosity, impiety, and flight : the fortunate port : a bad sea : revenge : the counsel and resolution for the return : new perils : God's favours : the arrival of Monf. de Poutrincourt at Port-Royal ; and how he was received.

THE night beginning to give place to the dawning of the day, the sails are hoisted up, but it was but a very perilous navigation. For with this small vessel they were

were forced to coast the land, where they found no depth: going back to sea it was yet worse, in such wise that they did strike twice or thrice, being raised up again only by the waves, and the rudder was broken, which was a dreadful thing. In this extremity they were constrained to cast anchor in the sea, at two fathoms deep, and three leagues off from the land; which being done, *Daniel Hay*, a man which taketh pleasure in shewing forth his virtue in the perils of the sea, was sent towards the coast to view it, and see if there were any port. And as he was near land he saw a savage, which did dance, singing *yo, yo, yo*. He called him to come nearer, and by signs asked him, if there were any place to retire ships in, and where any fresh water was; the savage having made sign there was, he took him into his shallop, and brought him to the bark, wherein was *Cbkoudun*, captain of the river of *Oigoudi*, otherwise *St. John's* river; who being brought before this savage, he understood him no more than did our own people; true it is, that by signs he comprehended better than they what he would say. This savage shewed the places, were no depth was, and where was any, and did so well indenting and winding here and there, always the lead in hand, that in the end they came to the port shewed by him, where small depth is; wherein the bark being arrived, diligence was used to make a forge for to mend her with her rudder, and an oven to bake bread, because there was no more bisket left.

Fifteen days were employed in this work, during the which *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, according to the laudable custom of Christians, made a cross to be framed and set up, upon a green bank, as *Monf. de Mons* had done two years before at *Kinibeki*, and *Mallebarre*. Now among these painful exercises they gave not over making good cheer, with that which both the sea and the land might furnish in that part; for in this port is plenty of fowl, in taking of which many of our men applied themselves; especially the sea larks are there in so great lights, that *Monf. de Poutrincourt* killed twenty-eight of them with one culver shot; as for fish, there be such abundance of porpoisses, and another kind of fish, called by *Frenchmen Soufleurs*, that is to say *Blowers*, that the sea seems to be all covered over with them: but they had not the things necessary for this kind of fishing; they contented themselves then with shell-fish, as of oysters, scollops, periwinkles, whereof there was enough to be satisfied. The savages of the other side did bring fish, and grapes within baskets made of rushes, for to exchange with some of our wares. The said *Monf. de*

Poutrincourt seeing the grapes there marvellously fair, commanded him that waited on his chamber, to lay up in the bark a burden of the vines from whence the said grapes were taken. Our apothecary *M. Lewis Hebert*, desirous to inhabit in those countries, had pulled out a good quantity of them, to the end to plant them in *Port Royal*, where none of them are, although the soil be there very fit for vines; which nevertheless, by a dull forgetfulness, was not done, to the great discontent of the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt* and of us all.

After certain days, the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, seeing there great assemblies of savages, came ashore, and to give them some terror, made to march before him one of his men, flourishing with two naked swords; whereat they much wondered, but yet much more when they saw that our muskets did pierce thick pieces of wood, where their arrows could not so much as scratch; and therefore they never assailed our men, as long as they kept watch; and it had been good to sound the trumpet at every hours end, as captain *James Quartier* did: for, as *Monf. de Poutrincourt* doth often say, *one must never lay bait for thieves*; meaning that one must never give cause to an enemy to think that he may surprize you; but one must always shew that he is mistrusted, and that you are not asleep, chiefly when one hath to do with savages, which will never set upon him that resolutely expects them; which was not performed in this place by them that bought the bargain of their negligence very dear, as we will now tell you.

Fifteen days being expired, the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt* seeing his bark mended, and nothing remaining to be done but a batch of bread, he went some three leagues distant within the land, to see if he might discover any singularity; but in his return, he and his men perceived the savages running away thorough the wood in divers troops of twenty, thirty, and more, some bowing themselves as men that would not be seen, others hiding themselves in the grass not to be perceived; others carrying away their stuff, and canoes full of corn, for to betake them to their heels, besides the women transporting their children, and such stuff as they could with them. Those actions gave cause to *Monf. de Poutrincourt* to think that this people did plot some bad enterprize; therefore being arrived, he commanded his people which were a making of bread to retire themselves into their bark. But as young people do often forget their duty, these having some cake, or such like thing to make, had rather follow their liquorish appetites, than to do that

Signs of a conspiracy

Abundance of larks and fish.

Shell-fish.

Grapes Rush-baskets.

Disobedi-
ence.Murder
done by
savages.

that which was commanded them, tarried 'till night without retiring themselves. About midnight *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, thinking upon that which had passed the day before, did ask whether they were in the bark, and hearing they were not, he sent the shallop unto them, to command and bring them aboard, whereto they disobey'd, except his chamberlain, who feared his master. They were five, armed with muskets and swords, which were warned to stand still upon their guard, and yet, being negligent, made not any watch, so much were they addicted to their own wills. The report was, that they had before shot off two muskets upon the savages, because that some one of them had stolen a hatchet; finally, those savages, either provoked by that, or by their bad nature, came at the break of day without any noise, which was very easy to them, having neither horses, waggons, nor wooden shoes, even to the place where they were asleep, and seeing a fit opportunity to play a bad part, they set upon them with shots of arrows and clubs, and killed two of them; the rest being hurt began to cry out, running towards the sea shore; then he which kept watch within the bark, cried out all affrighted, O Lord! our men are killed! our men are killed! at this voice and cry every one rose up, and hastily, not taking leisure to fit on their cloaths, nor to set fire to their matches, ten of them went into the shallop, whose names I do not remember, but of *Monf. Champlain*; *Robert Grave*; *Monf. du Pont's* son; *Daniel Hay*, the chirurgion; the apothecary; and the trumpeter; all which, following the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, who had his son with him, came a-land unarmed; but the savages run away as fast as ever they could, though they were above three hundred, besides them that were hidden in the grass, according to their custom, which appeared not. Wherein is to be noted, how God fixeth I know not what terror in the face of the faithful, against infidels and miscreants, according to his sacred word, when he saith to his chosen people, *none shall be able to stand before you; the Lord your God shall put a terror and fear of you over all the earth, upon which you shall march.* So we see that a hundred thirty five thousand *Midianites*, able fighting men, ran away, and killed one another, before *Gideon*, which had but three hundred men. Now to think to follow after these savages, it had been but labour lost, for they are too swift in running; but if one had horses there, they might pay them home very soundly, for they have a number of small paths, leading from one place to another, which is not in *Port*

Royal, and their woods are not so thick, and have besides store of open land.

Whilst that *Monf. de Poutrincourt* was coming a-shore, there was shot from the bark some small cast pieces upon some savages, that were upon a little hill, and some of them were seen fall down, but they be so nimble in saving their dead men, that one knew not what judgment to make of it. The said *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, seeing he could get nothing by pursuing of them, caused pits to be made to bury them that were dead, which I have said to be two, but there was one that died at the waters side, thinking to save himself, and a fourth man, which was so forely wounded with arrow-shots, that he died being brought to *Port Royal*; the fifth man had an arrow sticking in his breast, yet did scape death for that time; but it had been better he had died there, for one hath lately told us that he was hanged in the habitation that *Monf. de Monts* maintaineth at *Kebeck* in the great river of *Canada*, having been the author of a conspiracy made against his captain *Monf. Champlain*, who is now there. And as for this mischief it hath been procured by the folly and disobedience of one whom I will not name, because he died there, who played the cock and ring-leader among the young men that did too lightly believe him, which otherwise were of a reasonable good nature; and because one would not make him drunk, he swore, according to his custom, that he would not return into the bark, which also came to pass; for the self-same was found dead, his face on the ground, having a little dog upon his back, both of them shot together, and pierced thorough with one and the self-same arrow.

In this bad occurrence, *Monf. du Pont's* son, above-named, had three of his fingers cut off with a splint of a musket, which being overcharged did burst, which troubled the company very much, that was afflicted enough by other occasions: nevertheless, the last duty towards the dead was not neglected, which were buried at the foot of the cross that had been there planted, as is before said. But the insolency of this barbarous people was great, after the murders by them committed; for that as our men did sing over our dead men, the funeral service and prayers accustomed in the church, these rascals, I say, did dance and howled a-far off, rejoicing for their traitorous treachery; and therefore, though they were a great number, they adventured not themselves to come and assail our people, who, having at their leisure, done what we have said before, because the sea waxed very low, retired themselves unto the bark, wherein remained *Monf. Champdore* for the guard

The bury-
ing of the
dead.Conspira-
ry.The info-
lency of the
savages.The ti-
morous-
ness of the
savages.

The impiety of the savages.

guard thereof. But being low water, and having no means to come a-land, this wicked generation came again to the place where they had committed the murder, pulled up the cross, digged out and unburied one of the dead corps, took away his shirt, and put it on them, shewing their spoils that they had carried away: and besides all this, turning their backs towards the bark, did cast sand with their two hands betwixt their buttocks in derision, howling like wolves; which did marvelously vex our people, which spared no cast pieces shots at them; but the distance was very great, and they had already that subtilty as to cast themselves on the ground when they saw the fire put at it, in such sort that one knew not whether they had been hurt or no, so that our men were forced, nill or will, to drink that bitter potion, attending for the tide, which being come and sufficient to carry them a-land, as soon as they saw our men enter into the shallop, they ran away as swift as greyhounds, trusting themselves on their agility. There was with our men a *Sagamos*, named *Schskoudun*, spoken of before, who much disliked their pranks, and would alone go and fight against all this multitude, but they would not permit him, so they set up the cross again with reverence, and the body which they had digged up was buried again, and they named this port, *Port Fortune*.

The savages flight.

Port Fortune.

The next day they hoisted up sails to pass further and discover new lands, but the contrary wind constrained them to put back, and to come again into the said port. The other next day after, they attempted again to go farther, but in vain, and they were yet forced to put back until the wind should be fit. During these attempts, the savages, thinking, I believe, that that which had passed between us was but a jest and a play, would needs come again familiarly unto us, and offered to truck, dissembling that they were not them that had done those villanies, but others, which they said were gone away. But they were not aware of the fable, how the stork being taken among the cranes, which were found doing some damage, was punished as the others, notwithstanding she pleaded that she was so far from doing any harm, that contrariwise she did purge the ground from serpents, which she did eat. *Monf. de Poutrincourt* then suffered them to approach, and made as though he would accept of their wares, which were tobacco, carknets, and bracelets made with the shells of a fish called *vignaux*, and *esurgni*, by *James Quartier* in the discovery of his second voyage, of great esteem among them: *Item*, of their corn, beans, bows, arrows, quivers, and

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other small trash. And as the society was renewed the said *Poutrincourt* commanded to nine or ten that were with him, to make the matches of their muskets round, like to a round snare, and that when he should give a sign, every one should cast his string upon the savage's head that should be near him, and should catch him, even as the hangman doth with him that he hath in hand; and for the effecting of this, that half of his people should go a-land, whilst the savages were busy a trucking in the shallop; which was done, but the execution was not altogether according to his desire; for he intended to serve himself with them that should be taken, as of slaves to grind at the hand-mill and to cut wood; wherein they failed by over-much haste: nevertheless, six or seven of them were cut in pieces, which could not so well run in the water as on the land, and were watched at the passage, by those of our men that were a-land.

That done, the next day they endeavoured to go farther, although the wind was not good, but they went but a little forward, and saw only an island six or seven leagues off, to which there was no means to come, and it was called *l'Île douteuse*, the doubtful isle, which being considered, and that of one side the want of victuals was to be feared, and of the other that the winter might hinder their course, and besides they had two sick men, of whom there was no hope of recovery; counsel being taken it was resolved to return into *Port Royal*; *Monf. de Poutrincourt* besides all this, being yet in care for them whom he had left there, so they came again for the third time into port *Fortune*, where no savage was seen.

Upon the first wind, the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt* weighed anchor for the return, and being mindful of the dangers passed, he sailed in open sea; which shortened his course, but not without a great mischief of the rudder, which was again broken; in such sort, that being at the mercy of the waves, they arrived in the end as well as they could among the islands of *Norombega*, where they mended it. And after their departure from the said islands they came to *Menane*, an island about six leagues in length, between *St. Croix* and *Port Royal*, where they tarried for the wind, which being come somewhat favourable, parting from thence new mischances happened; for the shallop being tied at the bark, was stricken with a sea so roughly, that with her nose she brake all the hinder part of the said bark, wherein *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, and others, were. And, moreover, not being able to get to the passage of the said *Port Royal*, the tide (which runneth

Their return.

10 D

swiftly

swiftly in that place) carried them towards the bottom of bay *Francoise*; from whence they came not forth easily, and they were in as great danger as ever they were before, for as much as seeking to return from whence they came, they saw themselves carried with the wind and tide towards the coast, which is high rocks and downfalls, where, unless they had doubled a certain point that threatened them of wreck, they had been cast away. But God will, in high enterprizes, try the constancy of them that fight for his name, and see if they will waver: he bringeth them to the door of death, and yet holdeth them by the hand, to the end they fall not into the pit, as it is written, *It is I, it is I, and there is none other God with me; I kill, and make alive; I wound and I heal; and there is no body that may deliver any out of my hand.* So we have said heretofore, and seen by effect, that although in those navigations a thousand dangers have presented themselves, notwithstanding not one man hath been lost by the sea, although that of them, which do only go for fishing, and to trade for skins, many there be that perish there; witness, four fishermen of *St. Malo* that were swallowed up in the waters, being gone a fishing, when as we were upon our return into *France*: God being willing that we should acknowledge to hold this benefit of him, and to manifest by that means his glory, to the end that sensibly men may see that it is he, which is the author of these holy enterprizes, which are not made of covetousness, nor by unjust effusion of blood, but of a zeal to establish his name and his greatness among nations that have no knowledge of him. Now after so many heavenly favours, it is the part of them that

have received them, to say as the kingly psalmist, well-beloved of God:

Yet, nevertheless, by thy right hand thou hold'st me ever fast,

And with thy counsel dost me guide to glory at the last.

What thing is there that I can wish but thee in heaven above?

And in the earth there is nothing like thee that I can love. Psal. lxxiii. 23, 24.

After many perils (which I will not compare to them of *Ulysses* nor *Æneas*, fearing to defile our holy voyage with prophane impurity) *Monf. de Poutrincourt* arrived in *Port Royal* the 14th day of *November*, where we received him joyfully, and with a solemnity altogether new in that part. For about the time that we expected his return, with great desire, and that so much the more, that if any harm had happened to him, we had been in danger to have confusion among ourselves, I advised myself to shew some jollity going to meet him, as we did. And for as much as it was in *French* verses made in haste, I have placed them with the muses of *Nova Francia*, by the title of *Neptune's Theatre*, whereunto I refer the reader. Moreover, to give greater honour to the return, and to our action, we did place over the gate of our fort, the arms of *France*, environed with laurel crowns, whereof there is great store along the woods sides, with the king's posy, *Duo protegit unus*; and under, the arms of *Monf. de Monts*, with this inscription, *Dabit Deus his quoque finem*; and those of *Monf. Poutrincourt*, with this other inscription, *In via virtuti nulla est via*; both of them also environed with garlands of bays.

The arriv-
al of
Monf. de
Pcutrin-
court.

C H A P. XVI.

The condition of the corn which they sowed; the institution of the order of Bon temps; the behaviour of the savages among the Frenchmen; the state of winter; why rains and fogs be rare in this season; why rain is frequent between the Tropics; snow profitable to the ground; the state of January; conformity of weather in the ancient and New France; why the spring is slow, &c.

The state
of corn.

THE public rejoicing being finished, *Monf. de Poutrincourt* had a care to see his corn, the greatest part whereof he had sowed two leagues off from our fort, up the river *l'Equille*: and the other part about our said fort: and found that which was first sown very forward, but not the last, that had been sown the 6th and 10th

days of *November*, which notwithstanding did grow under the snow, during winter, as I have noted it in my sowings. It would be a tedious thing to particularize all that was done amongst us during winter; as to tell how the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt* caused many times coals to be made, the forge-coal being spent; that he caused ways to

The use of the compass in land voyages. The institution of the order of *Bon temps*. to be made thorough the woods ; that we went thorough the forests by the guide of the compass ; and other things of such nature. But I will relate that, for to keep us merry and cleanly, concerning victuals, there was an order established at the table of the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, which was named *L'ordre de bon temps*, the order of good time, or the order of mirth, at first invented by *Monf. Champlain*, wherein they who were of the same table, were every one at his turn and day, which was in fifteen days once, steward and caterer. Now his care was, that we should have good and worshipful fare, which was so well observed, that although the belly-gods of these parts do often reproach unto us that we had not *La Rue aux Ours* † of *Paris* with us, we have ordinarily had there as good cheer as we could have at *La Rue aux Ours*, and at far less charge ; for there was none, but, two days before his turn came, was careful to go a hunting or fishing, and brought some dainty thing, besides that which was of our ordinary allowance : so well, that at breakfast we never wanted some modicum or other, of fish or flesh ; and at the repast of dinners and suppers, yet less : for it was the great banquet, where the governor of the feast, or steward, whom the savages do call *Atoctegi*, having made the cook to make all things ready, did march with his napkin on his shoulder, and his staff of office in his hand, with the collar of the order about his neck, which was worth about four crowns, and all of them of the order following of him, bearing every one a dish. The like also was at the bringing in of the fruit, but not with so great a train ; and at night after grace was said, he resigned the collar of the order, with a cup of wine, to his successor in that charge, and they drank one to another. I have heretofore said, that we had abundance of fowl, as mallards, *outards*, geese grey and white, partridges, and other birds ; *item*, of *ellans*, or stag flesh, of *caribous*, or deer, beavers, otters, bears, rabbits, wildcats, or leopards, *nibaches*, and such like, which the savages did take, wherewith we made as good dishes of meat, as in the cooks-shops that be in *La Rue aux Ours* (*Bear-street*) and greater store ; for of all meats none is so tender as *ellan's* flesh, whereof we made good pasties, nor so delicate as the beaver's tail. Yea, we have had sometimes half a dozen sturgeons at one clap, which the savages did bring to us, part whereof we did take, paying for it, and the rest was permitted them to sell

publickly, and to truck for bread, whereof our people had abundantly. And as for the ordinary meat brought out of *France*, that was distributed equally, as much to the least as to the biggest. And the like with wine, as we have said. In such actions we had always twenty or thirty savages, men, women, girls, and boys, who beheld us doing our offices. Bread was given them *gratis*, as we do here to the poor. But as for the *Sagamos Membertou*, and other *Sagamos*, when any came to us, they sat at table eating and drinking as we did ; and we took pleasure in seeing them, as contrariwise their absence was irksome unto us ; as it came to pass three or four times that all went away to the places where they knew that game and venison was, and brought one of our men with them, who liv'd six weeks as they did without salt, without bread, and without wine, lying on the ground upon skins, and that in snowy weather. Moreover, they had greater care of him, as also of others that have often gone with them, than of themselves, saying, that if they should chance to die it would be laid to their charges to have killed them : and hereby it may be known, that we were not, as it were, pent up in an island as *Monf. de Villegagnon* was in *Brasil* : for this people love *Frenchmen*, and would all, at a need, arm themselves for to maintain them.

But to use no digression, such government as we have spoken of did serve us for preservatives against the country disease. And yet four of ours died in *February* and *March*, of them who were of a fretful condition, or sluggish : and I remember I observed that all had their lodgings on the west-side, and looking towards the wide open port, which is almost four leagues long, shaped oval-wise ; besides, they had, all of them, ill bedding. For the former sicknesses, and the going away of *Monf. du Pont*, in that manner as we have said, caused the quilt-beds to be cast away, for they were rotten. And they that went with the said *Monf. du Pont* carried away the sheets and blankets, challenging them as theirs. So that some of our people had sore mouths, and swollen legs, like to the phthisicks ; which is the sickness that God sent to his people in the desert, in punishment for that they would fill themselves with flesh, not contenting themselves with that whereof the desert furnished them by the divine providence.

We had fair weather almost during all the winter. For neither rains nor fogs are so

Mortality.

The state of winter weather.

† *La Rue aux Ours*, or *Bear-street*, is as *Pye-corner*, or such a cook place, in *London*.

Why it raineth between the Tropics.

so frequent there as here, whither it be at sea or on the land : the reason is, because the sun-beams, by the long distance, have not the force to raise up vapours from the ground here, chiefly in a country all woody. But in summer it doth, both from the sea and land, when as their force is augmented, and those vapours are dissolved suddenly or slowly, according as one approacheth to the equinoctial line. For we see that between the two *Tropics* it raineth in more abundance both at sea and on the land, especially in *Peru* and *Mexico*, than in *Africa*, because the sun by so long space of sea, having drawn up much moistness from the main ocean, he dissolveth them in a moment by the great force of his heat ; where contrariwise, towards the *Newfoundlands* they maintain themselves a long time in the air, before they be turned into rain or be dispersed : which is done in summer, as we have said, and not in winter ; and at sea more than on the land. For on the land the morning mists serve for a dew, and fall about eight o'clock ; and at sea they dure two, three, and eight days, as oftentimes we have tried.

Snow is profitable.

Seeing then we are speaking of winter, we say that rains being in those parts rare, in that season, the sun likewise shineth there very fair after the fall of snows, which we have had seven or eight times, but it is easily melted in open places, and the longest abiding have been in *February*. Howsoever it be, the snow is very profitable for the fruits of the earth, to preserve them against the frost, and to serve them as a furr-gown : which is done by the admirable providence of God for the preservation of men, and as the psalm saith,

*He giveth snow like wool, hoar-frost
Like ashes he doth spread,
Like morsels casts his ice.*

Psal. cxlvii. 16.

Frosts, when they are.

And as the sky is seldom covered with clouds towards *Newfoundland* in winter-time, so are there morning frosts, which do encrease in the end of *January*, *February*, and in the beginning of *March*, for until the very time of *January* we kept us still in our doublets : and I remember that on a *Sunday*, the 14th day of that month, in the afternoon, we sported ourselves singing in music upon the river *l'Equille*, and in the same month we went to see the corn two leagues off from our fort, and did dine merrily in the sun-shine : I would not, for all that, say, that all other years were like

Conformity of weather in East and West France.

unto this ; for as that winter was as mild in these parts, these last winters of the years 1607, 1608, have been the hardest that ever was seen, it hath also been alike in

those countries, in such sort that many savages died through the rigour of the weather, as in these our parts many poor people and travellers have been killed through the same hardness of winter weather. But I will say, that the year before we were in *New France*, the winter had not been so hard, as they which dwelt there before us have testified unto me.

Let this suffice for that which concerneth the winter season. But I am not yet fully satisfied in searching the cause, why in one and the self-same parallel the season is in those parts of *New France* more slow by a month than in these parts, and the leaves appear not upon the trees but towards the end of the month of *May* ; unless we say that the thickness of the woods, and greatness of forests, do hinder the sun from warming of the ground ; *Item*, that the country where we were is joining to the sea, and thereby more subject to cold, as participating of *Peru*, a country likewise cold in regard of *Africa* ; and, besides that, this land having never been tilled is the more dampish, the trees and plants not being able easily to draw sap from their mother the earth. In recompence whereof, the winter there is also more slow, as we have heretofore spoken.

The cold being passed, about the end of *March* the best dispos'd among us strived who should best till the ground and make gardens, to sow in them, and gather fruits thereof ; which was to very good purpose, for we found great discommodity in the winter for want of garden herbs. When every one had done his sowing, it was a marvellous pleasure in seeing them daily grow and spring up, and yet greater contentment to use thereof so abundantly as we did : so that this beginning of good hope made us almost to forget our native country, and especially when the fish began to haunt fresh water, and came abundantly into our brooks, in such innumerable quantity that we knew not what to do with it. Which thing when I consider, I cannot wonder enough how it is possible, that they which have been in *Florida* have suffered so great famines, considering the temperature of the air which is there almost without winter, and that their famine began in the months of *April*, *May*, and *June*, wherein they could want for no fish.

Whilst some laboured on the ground, *Monf. de Poutrincourt* made some buildings to be prepared for to lodge them which he hoped should succeed us ; and, considering how troublesome the hand-mill was, he caused a water-mill to be made, which caused the savages to admire much at it : for, indeed, it is an invention which came not into the spirit of men from the first ages.

After

Abundance of herrings. Pilchards.

After that, our workmen had much rest, for the most part of them did almost nothing. But I may say, that this mill, by the diligence of our millers, did furnish us with three times more herrings than was needful unto us for our sustenance. *Monf. de Poutrincourt* made two hogsheds full of them to be salted, and one hogshedd of *sardines*, or pilchards, to bring into *France* for a shew, which were left in our return at *St. Malo*, to some merchants.

Among all these things the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt* did not neglect to think on his return: which was the part of a wise man, for one must never put so much trust in men's promises, but one must consider that very often many disasters do happen to them in a small moment of time. And therefore, even in the month of *April*, he made two barks to be prepared, a great one and a small one, to come to seek out *French* ships towards *Campseau*, or *Newfoundland*, if it should happen that no supply should come unto us. But the carpentry work being finished, one only inconvenience might hinder us, that is, we had no pitch to calk our vessels. This, which was the chiefest thing, was forgotten at our departure from *Rochel*. In this important necessity, the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt* advised himself to gather in the woods quantity of the gum issuing from firr-trees: which he did with much labour, going thither himself, most often with a boy or two; so that in the end he got some hundred pounds weight of it. Now after these labours, it was not yet all, for it was needful to melt and purify the same, which was a necessary point and unknown to our ship-master *Monf. de Champdore*, and to his mariners, for as much as that the pitch we have cometh from *Norway*, *Swedeland*, and *Dantzick*. Nevertheless, the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt* found the means to draw

out the quintessence of these gums and firr-tree barks; and caused quantity of bricks to be made, with the which he made an open furnace, wherein he put a limbeck made with many kettles, joined one in the other, which he filled with those gums and barks: then being well covered, fire was put round about it, by whose violence the gum inclosed within the said limbeck melted and dropped down into a bason; but it was needful to be very watchful at it, by reason that if the fire had taken hold of the gum, all had been lost. That was admirable, especially in a man that never saw any made. Whereof the savages being astonished, did say, in words borrowed from the *Basques*, *Endia chauè Normandia*, that is to say, that the *Normans* know many things. Now they call all *Frenchmen* *Normans*, except the *Basques*, because the most part of fishermen that go a fishing there, be of that nation. This remedy came very fitly unto us, for those which came to seek us were fallen into the same want that we were.

Why the savages call all Frenchmen Normans.

Now, as he which is in expectation hath neither contentment nor rest, until he hath that which he desireth; likewise our men, in this season had often their eyes upon the great compass of *Port Royal*, to see if they might discover any ship a coming; wherein they were oftentimes deceived, imagining sometimes they had heard a cannon-shot, other while to perceive a sail; and very often taking the savages boats, that came to see us, for *French* shallops. For at that time, great number of savages assembled themselves at the passage of the said port to go the wars against the *Armouchiquois*, as we will declare in the book following. Finally, that which was so much expected and wished for, came at length, and we had news out of *France*, on the *Ascension-day* in the forenoon.

C H A P. XVII.

The arrival of the French; Monf. de Monts's society is broken, and why; the covetousness of them that do rob the dead; bonfires for the nativity of the duke of Orleans; the departing of the savages to go to wars; Sagamos Membertou; voyages upon the coast; bay François; base traffic; the town of Ouigoudi; how the savages do make great voyages; their bad intention; a steel mine; the voices of sea-wolves, or seals; the state of the isle St. Croix; the love of the savages towards their children; the return into Port Royal.

THE sun did but begin to cheer the earth, and to behold his mistress with an amorous aspect, when the *Sagamos Membertou*, after our prayers solemnly made to God, and the breakfast distributed to the peo-

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ple according to the custom, came to give us advertisement that he had seen a sail upon the lake, which came towards our fort. At this joyful news every one went out to see, but yet none was found that had so good a sight

The old savages have good fight.

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as

as he, though he be above 100 years old ; nevertheless, we spied very soon what it was. *Monf. de Poutrincourt* caused in all diligence the small bark to be made ready for to go to view further. *Monf. de Champ-dore* and *Daniel Hay* went in her, and by the sign that had been told them, being certain that they were friends, they made presently to be charged four cannons and twelve fauconets, to salute them that came so far to see us. They, on their part, did not fail in beginning the joy, and to discharge their pieces, to whom they render'd the like with usury. It was only a small bark, under the charge of a young man of *St. Malo*, named *Chevalier*, who being arrived at the fort, delivered his letters to *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, which were read publickly : they did write unto him, " that, " for to help to save the charges of the " voyage, the ship, being yet the *Jonas*, " should stay at *Campseau* port, there to " fish for cods, by reason that the mer- " chants associate with *Monf. de Monts*, " knew not that there was any fishing far- " ther than that place : notwithstanding, " if it were necessary, he should cause the " ship to come to *Port Royal*. More- " over, that the society was broken, be- " cause that, contrary to the king's edict, " the *Hollanders*, conducted by a traiter- " ous *Frenchman* called *la Jeunesse*, had " the year before taken up the beavers, " and other furs, of the great river of " *Canada* ; a thing which did turn to the " great damage of the society, which, for " that cause, could no longer furnish the " charges of the inhabiting in these parts, " as it had done in times past ; and there- " fore did send no body for to remain there " after us." As we received joy to see our assured succour, we felt also great grief to see so fair and so holy an enterprize broken ; that so many labours and perils past should serve to no effect, and that the hope of planting the name of God and the catholic faith should vanish away ; notwithstanding, after that *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, had a long while mused hereupon, he said, that although he should have no body to come with him, but only his family, he would not forsake the enterprize.

It was great grief unto us to abandon (without hope of return) a land that had produced unto us so fair corn, and so many fair adorned gardens. All that could be done until that time, was to find out a place, fit to make a settled dwelling, and a land of good fertility. And that being done, it was great want of courage to give over the enterprize, for another year being passed, the necessity of maintaining an habitation there, should be taken away, for the land was sufficient to

yield things necessary for life. This was the cause of that grief which pierced the hearts of them which were desirous to see the Christian Religion established in that country. But on the contrary, *Monf. de Monts*, and his associates, reaping no benefit, but loss ; and having no help from the king, it was a thing which they could not do, but with much difficulty to maintain an habitation in those parts.

Now this envy for the trade of beavers with the savages, found not only place in the *Hollanders* hearts, but also in *French* merchants, in such sort that the privilege which had been given to the said *Monf. de Monts* for ten years, was revoked. The unsatiable avarice of men is a strange thing, which have no regard to that which is honest, so that they may rifle and catch by what means soever. And thereupon I will say moreover, that there have been some of them that came to that country to fetch us home, that wickedly have presumed so much as to strip the dead, and steal away the beavers, which those poor people do put, for their last benefit, upon them whom they bury, as we will declare more at large in the book following. A thing that maketh the *French* name to be odious, and worthy disdain among them, which have no such sordid quality at all, but rather having a heart truly noble and generous, having nothing in private to themselves, but rather all things common, and which ordinarily do present gifts (and that very liberally, according to their ability) to them whom they love and honour. And besides this mischief, it came to pass that the savages, when that we were at *Campseau*, killed him that had shewed them the sepulchres of their dead. I need not to alledge here what *Herodote* reciteth of the vile baseness of king *Darius*, who, thinking to have caught the old one in the nest (as saith the proverb) that is to say, great treasures, in the tomb of *Semiramis*, queen of the *Babylonians*, went away altogether confounded, as wise as he came thither, having found in it a writing, altogether contrary to the first he had read, which rebuked him very sharply for his avarice and wickedness.

Robbing
from the
dead.

Let us return to our sorrowful news, and to the grief thereof. *Monf. de Poutrincourt* having propounded to some of our company, whether they would tarry there for a year, eight good fellows offered themselves, who were promised that every one of them should have a hoghead of wine, and corn sufficiently for one year, but they demanded so great wages that they could not agree ; so resolution was taken for the return. Towards the evening we made bonfires for the nativity

vity of my lord the duke of *Orleans*, and began afresh to make our cannons and fauconets to thunder out, accompanied with store of musket shots, having before sung for that purpose, *Te Deum laudamus*.

The said *Chevalier*, bringer of the news, had borne the office of captain in the ship that remained at *Campseau*, and in this condition there was given to him, for to bring unto us six weathers, twenty-four hens, a pound of pepper, twenty pounds of rice, as many of raisins, and of prunes, a thousand of almonds, a pound of nutmegs, a quarter of cinnamon, two pounds of maces, half a pound of cloves, two pounds of citron-rinds, two dozen of citrons, as many oranges; a *Westphalia* gamon of bacon, and six other gamons; a hoghead of *Gascoin* wine, and as much of sack, a hoghead of powder'd beef, four pottles and a half of oyl of olives, a jar of olives, a barrel of vinegar, and two sugarloaves; but all that was lost through gutter-lane, and we saw none of all these things to make account of: nevertheless I have thought good to name here these wares, to the end that they which will travel on the seas may provide themselves therewith. As for the hens and weathers it was told us that they died in the voyage, which we easily believed, but we desired, at least, to have had the bones of them; they told us yet, for a fuller answer, that they thought we had been all dead; see upon what ground the consuming of our provision was founded. For all that, we gave good entertainment to the said *Chevalier* and his company, which were no small number, nor drinkers like to the late deceased *Monf. Le Marquis de Pisani*, which made them like very well of our company; for there was but cyder well watered, in the ship wherein they came, for their ordinary portion. But as for the *Chevalier*, even the very first day he spake of a return, *Monf. de Poutrincourt* kept him some eight days in delays; at the end whereof, this man willing to go away, the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt* put men in his bark, and detained him, for some report, that he had said, that being come to *Campseau*, he would hoist up sails and leave us there.

The savages go to the wars.

Fifteen days after, the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt* sent a bark to *Campseau*, with part of our workmen, for to begin to pull down the house. In the beginning of June, the savages, about four hundred in number, went away from the dwelling that the *Sagamos Membertou* had newly made, in form of a town, compassed about with high pales, for to go to wars against the *Armouchiquois*, which was at *Choüakoet* some eight leagues distant from

Port Royal; from whence they returned victorious, by the stratagems which I will declare in the description that I have made of this war in *French* verses. The savages were near two months in the assembling themselves thither. The great *Sagamos Membertou* had made them to be warned during, and before, the winter, having sent unto them men of purpose, namely his two sons *Aëtaudin* and *Aëtaudinech*, to appoint them there the rendezvous, or place of meeting. This *Sagamos* is a man already very old, and hath seen *Capt. James Quartier* in that country, at which time he was already married and had children; and notwithstanding did not seem to be above fifty years old. He hath been a very great warrior in his young age, and bloody during his life; which is the cause why he is said to have many enemies, and he is very glad to keep himself near the *Frenchmen*, to live in security. During this gathering of people, it behoved to make presents unto him, and gifts of corn and beans, yea of some barrels of wine, to feast his friends; for he declared to *Monf. de Poutrincourt* in these words: I am the *Sagamos* of this country, and am esteemed to be thy friend, and of all the *Normans* (for so call they the *Frenchmen*, as I have said) and that you make good reckoning of me: it would be a reproach unto me if I did not shew the effects of this love. And notwithstanding, whether it be through envy, or otherwise, another *Sagamos*, named *Shkoudun*, who was a good friend to the *French*, and unfeigned, reported unto us, that *Membertou* did plot something against us, and had made an oration to that purpose; which being understood by *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, he sent suddenly for him, to astonish him, and to see if he would obey. Upon the first sending he came alone with our men, not making any refusal; which was the cause that he was permitted to return back in peace, having first been kindly used, and had some bottles of wine, which he loveth; because (saith he) that when he hath drunk of it, he sleepeth well, and hath no more fear nor care. This *Membertou* told us, at our first coming thither, that he would make the king a present of his copper mine, because he saw we make account of of mines, and that it is meet that the *Sagamos* be courteous and liberal one towards the other. For he, being *Sagamos*, esteemeth himself equal to the king, and to all his lieutenants; and did say often to *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, that he was his great friend, brother, companion and equal; shewing his equality by joyning the two fingers of the hand, that be called *indices*, or demonstrative fingers. Now although

although this present which he would give to his majesty, was a thing that he cared not for, notwithstanding that proceedeth from a generous and good mind of his, which deserveth as great praises as if the thing had been of greater value. As did the *Persian* king, who received with as good a will a handful of water from a poor countryman, as the greatest presents that had been made unto him. For if *Membertou* had had more, he would have offered it liberally.

Monf. *de Poutrincourt* being not willing to depart thence, until he had seen the issue of his expectation, that is to say, the ripeness of his corn, he deliberated, after that the savages were gone to the wars, to make voyages along the coast. And because *Chevalier* was desirous to gather some beavers, he sent him in a small bark to the river of *St. John*, called by the savages, *Ouigoudi*, and to the isle of *St. Croix*; and he, the said Monf. *de Poutrincourt*, went in a shallop to the said copper mine. I was of the said *Chevalier*'s voyage; we crossed the *French* bay to go to the said river, where as soon as we arrived, half a dozen salmons newly taken, were brought to us; we sojourned there four days; during which, we went into the cabins of *Sagamos Chkoudun*, where we saw some eighty or a hundred savages, all naked, except their privy members, which were a making *Tabagy* (that is to say, a banquetting) with the meal that the said *Chevalier* had trucked with them for their old skins full of lice (for they gave him nothing but that which they would cast away;) so made he there a traffick which I little praise. But it may be that the odour of lucre is savory and sweet, of what thing soever it be, and the emperor *Vespasian* did not disdain to receive in his own hands, the tribute which came unto him from the pissing vessels of *Rome*.

Being among those savages, the *Sagamos Chkoudun* would needs give us the pleasure, in seeing the order and gesture that they hold going to the wars, and made them all to pass before us, which I reserve to speak of in the book following. The town of *Ouigoudi* (so I call the dwelling of the said *Chkoudun*) was a great inclosure upon an hill, compassed about with high and small trees, tied one against another; and within it many cabins, great and small, one of which was as great as a market hall, wherein many households retired themselves; and as for the same where they made their *Tabagy*, it was somewhat less. A good part of the said savages were of *Gachepe*, which is the beginning of the great river of *Canada*; and they told us, that they came from

their dwelling thither in six days, which made me much to marvel, seeing the distance that there is by sea, but they shorten very much their ways, and make great voyages by the means of lakes and rivers, at the end of which being come, in carrying their canoes three or four leagues, they get to other rivers that have a contrary course. All these savages were come thither to go to the wars with *Membertou* against the *Armouchiquois*.

But because I have spoken of this river of *Ouigoudi*, in Monf. *de Monts*'s voyage, I will not at this time speak more of it. When we returned to our bark, which was at the coming in of the port, half a league off from thence, sheltered by a causey that the sea hath made there; our men, and specially Capt. *Champdore*, that conducted us, were in doubt, lest some mischance should happen unto us, and having seen the savages in arms, thought it had been to do us some mischief, which had been very easy, for we were but two, and therefore they were very glad of our return. After which, the next day came the wizard or soothsayer of that quarter, crying as a mad-man towards our bark; not knowing what he meant, he was sent for in a cock-boat, and came to parly with us, telling us that the *Armouchiquois* were within the woods, which came to assail them, and that they had killed some of their folks that were a hunting; And therefore that we should come a-land to assist them. Having heard this discourse, which according to our judgment, tended to no good, we told him that our journeys were limited, and our victuals also, and that it was behoveful for us to be gone. Seeing himself denied, he said that before two years were come about, they would either kill all the *Normans*, or that the *Normans* should kill them. We mocked him and told him, that we would bring our bark before their fort to ransack them all; but we did not, for we went away that day: and having the wind contrary, we sheltered ourselves under a small island, where we were two days; during which, some went a shooting at mallards for provision; others attended on the cookery. And Capt. *Champdore* and myself, went along the rocks with hammers and chisels, seeking if there were any mines. In doing whereof we found quantity of steel among the rocks, which was since molten by Monf. *de Poutrincourt*, who made wedges of it, and it was found very fine steel, whereof he caused a knife to be made, that did cut as a razor, which at our return he shewed to the king.

From thence we went in three days to the isle of *St. Croix*, being often contraried with the winds; and because we had a bad conjecture

Voyages upon the coast of the *French* bay.

Salmons.

Assembly of savages a feasting.

Filthy trading.

Ouigoudi town.

The subtilty of an *Autmoir* or savage soothsayer.

A mine of steel.

conjecture of the savages, which we did see in great numbers, at the river of *St. John*, and that the troop that was departed from *Port Royal* was yet at *Menane* (an isle between the said *Port Royal* and *St. Croix*) which we would not trust, we kept good watch in the night-time; at which time we did often hear seals voices, which were very like to the voice of owls; a thing contrary to the opinion of them that have said and written that fishes have no voice.

Being arrived at the isle of *St. Croix*, we found there the buildings, left there all whole, saving that the store-house was uncovered of one side. We found there yet sack in the bottom of a pipe, whereof we drank, and it was not much the worse. As for gardens, we found there coleworts, sorrel, lettuces, which we used for the kitching. We made there also good pasties of turtle-doves, which are very plentiful in the woods; but the grass is there so high, that one could not find them when they were killed and fallen in the ground. The court was there full of whole casks, which some ill disposed mariners did burn for their pleasures, which thing when I saw, I did abhor, and I did judge, better than before, that the savages were (being less civilized) more humane and honest men, than many that bear the name of Christians, having, during, three years, spared that place, wherein they had not taken so much as a piece of wood, nor salt, which was there in great quantity, as hard as a rock.

Going from thence, we cast anchor among a great number of confused isles, where we heard some savages, and we did call to them to come to us: They answered us with the like call. Whereunto one of ours replied, *Oïen Kirau?* that is to say, *what are ye?* they would not discover themselves: but the next day *Oagi-*

mont, the *Sagamos* of this river, came to us, and we knew it was he whom we heard. He did prepare to follow *Membertou* and his troop to the wars, where he was grievously wounded, as I have said in my verses upon this matter. This *Oagimont* hath a daughter about eleven years old, who is very comely, which *Monf. de Poutrincourt* desired to have, and hath oftentimes demanded her of him to give her to the Queen, promising him that he should never want corn, nor any thing else; but he would never consent thereto.

Being entred into our bark he accompanied us, until we came to the broad sea, where he put himself in his shallop to return back; and for us we bent our course for *Port Royal*, where we arrived before day, but we were before our fort, just at the very point that fair *Aurora* began to shew her ruddy cheeks upon the top of our woody hills; every body was yet asleep, and there was but one that rose up, by the continual barking of dogs; but we made the rest soon to awake, by peals of musket shots and trumpets-sound. *Monf. de Poutrincourt* was but the day before arrived from his voyage to the mines, whither we have said that he was to go; and the day before that, was the bark arrived that had carried part of our workmen to *Campseau*. So that all being assembled, there rested nothing more than to prepare things necessary for our shipping. And in this business our water-mill did us very good service, for otherwise there had been no means to prepare meal enough for the voyage, but in the end we had more than we had need of, which was given to the savages, to the end to have us in remembrance.

The love of the savages towards their children.

Arrival in to Port Royal.

C H A P. XVIII.

The Port de Campseau; our departure from Port Royal; fog of eight days continuance; a rain-bow appearing in the water; the port de Savalet; tillage an honourable exercise; the savages grief at Monf. de Poutrincourt's going away; return into France; voyage to mount St. Michael; fruits of New France presented to the king; a voyage into New France after the said Monf. de Poutrincourt's return.

THE description of the port de *Campseau*.
UPON the point that we should take our leave of *Port Royal*, *Monf. de Poutrincourt* sent his men, one after another, to find out the ship at *Campseau*,

which is a port, being between seven or eight islands, where ships may be sheltered from winds; and there is a bay of above fifteen leagues depth, and six or seven leagues

leagues broad; the said place being distant from *Port Royal* above one hundred and fifty leagues: We had a great bark, two small ones and a shallop; in one of the small barks some men were shipped that were sent before, and the thirtieth of *July* the other two went away. I was in the great one, conducted by *Monf. de Champdore*; but *Monf. de Poutrincourt* desirous to see an end of our sowed corn, tarried till it was ripe, and remained there eleven days yet after us. In the mean time, our first journey having been the passage of *Port Royal*, the next day mists came and spread themselves upon the sea, which continued with us eight whole days; during which, all we could do was to get to *Cape de Sable*, which we saw not.

In these *Cimmerian* darkneses, having one day cast anchor in the sea, by reason of the night, our anchor drived in such sort, that in the morning, the tide had carried us among islands, and I marvel that we were not cast away striking against some rocks. But for victuals we wanted for no fish, for in half an hour's fishing we might take cod enough for to feed us a fortnight, and of the fairest and fattest that ever I saw, being of the colour of carps, which I have never known nor noted but in this part of the said *Cape de Sable*; which after we had passed, the tide (which is swift in this place) brought us in a short time as far as to the port de la Heue, thinking that we were no further than the *Port du Moutton*: there we tarried two days, and in the very same port we saw the cods bite at the hook. We found there store of red gooseberries, and a *Marcafite* of copper mine; we also made there some trucking with the savages for skins.

From thenceforward we had wind at will, and during that time, it happened once that being upon the hatches, I cried out to our pilot, *Monf. de Champdore*, that we were ready to strike, thinking I had seen the bottom of the sea, but I was deceived by the rainbow, which did appear with all its colours in the water, procured by the shadow, that our bowsprit sail did make over the same, being opposite to the sun; which, assembling its beams within the hollowness of the same sail, as it doth within the clouds, those beams were forced to make a reverberation in the water, and to shew forth this wonder. In the end, we arrived within four leagues of *Campseau*, at a port where a good old man of *St. John de Lus*, called *Capt. Savalet*, received us with all the kindness in the world: and for as much as this port (which is little, but very fair)

hath no name, I have qualified it in my geographical map with the name of *Savalet*. This good honest man told us, that the same voyage was the forty-second voyage that he had made into those parts, and nevertheless the *Newfoundlandmen* do make but one in a year. He was marvelously pleased with his fishing, and told us moreover, that he took every day fifty crowns worth of fish, and that his voyage would be worth one thousand pounds. Good fishing.

He paid wages to sixteen men, and his vessel was of eighty tuns, which could carry one hundred thousand dry fishes: he was sometimes vexed with the savages that did cabin there, who too boldly and impudently went into his ship and carried away from him what they listed: and for to avoid their troublesome behaviour, he threatened them that we would come thither, and that we would put them all to the edge of the sword if they did him wrong: this did fear them, and they did him not so much harm as otherwise they would have done: notwithstanding, whensoever the fishermen came with their shallops full of fish, they did chuse what seemed good unto them, and they did not care for cod, but rather took merlus or whittings, barbes or fletans, a kind of very great turbut, which might be worth here in *Paris* above four crowns a-piece, and peradventure six or more, for it is a marvellous good meat, especially when they be great, and of the thickness of six fingers, as are those that be taken there: and it would have been very hard to bridle their insolency, because that for to do it one should be forced to have always weapons in hand, and so the work should be left undone. The good nature and honesty of this man was extended not only to us, but also to all our people that passed by his port, for it was the passage to go and come from *Port Royal*: but there were some of them that came to fetch us home who did worse than the savages, using him as the soldier does the poor peasant or country farmer here; a thing which was very grievous for me to hear. *Savalet's kindness.*

We were four days there by reason of the contrary wind; then came we to *Campseau*, where we tarried for the other bark, which came two days after us; and as for *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, as soon as he saw that the corn might be reaped, he pulled up some rye, root and all; for to shew here the beauty, goodness and unmeasurable height of the same: he also made gleans of the other sorts of feeds, as wheat, barley, oats, hemp and others, for the same purpose; which was not done by them that

Peril.
Abundance of
fair cod.

Port de la
Heue.

Exceeding
fair corn.

that have heretofore been in *Brasil* and in *Florida*: wherein I have cause to rejoice, because I was of the company and of the first tillers of that land: and herein I pleased my self the more, when I did set before mine eyes our ancient father *Noah*, a great king, great priest, and great prophet, whose occupation was to husband the ground, both in sowing of corn and planting the vine: and the ancient *Roman* captain, *Seranus*, who was found sowing of his field, when that he was sent for to conduct the *Roman* army: and *Quintus Cincinnatus*, who all dusty did plough four acres of lands, bare-headed and open stomach'd, when the senate's herald brought letters of the dictatorship unto him; in sort, that this messenger was forced to pray him to cover himself, before he declared his embassy unto him. Delighting myself in this exercise, God hath blessed my poor labour, and I have had in my garden as fair wheat as any can be in *France*, whereof the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt* gave unto me a glean, when he came to the said port de *Campseau*.

Fair
wheat.

He was ready to depart from *Port Royal*, when *Membertou* and his company arrived victorious over the *Armouchiquois*: and because I have made a description of this war in *French* verses, I will not here trouble my paper with it, being desirous rather to be brief than to seek out new matter. At the instant request of the said *Membertou* he tarried yet one day; but it was piteous to see at his departing those poor people weep, who had been always kept in hope that some of ours should always tarry with them. In the end, promise was made unto them, that the year following households and families should be sent thither wholly to inhabit their land, and teach them trades for to make them live as we do, which promise did somewhat comfort them. There was left remaining ten hogsheds of meal which were given to them, with the corn that we had sown and the possession of the manor, if they would use it, which they have not done; for they cannot be constant in one place and live as they do.

The eleventh of *August*, the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt* departed, with eight in his company from the said *Port Royal* in a shallop, to come to *Campseau*; a thing marvellously dangerous to cross so many bays and seas in so small a vessel, laden with nine persons, with victuals necessary for the voyage, and reasonable great quantity of other stuff. Being arrived at the port of *Capt. Savalet*, he received them all as kindly as it was possible for him;

and from thence they came to us to the said port of *Campseau*, where we tarried yet eight days.

The third day of *September* we weighed anchors, and with much ado came we from among the rocks that be about the said *Campseau*; which our mariners did with two shallops, that did carry their anchors very far into the sea for to uphold our ship, to the end she should not strike against the rocks. Finally, being at sea, one of the said shallops was let go, and the other was taken into the *Jonas*, which besides our lading, did carry one hundred thousand of fish, as well dry as green. We had reasonable good wind until we came near to the lands of *Europe*; but we were not over-cloyed with good cheer, because that (as I have said) they who came to fetch us, presuming we were dead, did cram themselves with our refreshing commodities. Our workmen drank no more wine after we had left *Port Royal*; and we had but small portion thereof, because that which did over abound with us was drank merrily, in the company of them that brought us news from *France*.

The departing from
New
France.

The twenty-sixth of *September* we had sight of the *Sorlingues*, which be at the lands end of *Cornwall* in *England*, and the twenty-eighth thinking to come to *St. Malo*, we were forced (for want of good wind) to fall into *Roscoff* in *Base Bretagne*, where we remained two days and a half refreshing ourselves. We had a savage who wondered very much seeing the buildings, steeples, and wind-mills in *France*; yea also of the women, whom he had never seen cloathed after our manner. From *Roscoff* (giving thanks to God) we came with a good wind unto *St. Malo*; wherein I cannot but praise the watchful foresight of our master *Nicholas Martin*, in having so skilfully conducted us in such a navigation, and among so many banks and dangerous rocks, wherewith the coast, from the cape of *Ushant* to *St. Malo* is full. If this man be praise-worthy in this his action, *Capt. Foulques* deserveth no less praises, having brought us through so many contrary winds into unknown lands, where the first foundations of *New France* have been laid.

The fight of the
Sorlingues.

Having tarried three or four days at *St. Malo*, *Monf. de Poutrincourt's* son and myself went to mount *St. Michael*, where we saw the relicks, all saving the buckler of this holy archangel. It was told us that the lord bishop of *Auranches*, had four or five years ago forbidden to shew it any more. As for the building, it meriteth

The voyage unto
St. Michael.

The
eighth
wonder of
the world.

to be called the eighth wonder of the world, so fair and great is it upon the point of one only rock, in the midst of the waves at full sea. True it is, that one may say that the sea came not thither when the said building was made; but I will reply, that howsoever it be it is admirable: the complaint that may be made in this respect is, that so many fair buildings are unprofitable in these our days, as in the most part of the abbies of *France*. And would to God that by some *Archimedes* means, they might be transported into *New France*, there to be better employed to God's service and the king's. At the return we came to see the fishing of oysters at *Cancale*.

After we had sojourn'd eight days at *St. Malo*, we came in a bark to *Honfleur*, where *Monf. de Poutrincourt's* experience stood us in good stead, who seeing our pilots at their wits end when they saw themselves between the isles of *Jersey* and *Sark* (not being accustomed to take that course, where we were driven by a great wind, east south-east, accompanied with fogs and rain) he took his sea-chart in hand and play'd the part of a pilot in such sort, that we passed the *Raz Blanchart* (a dangerous passage for small barks) and we came easily, following the coast of *Normandy*, to *Honfleur*; for which, eternal praises be given to God. *Amen*.

Being at *Paris*, the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt* presented the king with the fruits of the land from whence he came, and especially the corn, wheat, rye, barley and oats, as being the most precious thing that may be brought from what country soever. It had been very fit to vow these first fruits to God, and to place them in some church among the monuments of triumph, with more just cause than the ancient *Romans*, who presented to their country gods and goddesses, *Terminus*, *Seia*, and *Segesta*, the first fruits of their tillage, by the hands of the priests of the fields instituted by *Romulus*, which was the first order in *New Rome*, who had for a blazon, a hat of the ears of corn.

The said *Monf. de Poutrincourt* had bred ten outards taken from the shell, which he thought to bring all into *France*, but five of them were lost, and the other five he gave to the king who delighted much in them, and they are at *Fontainebleau*.

Upon the fair shew of the fruits of the said country, the king did confirm to *Monf. de Monts*, the privilege for the trade of beavers with the savages, to the end to give him means to establish his colonies in *New France*; and by this occasion, he sent thither in *March* last families, there to

begin Christian and *French* commonwealths, which God vouchsafe to bless and increase.

The said ships being returned, we have had report by *Monf. de Champdore* and others, of the state of the country which we had left, and of the wonderful beauty of the corn that the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt* had sowed before his departure, together of the grains that be fallen in the gardens, which have so increased, that it is an incredible thing. *Memberton* did gather six or seven barrels of the corn that we had sowed and had yet one left, which he reserved for the *Frenchmen* whom he looked for, who arriving, he saluted with three musket shot and bonfires. When it was laid to his charge that he had eaten our pigeons which we left there, he fell a weeping, and embracing him that told it him, said, that it was the *Macharoa*, that is to say, the great birds, which are eagles, which did eat many of them while we were there. Moreover, all, great and small, did enquire how we did, naming every one by his own name, which is a witness of great love.

Eagles.

From *Port Royal*, the said *Champdore* went as far as *Choüakouet*, the beginning of the *Armouchiquois* land, where he pacified that nation with the *Etechemins*, which was not done without solemnity. For as he had begun to speak of it, the captain, who is now instead of *Olmechin*, named *Astikou*, a grave man and of a goodly presence, how savage soever he be, demanded that some one of the said *Etechemins* should be sent to him, and that he would treat with him. *Oagimont*, *Sagamos* of the river of *St. Croix*, was appointed for that purpose, and he would not trust them, but under the assurance of the *Frenchmen* he went thither. Some presents were made to *Astikou*, who, upon the speech of peace began to exhort his people, and to shew them the causes that ought to induce them to hearken unto it; whereunto they condescended, making an exclamation at every article that he propounded to them. Some five years ago, *Monf. de Monts* had likewise pacified those nations, and had declared unto them, that he would be enemy to the first of them that should begin the war and would pursue him. But after his return into *France*, they could not contain themselves in peace. And the *Armouchiquois* did kill a *Souriquois* savage, called *Panoniack*, who went to them for to truck merchandize, which he took at the storehouse of the said *Monf. de Monts*. The war above-mentioned happened by reason of this said murder, under the conduct of *Sagamos Memberton*: the

The savages wifedom.

Outards,
or wild
geese.

Privilege
of beavers
confirmed
to *Monf.
de Monts*.

the said war was made in the very same place where I now make mention, that *Monf. de Champdore* did treat the peace this year. *Monf. Champlain* is in another place, to wit, in the great river of *Canada*, near the place where *Capt. James Quartier* did winter, where he hath fortified himself, having brought thither households, with cattle and divers sorts of fruit-trees: there is store of vines and excellent hemp in the same place where he is, which the earth bringeth forth of itself: he is not a man to be idle, and we expect shortly news of the whole disco-

Cattle,
fruit-trees,
vines,
hemp.

very of this great and incomparable river, and of the countries which it washeth on both sides, by the diligence of the said *Champlain*.

As for *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, his desire is immutable in this resolution to inhabit and adorn his province, to bring thither his family, and all sorts of trades necessary for the life of man. Which, with God's help, he will continue to effect all this present year 1609; and as long as he hath vigour and strength will prosecute the same, to live there under the king's obedience.

NOVA FRANCIA,

OR A

DESCRIPTION

OF

NEW FRANCE.

BOOK II.

Containing the *Fashions* and *Manner of Life* of the People there; and the *Fertility* of the *Lands* and *Seas* mentioned in the former Book.

The PREFACE.

ALMIGHTY God, in the creation of this world, hath so much delighted himself in diversity, that whether it be in heaven, or in the earth, either under the same, or in the profound depth of waters, the effects of his might and glory do shine in every place. But the wonder that far exceedeth all others, is, that in one and the self-same kind of creature, I mean in man, are found more variety than in other things created. For if one enters into the consideration of his face, two shall not be found who in every respect do resemble one another; if he be considered in the voice, the same variety shall be found; if in the speech, all nations have their proper and peculiar language whereby one is distinguished from the other: but in manners and fashion of life, there is a marvellous difference, which, without troubling ourselves in crossing the seas to have the experience thereof, we see visibly in our very neighbourhood. Now forasmuch as it is a small matter to know, that people differ from us in customs and manners, unless we know the particularities thereof; a small thing is it likewise to know but that which

is near to us; but the fair science is, to know the manner of life of all nations of the world, for which reason Ulysses hath been esteemed, because he had seen much and known much. It hath seemed necessary unto me, to exercise myself, in this second book, upon this subject, in that which toucheth the nations spoken of by us, seeing that I have tied myself unto it, and that it is one of the best parts of an history, which without it would be defective, having but slightly and casually handled hereabove those things that I have reserved to speak of here. Which also I do, to the end, if it please God to take pity of those poor people, and to work by his holy spirit, that they be brought into his fold, their children may know hereafter what their fathers were, and bless them that have employed themselves in their conversion, and reformation of their uncivility. Let us therefore begin with man from his birth, and having in gross marked out what the course of his life is, we will conduct him to the grave, there to leave him to rest, and also to repose ourselves.

CHAP.

C H A P. I.

Of the nativity of man.

THE author of the book of *Wisdom*, called *Solomon's*, witnesseth unto us a most true thing, that, *All men have a like entrance into the world, and the like going out*; but each several people hath brought some ceremonies, after these were accomplished: for some have wept, seeing the birth of man upon this wordly theatre; others have rejoiced at it, as well because nature hath given to every creature a desire to preserve his own kind, as for that, man having been made mortal by sin, he desireth to be in some sort restored again to that lost right of immortality, and to leave some visible image issued from him, by the generation of children. I will not here discourse upon every nation, for it would be an infinite thing, but I will say that the *Hebrews*, at the nativity of their children, did make some particular ceremonies unto them, spoken of by the prophet *Ezekiel*, who having in charge to make a demonstration to the city of *Jerusalem*, of her own abomination, doth reproach unto her, saying, that she is issued and born out of the *Canaanians* country, that her father was an *Amorite*, and her mother an *Hittite*; and, *as for thy birth*, says he, *in the day that thou wast born thy navel was not cut, neither was thou washed in water to soften thee, nor salted with salt, nor, any*

wise, swaddled in clouts. The *Cimbri* did put their new born children into the snow to harden them; and the *Frenchmen* did plunge theirs into the river *Rhine*, to know if they were legitimate; for if they did sink unto the bottom, they were esteemed bastards, and if they did swim on the water they were legitimate; meaning as it were that *Frenchmen* ought naturally to swim upon the waters. As for our savages of *New France*, when that I was there, thinking nothing less than on this history, I took not heed of many things, which I might have observed; but yet I remember, that as a woman was delivered of her child, they came into our fort, to demand very instantly for some grease or oil, to make the child to swallow it down before they give him the dug or any food. They can render no reason for this, but that it is a custom of long continuance: whereupon I conjecture that the devil, who hath always borrowed ceremonies from the church, as well in the ancient as in the new law, would, that his people, so do I call them that believe not in God, and are out of the communion of saints, should be anointed like to God's people, which unction he hath made to be inward, because the spiritual unction of the Christians is so.

C H A P. II.

Of the imposition of names.

AS for imposition of names, they give them by tradition, that is to say, they have great quantity of names, which they chuse and impose on their children; but the eldest son commonly beareth his father's name, adding at the end some diminutive; as the eldest of *Membertou*, shall be called *Membertouchis*, as it were the lesser or the younger *Membertou*; as for the younger son, he beareth not the father's name, but they give him such name as they list; and he that is born after him shall bear his name, adding a syllable to it; as the younger of *Membertou* is called *Astaudin*, he that cometh after is called *Astaudinech*. So *Memembourre* had a son named *Semcoud*, and his younger was called *Semcoudech*. It is not for all

that a general rule to add this termination *ech*. For *Panoniac's* younger son, of whom mention is made in *Membertou's* war against the *Armouchiquois*, which I have described in the muses of *New France*, was called *Panoniagues*; so that this termination is done according as the former name requireth it. But they have a custom that when this elder brother, or father is dead, they change names, for to avoid the sorrow that the remembrance of the deceased might bring unto them. This is the cause, why after the decease of *Memembourre* and *Semcoud*, that died this last winter, *Semcoudech* hath left his brother's name, and hath not taken that of his father, but rather hath made himself to be called *Paris*, because he dwelt in *Paris*. And after *Panoniac's*

The dignity of elder ship or first born.

The changing of names.

noniacs's death, *Panoniagues* forsook his name, and was, by one of our men called *Roland*, which I find evil and indiscreetly done, so to prophane Christians names, and to impose them upon infidels; as I remember of another that was called *Martin*. *Alexander* the great, though he was an heathen, would not that any should bear his name, unless he should render himself worthy thereof by virtue. And, as one day a soldier, bearing the name of *Alexander*, was accused before him to be voluptuous and lecherous, he commanded him, either to forsake that name, or to change his life.

The *Brasileans*, as *John de Leri* saith, whom I had rather follow in that which he hath seen, than a *Spaniard*, impose names to their children of the first thing that cometh before them, as if a bow and string come to their imagination, they will call their child *Ourapacen*, which signifyeth a bow and string, and so consequently, In regard of our savages, they have at this day names without signification, which peradventure in the first imposing of them,

did signify something, but as the tongues do change, the knowledge thereof is lost. Of all the names of them, that I have known, I have learned none, saving that *Chkoudun*, signifyeth a trout; and *Oigoudi*, the name of the river of the said *Chkoudun*, which signifyeth to see. It is very certain, that names have not been imposed, to what thing forever, without reason; for *Adam* gave the name to every living creature, according to the property and nature thereof; and consequently names have been given to men signifying something; as *Adam* signifyeth man, or, *that which is made of earth*; *Eve*, signifyeth, *the mother of all living*; *Abel*, *weeping*; *Cain*, *possession*; *Jesus*, *a saviour*; *Devil*, *a Slanderer*; *Satan*, *an adversary*, &c. Among the *Romans* some were called *Lucius*, because they were born at the break of day; others *Cæsar*, for that the mothers belly was cut at the birth of him that first did bear this name; In like manner *Lentulus*, *Piso*, *Fabius*, *Cicero*, &c. all nick names, given by reason of some accident, like our savages names, but with some more judgment.

C H A P. III.

Of the feeding of their children.

AL MIGHTY God, shewing a true mother's duty, saith by the prophet *Isaiah*, *Can a woman forget her child, and not have compassion on the son of her womb?* This pity which God requireth in mothers, is to give the breast to their children, and not to change the food which they have given unto them before their birth. But at this day, the most part make their breasts to serve for allurements to whoredom; and being willing to set themselves at ease, free from the children's noise, do send them into the country, where peradventure they be changed, or given to bad nurses, whose corruption and bad nature they suck with their milk; and from thence come the changelings, weak and degenerate from the right stock, whose names they bear. The savage women bear a greater love than that towards their young ones; for none but themselves do nourish them; and that is general throughout all the *West Indies*; likewise their breasts are no baits of love, as in these our parts, but rather, love in those lands is made by the flame that nature kindleth in every one, without annexing any arts to it, either by painting, amorous poisons, or otherwise. And for this manner of nursing their children, are the an-

cient *German* women praised by *Tacitus*, because that every one did nurse their children with her own breasts, and would not have suffered that another besides themselves should give suck to their children. Now our savage women do give unto them, with the dug, meats which they use, having first well chewed them; and so by little and little bring them up. As for the swaddling of them, they that dwell in hot countries, and near the *Tropicks*, have no care of it, but leave them free, unbound. But drawing towards the north, the mothers have an even smooth board, like the covering of a drawer or cupboard, upon which they lay the child wrapped in a beaver furr; unless it be too hot, and tied thereupon with some swaddling band, whom they carry on their backs, their legs hanging down; then being returned into their cabins they set them, in this manner up straight against a stone or something else. And as in these our parts, one gives small feathers and gilt things to little children, so they hang a quantity of beads and small square toys, diversly coloured, in the upper part of the said board or plank, for the decking of theirs.

C H A P. IV.

Of their love towards their children.

THAT which we have said even now is a part of true love, which doth shame the Christian women. But after the children be weaned, and at all times, they love them all, observing this law, that nature hath grafted in the hearts of all creatures, except in lewd slippery women, to have care of them. And when it is question to demand of them some of their children, I speak of the *Souriquois*, in whose land we dwelt; for to bring them into *France*, they will not give them; but if any one of them doth yield unto it, presents must be given unto him, besides large promises. We have already spoken of this at the end of the 17th chapter. So then I find that they have wrong to be called barbarous, seeing that the ancient *Romans* were far more barbarous than they who oftentimes sold their children for to have means to live. Now that which causeth them to love their children more than we do in these parts, is, that they are the maintenance of their fathers in their old age; whether it be to help them to live, or to defend them from their enemies: and nature conserveth wholly in them her right in this respect; by reason whereof, that which they wish most is to have number of children, to be thereby so much the mightier, as in the first age of the world, when virginity was a thing reprobable, because of God's commandment to men and women to increase, multiply and replenish the earth; but after it was filled, this love waxed marvellous cold, and children began to be a burthen to fathers and mothers, whom many have had in disdain, and have very often procured their death. Now is the way open for *France*

The cause why the savages love their children more than we do in these parts,

to have a remedy for the same; for if it please God to guide and prosper the voyages of *New France*, whosoever in these parts shall find himself oppressed, may pass thither, and there end his days in rest, and that without feeling any poverty. Or if any one findeth himself over-burthened with children, he may send half of them thither, and with a small portion they shall be rich, and possess the land, which is the most assured condition of this life. For we see at this day, labour and pain in all vocations, yea, in them of the best sort, which are often crossed through envy and wants; others will make a hundred capings and crouchings for to live, and yet they do but pine away. But the ground never deceiveth us, if we earnestly cherish her; witness the fable of him, who by his last will and testament, did declare to his children that he had hidden a treasure in his vineyard, and as they had well and deeply digged and turned it they found nothing, but the year being come about, they gathered so great a quantity of grapes, that they knew not where to bestow them. So through all the holy scripture, the promises that God maketh to the patriarchs *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and afterwards to the people of *Israel*, by the mouth of *Moses*, are, That they shall possess the land, as a certain heritage that cannot perish, and where a man hath wherewith to sustain his family, to make himself strong and to live in innocency; according to the speeches of the ancient *Cato*, who did say, that commonly husbandmen, or farmers sons be valiant and strong and do think on no harm.

C H A P. V.

Of their religion.

MAN being created after the image of God, it is good reason that he acknowledge, serve, worship, praise and bless his creator; and that therein he employ his whole desire, his mind, his

strength and his courage. But the nature of man having been corrupted by sin, this fair light that God had first given unto him, hath been so darkned, that he is become thereby to lose the knowledge of his

his beginning. And for as much as God sheweth not himself unto us by a certain visible form, as a father or a king might do, man finding himself overcome with poverty and infirmity, not settling himself to the contemplation of the wonders of this Almighty workman, and to seek him as he ought to be sought for; with a base and brutish spirit miserably hath he forged to himself gods, according to his own fancy; and there is nothing visible in the world, but hath been deify'd in some place or other; yea even in that rank and degree, imaginary things have also been put, as virtue, hope, honour, fortune, and a thousand such like things. *Item* infernal gods, and sicknesses, and all sorts of plagues, every one worshipping the things that he stood in fear of. But notwithstanding, though *Tully* hath said, speaking of the nature of the gods, that that there is no nation so savage, or brutish, nor so barbarous, but is seasoned with some opinion of them; yet there have been found, in these later ages, nations that have no feeling thereof at all; which is so much the stranger; that among them, there were, and yet are, idolators, as in *Mexico* and *Virginia*. If we will, we may add hereunto *Florida*; and notwithstanding, all being well considered, seeing the condition both of the one and of the other is to be lamented; I give more praise to him that worshippeth nothing, than to him who worshippeth creatures without either life or sense; for at least, as bad as he is, he blasphemeth not, and giveth not the glory due to God to another, living (indeed) a life not much differing from brutishness; but the same is yet more brutish that adareth a dead thing, and putteth his confidence in it. And besides, he which is not stained with any bad opinion, is much more capable of true adoration, than the other; being like to a bare table, which is ready to receive what colour soever one will give to it. For when any people hath once received a bad impression of doctrine, one must root it out from them before another may be placed in them. Which is very difficult, as well for the obstinacy of men, which do say, our fathers have lived in this sort; as for the hindrance that they give them which do teach them such a doctrine, and others whose life dependeth thereupon, who do fear that their means of gain be taken from them; even as that *Demetrius* the silver-smith, mentioned in the *Acts* of the apostles. This is the reason why our savages of *New*

Idolators
in *Virgi-*
nia.

France will be found more easy to receive the Christian doctrine, if once the province be thoroughly inhabited. For (that we may begin with them of *Canada*) *James Quartier*, in his second relation, reciteth that which I have said a little before, in these words, which are not here laid down in the former book.

“ This said people (saith he) hath not any belief of God (that may be esteemed) for they believe in one, whom they call *Cudoiagni*, and say, that he often speaketh to them, and telleth them what weather shall fall out. They say that when he is angry with them he casteth dust in their eyes. They believe also, that when they die they go up into the stars; and afterwards they go into fair green fields, full of fair trees, flowers and rare fruits. After they had made us to understand these things, we shewed them their error; and that their *Cudoiagni* is an evil spirit that deceiveth them, and that there is but one God, which is in heaven, who doth give unto us all, and is creator of all things, and that in him we must only believe, and that they must be baptized, or go into hell. And many other things of our faith were shewed them; which they easily believed, and called their *Cudoiagni*, *Agoiuda* *. So that many times they requested our captain to cause them to be baptized, and the said lord (that is to say, *Donnacona*) *Taiguragni*, *Domagaia*, with all the people of their town came thither for that purpose; but because we knew not their intent and desire, and that there was no body to instruct them in the faith; we excused ourselves to them for that time, and bad *Taiguragni* and *Domagaia* to make them understand that we would return another voyage, and would bring priests with us and *Chréme*, telling them, for an excuse, that one cannot be baptized without the said *Chréme*, which they did believe. And they were very glad of the promise which the captain made them to return, and thanked them for it.

People easy to be converted.

Monf. Champlain, having of late made the same voyage which the Capt. *James Quartier* had made, did discourse with savages, that be yet living, and reporteth the speeches that were between him and certain of their *Sagamos*, concerning their belief in spiritual and heavenly things, which I have thought good (being incident to this matter) to insert here. His words are these. “ The most part of them be people without law, according as I could see and inform my self, by

“ the

* *Agoiuda* signifieth wicked.

The savages belief and faith.

“ the said great *Sagamos*, who told me
 “ that they verily believe there is one
 “ God, who hath created all things. And
 “ then I asked him, seeing that they be-
 “ lieve in one only God ; by what means
 “ did he place them in this world, and
 “ from whence they were come ? He
 “ answered me, that after God had made
 “ all things, he took a number of arrows,
 “ and did stick them into the ground,
 “ from whence men and women sprung
 “ up, which have multiplied in the world
 “ until now, and that mankind grew by
 “ that means. I answered him, that
 “ what he said was false ; but that indeed
 “ there was one only God, who had
 “ created all things both in heaven and
 “ earth. Seeing all these things so perfect,
 “ and being no body that did govern in
 “ this world, he took slime out of the
 “ earth, and created thereof our first fa-
 “ ther *Adam* : and while he did sleep,
 “ God took one of his ribs, and formed
 “ *Eve* thereof, whom he gave to him for
 “ company, and that this was the truth
 “ that both they and we were made by
 “ this means, and not of arrows, as they
 “ did believe. He said nothing more to
 “ me, but that he allowed better of my
 “ speech than of his own. I asked him
 “ also if he believed not that there were
 “ any other but one only God ? He said
 “ unto me that their belief was ; there
 “ was one only God, one son, one mo-
 “ ther, and the sun, which were four.
 “ Notwithstanding, that God was over
 “ and above all ; but that the son was
 “ good, and the sun, by reason of the
 “ good which they received of them :
 “ as for the mother, she was naught and
 “ did eat them, and that the father was
 “ not very good. I shewed him his er-
 “ ror according to our faith, whereunto
 “ he gave some credit. I demanded of
 “ him if they never saw nor heard their
 “ ancestors say that God was come into
 “ the world ; he told me he had not
 “ seen him, but that anciently there were
 “ five men, who travelling towards the
 “ setting of the sun, met with God,
 “ who demanded of them, whither go
 “ ye : they answered, we go to seek for
 “ our living : God answered them, you
 “ shall find it here. But they passed
 “ further, not making any account of
 “ that which God had said unto them ;
 “ who took a stone and therewith touched
 “ two of them, who were turned into
 “ stones ; and he said again to the three
 “ others, whither go ye ; and they an-
 “ swered as at the first time ; and God
 “ said unto them again, pass no further,
 “ you shall find it here ; and seeing that
 “ they found no food they passed further :
 “ and God took two staves, and touch-
 “ ed therewith the two foremost, who

“ were transformed into staves. But the
 “ fifth man stayed and would pass no
 “ further ; and God asked him again,
 “ whither goest thou ; who made answer, I
 “ go to seek for my living ; and God
 “ told him, tarry and thou shalt find it ;
 “ and he stayed without passing any fur-
 “ ther. And God gave him meat, and
 “ he did eat of it ; and after he had made
 “ good cheer he returned among the
 “ other savages, and told them all that
 “ you have heard. He also told me,
 “ that at another time there was a man
 “ who had store of tobacco (which is an
 “ herb the smoke whereof they take) and
 “ that God came to this man and asked
 “ him where his pipe was ; the man took
 “ his tobacco-pipe and gave it to God,
 “ who drank very much tobacco. After
 “ he had taken well of it, God brake the
 “ said tobacco-pipe into many pieces ;
 “ and the man asked him, why hast thou
 “ broken my tobacco-pipe, and thou
 “ seest well that I have none other. And
 “ God took one which he had, and gave
 “ it him, saying unto him ; lo, here is one
 “ which I give to thee ; carry it to thy
 “ great *Sagamos*, let him keep it ; and if he
 “ keep it well, he shall not want any
 “ thing, nor any of his companions :
 “ the said man took the tobacco-pipe,
 “ which he gave to his great *Sagamos*,
 “ who (whilst he had it) the savages
 “ wanted for nothing in the world ; but
 “ that since the said *Sagamos* had lost this
 “ tobacco-pipe, which is the cause of the
 “ great famine which sometimes they
 “ have among them. I demanded of
 “ him, whether he did believe all that ;
 “ he told me yes, and that it was true.
 “ Now I believe that that is the cause why
 “ they say that God is not very good.
 “ But I replied and said unto him, that
 “ God was all good, and that without
 “ doubt it was the devil that had shewed
 “ himself to those men, and that if they
 “ did believe in God as we do, they should
 “ want nothing that should be needful for
 “ them. That the sun which they saw,
 “ the moon and the stars, were created
 “ by the same great God, who hath
 “ made both heaven and earth, and
 “ that they have no power, but that
 “ which God hath given them ; that we
 “ believe in that great God, who by his
 “ goodness did send unto us his dearly
 “ beloved son, who being conceived by
 “ the Holy Ghost, took human flesh with-
 “ in the virgin womb of the Virgin
 “ *Mary*, having been thirty-three years
 “ on earth working infinite miracles, rais-
 “ ing up the dead, healing the sick, dri-
 “ ving out devils, giving sight to the
 “ blind, shewing unto men the will of
 “ God his father, for to serve, honour
 “ and

“ and worship him, hath spilled his blood,
 “ and suffered death and passion for us,
 “ and for our sins, and redeemed man-
 “ kind, being buried and risen again,
 “ went down into hell, and ascended up
 “ into heaven, where he sitteth at the
 “ right hand of God his Father. That
 “ this was the belief of all Christians
 “ which do believe in the Father, in the
 “ Son, and in the Holy Ghost; which be
 “ not for all that three Gods, but are one
 “ self same and one only God, and one
 “ Trinity, wherein there is nothing be-
 “ fore nor after, nothing greater nor less.
 “ That the Virgin *Mary*, mother to
 “ the Son of God, and all men and
 “ women that have lived in this world;
 “ doing God’s commandments, and suf-
 “ fered martyrdom for his name, and
 “ who, by the permission of God, have
 “ wrought miracles, and are Saints in
 “ heaven in his paradise, pray all for us
 “ unto this great divine majesty, to par-
 “ don us our faults and sins, which we
 “ do against his law and commandments:
 “ and so by the saints prayers in heaven,
 “ and by our own that we make to his
 “ divine majesty, he giveth us what we
 “ have need of, and the devil hath no
 “ power over us; and can do us no
 “ hurt. That if they had this belief
 “ they should be even as we are. That
 “ the devil should not be able to do
 “ them any more harm, and they should
 “ not want what should be needful for
 “ them. Then the said *Sagamos* said unto
 “ me, that he granted all that I said: I
 “ demanded of him what ceremony they
 “ used in praying to their God; he told
 “ me that they used no other ceremony,
 “ but that every one did pray in his
 “ heart as he would. This is the cause
 “ why; I believe there is no law among
 “ them, neither do they know what it is
 “ to worship or pray to God, and live
 “ the most part as brute beasts; and I
 “ believe that in short time they might be
 “ brought to be good Christians, if one
 “ would inhabit their land, which most of
 “ them do desire. They have among them
 “ some savages whom they call *Pilotoua*,
 “ who speak visibly to the devil; and he
 “ telleth them what they must do, as well
 “ for wars as for other things; and if he
 “ should command them to go and put
 “ any enterprize in execution, or to kill a
 “ *Frenchman* or any other of their na-
 “ tion, they will immediately obey to his
 “ command. They believe also that all
 “ their dreams are true; and indeed,
 “ there be many of them which do say
 “ that they have seen and dreamed things
 “ that do happen, or shall come to pass.
 “ But to speak thereof in truth they be
 “ visions of the devil, who doth deceive
 “ and seduce them.” So far *Monf. Cham-*

leins’s report. As for our *Souriquois*,
 and other their neighbours, I can say no-
 thing else, but that they are destitute of
 all knowledge of God, have no adorati-
 on, neither do they make any divine ser-
 vice, living in a pitiful ignorance; which
 ought to touch the hearts both of Christi-
 an princes, and prelates, who very often
 do employ upon frivolous things that
 which would be more than sufficient to
 establish there many colonies, which would
 bear their names, about whom these poor
 people would flock and assemble them-
 selves. I do not say they should go thi-
 ther in person, for their presence is here
 more necessary, and besides every one is
 not fit for the sea; but there are so many
 persons well disposed that would employ
 themselves on that, if they had the means;
 they then that may do it are altogether
 unexcusable. Our present age is fallen,
 as one might say, into an *astorgie*, want-
 ing both love and Christian charity, and
 retain almost nothing of that fire which
 kindled our fathers either in the time of
 our first kings, or in the time of the *croi-*
sades for the *Holy Land*; yea contrariwise if
 any venture his life, and that little means
 he hath, upon this generous Christian
 work, the most part do mock him for it;
 like to the *salamander*, which doth not
 live in the midst of flames, as some do
 imagine, but is of so cold a nature that
 she killeth them by her coldness. Every
 one would run after treasures, and would
 carry them away without pains-taking,
 and afterward to live frolick; but they
 come too late for it; and they should have
 enough if they did believe, as is meet to
 do, in him that hath said; *Seek first the*
kingdom of God, and all these things shall
be given unto you over and above.

A lesson
for Chri-
stian prin-
ces and
prelates.

To all sorts
and de-
grees
of people.

Let us return to our savages, for whose
 conversion it resteth unto us to pray to
 God, that it will please him to open the
 means to make a plentiful harvest, to the
 further manifestation of the gospel; for
 ours, and generally all those people, even
 as far as *Florida* inclusively, are very easy
 to be brought to the Christian religion, ac-
 cording as I may conjecture of them which
 I have not seen, by the discourse of histo-
 ries. But I find that there shall be more
 facility in them of the nearer lands, as from
 cape *Breton* to *Mallebarre*, because they have
 not any shew of religion (for I call not re-
 ligion unless there be some *latria* and di-
 vine service) nor tillage of ground, at least
 as far as *Cboïakoet*, which is the chiefest
 thing that may draw men to believe as one
 would, by reason that out from the earth
 cometh all that which is necessary for the
 life, after the general use we have of the
 other elements. Our life hath chiefly need
 of meat, drink and clothing. These peo-
 ple

The right means to bring the savages to one's devotion.

ple, as one may say, have nothing of all that, for it is not to be called covered, to be always wandering and lodged under four stakes, and to have a skin upon their back : neither do I call eating and living, to eat all at once and starve the next day, not providing for the next day : whosoever then shall give bread and cloathing to this people, the same shall be, as it were, their God, they will believe all that he shall say to them. Even as the patriarch *Jacob* did promise to serve God if he would give him bread to eat and garments to cover him. God hath no name ; for all that we can say cannot comprehend him ; but we call him God because he giveth : and man in giving may, by resemblance, be called God. Cause, saith *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, *that thou beest a God towards the needy, in imitating God's mercifulness*. For man hath nothing so divine in him as benefits. The heathen have known this, and, amongst others, *Pliny*, when he saith, that it is a great sign of divinity in a mortal man, to help and aid another mortal man. These people then enjoying the fruits of the use of trades and tillage of the ground, will believe all that shall be told them, *in auditum auris*, at the first voice that shall sound in their ears ; and of this have I certain proofs, because I have known them wholly disposed thereunto by the communication they had with us ; and there be some of them that are Christians in mind, and do perform the acts of it, in such wise as they can, though they be not baptised, among whom I will name *Chkoudun*, captain, alias *Sagamos*, of the river of *St. John*, mentioned in the beginning of this work, who, whensoever he eateth, lifteth up his eyes to heaven, and maketh the sign of the cross, because he hath seen us do so ; yea, at our prayers he did kneel down as we did : and because he hath seen a great cross planted near to our fort, he hath made the like at his house, and in all his cabins ; and carrieth one at his breast, saying, that he is no more a savage, and acknowledging plainly, that they are beasts (so he saith in his language) but that he is like unto us, desiring to be instructed. That which I say of this man, I may affirm the same almost of all the others ; and though he should be alone, yet he is capable, being instructed, to bring in all the rest.

The *Armouchiquois* are a great people, which have likewise no adoration ; and being settled, because they manure the ground, one may easily make a congregation of them, and exhort them to that which is for their salvation. They are vicious and bloody men, as we have said heretofore ; but this insolency proceeds for that they feel themselves strong, by reason

of their multitude, and because they live more at ease than the others, reaping the fruits of the earth. Their country is not yet well known, but in that small part that we have discovered, I find they have conformity with them of *Virginia*, except in the superstition and error in that which concerneth our subject, for as much as the *Virginians* do begin to have some opinion of a superior thing in nature which governeth here this world. They believe in many gods, as an *English* historian that dwelt there reporteth, which they call *Mon-*
toac, but of sundry sorts and degrees. One alone is chief and great, who hath ever been, who purposing to make the world, made first other gods, for to be means and instruments wherewith he might serve himself in the creation and in the government ; then afterwards the sun, the moon, and the stars, as demy-gods, and instruments of the other principal order. They hold that the woman was first made, which by conjunction with one of the gods had children. All these people do generally believe the immortality of the soul, and that after death good men are in rest, and the wicked in pain : now them that they esteem to be the wicked are their enemies, and they the good men ; in such sort, that, in their opinion, they shall all after death be well at ease, and especially when they have well defended their country, and kill'd many of their enemies. And as touching the resurrection of the bodies, there are yet some nations in those parts that have some glimpse of it : for the *Virginians* do tell tales of certain men risen again, which say strange things : as of one wicked man, who after his death had been near to the mouth of *Popogussô*, which is their hell, but a god saved him, and gave him leave to come again into the world, for to tell his friends what they ought to do for to avoid the coming into this miserable torment. Item, that year that the *Englishmen* were there, it came to pass within sixty leagues off from them, as said the *Virginians*, that a body was unburied, like to the first, and did shew, that being dead in the pit, his soul was alive, and had travelled very far, thorough a long and large way, on both sides of which did grow very fair and pleasant trees bearing the rarest fruits that can be seen ; and that, in the end, he came to very fair houses, near to the which he found his father, which was dead, who expressly commanded him to return back, and to declare unto his friends the good which it behoveth them to do for to enjoy the pleasures of this place ; and that after he had done his message he should come thither again. The general history of the *West-Indies* reporteth, that before the coming of the *Spaniards* into

The religion of the *Virginians*

Fabulous tales of the resurrection.

Peru, they of *Cusco* and thereabout, did likewise believe the resurrection of the bodies. For seeing that the *Spaniards*, with a cursed avarice opening the sepulchres for to have the gold and the riches that were in them, did cast and scatter the bones of the dead here and there, they prayed them not to scatter them so, to the end that the same should not hinder them from rising again: which is a more perfect belief than that of the *Sadducees*, and of the *Greeks*, which the gospel and the acts of the apostles witness unto us that they scoffed at the resurrection, as also, almost all the heathen antiquity hath done.

Some of our western *Indians*, expecting this resurrection, have esteemed that the souls of the good did go into heaven, and them of the wicked into a great pit or hole, which they think to be far off towards the sun setting, which they call *Popogusso*, there to burn for ever: and such is the belief of the *Virginians*: The others, as the *Brasilians*, that the wicked go with *Aignan*, which is the evil spirit that tormenteth them; but as for the good, that they went behind the mountains to dance and make good cheer with their fathers. Many of the ancient Christians, grounded upon certain places of *Esdra*s, of *St. Paul*, and others, have thought that after death our souls were sequestered into places under the earth, as in *Abraham's* bosom, attending the judgment of God: and there *Origen* hath thought that they are as in a school of souls, and place of instruction, where they learn the causes and reasons of the things they have seen on the earth, and by reasoning make judgments of consequences of things past, and of things to come. But such opinions have been rejected by the resolution of the doctors of the *Sorbonne* in the time of king *Philip* the fair, and since by the council of *Florence*. Now if the Christians have held that opinion, is it much to these poor savages to be entred in those opinions that we have recited of them?

As concerning the worshipping of their gods, of all them that be out of the *Spanish* dominion, I find none but the *Virginians* that use any divine service, unless we will also comprehend therein, that which the *Floridians* do, which we will recite hereafter. They then represent their gods in the shape of a man, which they call *Kevuasovuock*. One only is named *Kevuas*. They place them in houses and temples, made after their fashion, which they call *Machicomuck*, wherein they make their prayers, singing and offering to those gods. And seeing we are fallen to speak of infidels, I praise rather the ancient *Romans* who were above 173 years without any images of gods, as *St. Augustin* saith. *Numa Pom-*

pilius having wisely forbidden to make any, because that such a foolish and senseless thing made them to be despised, and from this contempt came, that the people did cast out all fear, nothing being better than to worship them in spirit seeing they are spirits. And indeed *Pliny* saith, *That there is nothing which sheweth more the weakness of man's wit, than to seek to assign some image or figure to God; for in what part soever that God sheweth himself he is all sense, all sight, all hearing, all soul, all understanding; and, finally, he is all of himself without using any organ.* The ancient *Germans* instructed in this doctrine, not only did admit no images of their gods, as saith *Tacitus*, but also would not that they should be drawn or painted against the walls, nor set in any human form, esteeming that to derogate too much from the greatness of the heavenly power. It may be said among us, that figures and representations are the books of the unlearned; but leaving disputations aside, it were fitting that every one should be wise and well instructed, and that no body should be ignorant.

Our *Souriquois* and *Armouchiquois* savages have the industry both of painting and carving, and do make pictures of beasts, birds, and men, as well in stone as in wood, as prettily as good workmen in these parts; and notwithstanding they serve not themselves with them in adoration, but only to please the sight, and the use of some private tools, as in tobacco-pipes. And in that, as I have said at the first, though they be without divine worship, I praise them more than the *Virginians*, and all other sorts of people, which, more beasts than the very beasts, worship and reverence senseless things.

Capt. *Laudonniere* in his history of *Florida*, saith, that they of that country have no knowledge of God, nor of any religion, but of that which appeareth unto them, as the sun and moon; to whom, nevertheless, I find not in all the said history that they make any adoration, saving that when they go to war, the *Paracoufi* maketh some prayer to the sun for to obtain victory, and which being obtained he yieldeth him praises for it, with songs to the honour of him, as I have more particularly spoken in the 10th chapter of my first book. And, notwithstanding, *Monf. de Belleforest* writeth to have taken from the said history that which he mentioneth of their bloody sacrifices, like to them of the *Mexicans*, assembling themselves in one field, and setting up their lodges, where after many dances and ceremonies, they lift up in the air and offer to the sun him upon whom the lot is fallen to be sacrificed. If he be bold in this thing, he presumeth no less where he

he writeth the like of the people of *Canada*, whom he maketh sacrificers of human bodies, although they never thought on it. For if Capt. *James Quartier* hath seen some of their enemies heads, dressed like leather, set upon pieces of wood, it doth not follow that they have been sacrificed, but it is their custom to do so, like to the antient *Gaulois*, that is to say, to take off the heads of their enemies whom they have killed, and to set them up in, or without their cabins as a trophy; which is usual thorough all the *West-Indies*.

To return to our *Floridians*. If any one will call the honour they do to the sun, to be an act of religion, I will not contrary him. For in the old time of the golden age, when that ignorance found place amongst men, many (considering the admirable effects of the sun and of the moon, wherewith God useth to govern things in this low world) attributed unto them the reverence due to the creator: and this manner of reverence is expounded unto us by *Job*, when he saith: *If I have beholden the sun in his brightness, and the moon running clear; and if my heart hath been seduced in secret, and my mouth hath kissed my hand; this also had been an iniquity to be condemned, for I had denied the great God above.* As for the hand kissing it is a kind of reverence which is yet observed in doing homages. Not being able to touch the sun, they stretched forth their hands towards it, then kissed it: or they touched his idol, and afterwards did kiss the hand that had touched it. And into this idolatry did the people of *Israel* sometimes fall, as we see in *Ezekiel*.

Brasilians. In regard of the *Brasilians*, I find by the discourse of *John de Leri*, whom I had rather follow than a *Spanish* author, in that which he hath seen, that not only they are like unto ours, without any form of religion or knowledge of God, but that they are so blind and hardened in their anthropophagy, that they seem to be in no wise capable of the Christian doctrine. Also they are visibly tormented and beaten by the devil, which they call *Aignan*, and with such rigour, that when they see him come, sometimes in the shape of a beast, sometimes of a bird, or in some strange form, they are, as it were, in despair: which is not with the other savages, more hitherward, towards *Newfoundland*, at least, with such rigour. For *James Quartier* reporteth, that he casteth earth in their eyes, and they call him *Cudouagni*; and there where we were, where they call him *Aoutem*, I have sometimes heard that he had scratched *Membertou*, being then, as it were, a kind of soothsayer of the country. When one

tells the *Brasilians* that one must believe in God, they like that advice well enough; but by and by they forget their lesson and return again to their own vomit, which is a strange brutishness, not to be willing at the least to redeem themselves from the devil's vexation, by religion; which maketh them inexcusable, seeing also they have some memory remaining in them of the general flood, and of the gospel, if it be so that their report be true, for they make mention in their songs that the waters being once overflown, did cover all the earth, and all men were drowned, except their grandfathers, who saved themselves upon the highest trees of their country: and of this flood other savages, mentioned by me elsewhere, have also some tradition. As concerning the gospel, the said *de Leri* saith, that having once found occasion to shew unto them the beginning of the world, and how 'tis meet to believe in God, and their miserable condition, they gave ear unto him with great attention, being all amazed for that which they had heard; and that, thereupon, an ancient man, taking upon him to speak, said, that in truth he had recited wonderful things unto them, which made him to call to mind that which many times they had heard of their grandfathers, that of a long time sithence a *mair*, that is to say, a stranger, cloathed and bearded like to the *Frenchmen*, had been there, thinking to bring them to the obedience of the God which he declared unto them, and had used the like exhortation unto them; but that they would not believe him: and, therefore, there came another thither, who, in sign of a curse, gave them their armours, wherewith since they have killed one another: and that there was no likelihood they should forsake that manner of life, because that all their neighbour nations would mock them for it.

But our *Souriquois*, *Canadians*, and their neighbours, are not so hardened in their wicked life; no, neither the *Virginians* nor *Floridians*, but will receive the Christian doctrine very easily, when it shall please God to stir up them that be able to succour them, neither are they visibly tormented, beaten, and torn by the devil, as this barbarous people of *Brasil*, which is a strange malediction, more particular unto them than to other nations of those parts: which maketh me believe that the voice of the apostles may have reached so far, according to the saying of the said old ancient man, to which having stopped their ears, they bear a particular punishment for it, not common to others, which peradventure have never heard the word of God, since the universal flood, whereof all those nations,

in

in more than three thousand leagues of ground have an obscure knowledge, which hath been given them by tradition from father to son.

C H A P. VI.

Of the soothsayers and masters of the ceremonies among the Indians.

I Will not call, as some have done, by the name of priests, them that make the ceremonies and invocations of devils among the *West-Indians*, but in as much as they have the use of sacrifices and gifts that they offer to their Gods, for as much as the apostle saith, every priest or bishop is ordained to offer gifts and sacrifices; such as were them of *Mexico*, the greatest whereof was called *Papas*, who offered incense to their idols, the chief of them was that of the god whom they did name *Vitzilipuztli*, although nevertheless, the general name of him whom they held for supreme lord and author of all things, was *Viracocha*, to whom they attributed excellent qualities, calling him *Pachacamac*, which is creator of heaven and earth; and *Ujapu*, which is admirable, and other such like names. They had also sacrifices of men, as them of *Peru* have yet, which they sacrificed in great number, as *Joseph Acosta* discourseth thereof at large. Those may be called priests or sacrificers; but in regard of them of *Virginia* and *Florida*, I do not see any sacrifices they make, and therefore, I will qualify them with the name of wizards, or masters of the ceremonies of their religion, which in *Florida* I find to be called *Iarvas*, and *Ionas*; in *Virginia*, *Vuiroances*; in *Brasil*, *Caribes*; and among ours, I mean the *Souriquois*, *Aoutmoins*. *Laudonniere*, speaking of *Florida*, “ They have, “ saith he, their priests, unto whom they “ give great credit, because they be great “ magicians, great soothsayers and callers “ on devils. These priests do serve them “ for physicians and chirurgeons, and “ carry always with them a bag full of “ herbs and drugs to physick them that be “ sick, which be the most part of the great “ pox; for they love women and maidens “ very much, whom they call the daughters of the sun: if there be any thing “ to be treated, the king calleth the *Iar-* “ *vars*, and the ancientest men, and de- “ mandeth their advice.” See, moreover, what I have written heretofore in the 6th chapter of the first book. As for them of *Virginia*, they are no less subtle than them of *Florida*, and do procure credit to themselves, making them to be respected by

tricks or shew of religion, like to them that we have spoken of in the last chapter, speaking of some dead men risen up again. It is by such means, and under pretext of religion that the *Inguas* made themselves heretofore the greatest princes of *America*. And them of these parts that would deceive and blind the people have likewise used of that subtilty, as *Numa Pompilius*, *Lysander*, *Sertorius*, and other more recent, doing, as saith *Plutarch*, as the players of tragedies, who desirous to shew forth things, over-reaching the human strength, have refuge to the superior power of the gods.

The *Aoutmoins* of the last land of the *Indies*, which is the nearest unto us, are not so blockish but that they can make the common people to attribute some credit unto them; for by their impostures they live and make themselves esteemed to be necessary, playing the part of physicians and chirurgeons as well as the *Floridians*: The physicians and chirurgeons of the savages. let the great *Sagamos Membertou* be an example thereof; if any body be sick, he is sent for, he maketh invocations on his devil, he bloweth upon the part grieved, he maketh incisions, sucketh the bad blood from it; if it be a wound he healeth it by the same means, applying a round slice of the beavers stones. Finally, some present is made unto him, either of venison or skins. If it be question to have news of things absent, having first questioned with his spirit, he rendereth his oracles commonly doubtful, very often false, but sometimes true; as when he was asked whether *Panoniac* were dead, he said, that unless he did return within fifteen days, they should not expect him any more, and that he was killed by the *Armouchiquois*; and for to have this answer, he must be presented with some gift; for there is a trivial proverb among the *Greeks*, which beareth, *That without money Phœbus’ oracles are dumb*. The same *Membertou* rendered a true oracle of our coming to *Monf. du Pont*, when that he parted from *Port Royal* for to return into *France*, seeing the 15th day of *July* passed without having any news. For he did maintain still, and did affirm that there should come a ship, and that his devil had told it him; *item*, when the

the savages be a hungred, they consult with *Membertou's* oracle, and he saith unto them, Go ye to such a place and you shall find game. It happeneth sometimes that they find some, and sometimes none: if it chance that none be found, the excuse is, that the beast is wandering and hath changed place; but so it comes to pass, that very often they find some: and this is it which makes them believe that this devil is a god, and they know none other, to whom notwithstanding, they yield not any service nor adoration in any form of religion.

How the *Aoutmoins* invoke the devil.

When that these *Aoutmoins* make their mows and mops, they fix a staff in a pit, to which they tie a cord, and putting their head into this pit, they make invocations or conjurations, in a language unknown to the others that are about, and this with beatings and howlings, until they sweat with very pain: yet I have not heard that they foam at the mouth as the *Turks* do. When this devil is come, this master *Aoutmoin* makes them believe that he holdeth him tied by his cord, and holdeth fast against him, forcing him to give him an answer before he let him go. By this is known the subtilty of this enemy of nature, who beguileth thus these miserable creatures, and his pride withal, in willing that they which do call upon him, yield unto him more submission than ever the holy patriarchs and prophets have done to God, who have only prayed with their faces towards the ground.

A song to the praise of the devil.

That done, he beginneth to sing something (as I think) to the praise of the devil, who hath discovered some game unto them; and the other savages that are there do answer, making some concordance of musick among them: then they dance after their manner, as we will hereafter say, with songs which I understand not, neither those of ours that understood their speech best. But one day going to walk in our meadows along the river, I drew near to *Membertou's* cabin, and did write in my table-book part of that which I understood, which is written there yet, in these terms; *haloet ho bo bé be ba ha haloet ho bo bé*, which they did repeat divers times; the tune is in my said table-book in these notes; *re fa sol sol re sol sol fa fa re re sol sol fa fa*. One song being ended, they all made a great exclamation, saying *E!* Then began again another song, saying; *egrigna hau egrigna be be bu bu ho ho egrigna hau hau hau*; the tune of this was, *fa fa fa sol sol fa fa re re sol sol fa fa re fa fa sol sol fa*. Having made the usual exclamation, they began yet another song which was; *Tameia allelujah tameia dou veni hau hau hé hé*: the tune whereof was, *sol sol sol fa fa re re re fa fa sol fa*

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sol fa fa re re. I attentively hearkened upon this word *allelujah* repeated fundry times, and could never hear any other thing; which maketh me think, that these songs are to the praises of the devil, if notwithstanding this word signify with them that which it signifieth in *Hebrew*, which is, *praise ye the Lord*. All the other nations of those countries do the like; but no body hath particularly described their songs, saving *John de Leri*, who saith that the *Brasilians* do make as good agreements in their sabbaths. And being one day at their solemnity, he doth report that they said, *bè bè bè bè bè bè bè bè bè bè*, with this note, *fa fa sol fa fa sol sol sol sol*. And that done, they cryed out and howled after a fearful manner the space of a quarter of an hour, and the women did skip violently in the air until they foamed at the mouth: then began again their musick, saying, *beu beu aure beu a beu aure beura beura ouech*; the note is, *fa mi re sol sol sol fa mi re mi re mi ut re*. This author saith, that in this song, they bewailed their deceased fathers which were so valiant; and nevertheless they comforted themselves, for that after their death, they were assured to go to them behind the high mountains, where they should dance and be merry with them. Likewise that they had, with all vehemency, threatened the *Oeutacas* their enemies, to be in very short time taken and eaten by them, according as the *Caraibes* had promised them; and that they had also made mention of the flood spoken of in the former chapter. I leave unto them that do write of *Demonomanie*, to philosophize upon that matter. But moreover, I must say that whilst our savages do sing in that manner before said, there be some others which do nothing else but say *bè* or *bet* (like to a man that cleaveth wood) with a certain motion of the arms; and dance in round, not holding one another, nor moving out of one place, striking with their feet against the ground, which is the form of their dances, like unto those which the said *de Leri* reporteth of them of *Brasil*, which are about fifteen hundred leagues from that place. After which things, our savages make a fire and leap over it, as the ancient *Canaanites*, *Ammonites*, and sometimes the *Israelites* did; but they are not so detestable, for they do not sacrifice their children to the devil through the fire. Besides all this, they put half a pole out of the top of the cabin where they are, at the end whereof there is some *matachias*, or something else tied, which the devil carrieth away. Thus have I heard the discourse of their manner of doing in this matter.

The dances of the savages.

There may be here considered a bad use to leap over the fire, and to make the children

children to pass through the flame, in the bone-fire made upon *St. John Baptist's* day; which custom endureth yet to this day among us, and ought to be reformed: for the same cometh from the ancient abominations that God hath so much hated, whereof *Theodore* speaketh in this wise: *I have seen* (saith he) *in some towns piles of wood kindled once a year, and not only children to leap over them, but also men, and the mothers bearing their children over the flame, which did seem unto them to be as an expiation and purification; and this in my judgment was the sin of Achaz.*

These fashions have been forbidden by an ancient council holden at *Constantinople*: whereupon *Balsamon* doth note, that the twenty-third day of *June* (which is *St. John Baptist's* eve) men and women did assemble themselves at the sea shore and in houses, and the eldest daughter was dressed like a bride, and after they had made good cheer and well drunk, dances were made, with exclamations and fires all the night, prognosticating of good and bad luck. These fires have been continued among us, upon a better subject; but the abuse must be taken away.

The devil
will be
served as
God.

Now as the devil hath always been willing to play the ape, and to have a service like to that which is given to God, so would he that his officers should have the mark of their trade, to the end to deceive the simple people the better. And indeed *Membertou*, of whom we have spoken, as a learned *Aoutmoin*, carrieth hanged at his neck the mark of his profession, which is a purse trianglewise, covered with their embroidery work, that is to say with *matachias*; within which there is I know not what, as big as a small nut, which he saith to be his devil, called *Aoutem*, which they of *Canada* do name *Cudouagni*, as saith *James Quartier*. I will not mingle sacred things with prophane, but according as I have said, that the devil playeth the ape, this maketh me to remember of the *rational* or *pectoral* of judgment, which the high priest did carry before him in the ancient law, on the which, *Moses* had put *Urim* and *Thummim*. Now *Rabbi David* saith, that it is not known what these *Urim* and *Thummim* were, and it seemeth that they were stones. *Rabbi Selomoh* saith, that it was the name of God *Jehovah*, an ineffable name, which he did put within the folds of the *pectoral*, whereby he made his word to shine. *Josephus* doth think that they were twelve precious stones. *St. Hierom* doth interpret these two words to signify *doctrine* and *truth*.

And as the priestly office was successive, not only in the house of *Aaron*, but also in the family of the great priest of *Memphis*, whose office was assigned to his eldest son after him, as *Thyamis* saith, in the *Æthiopian* history of *Heliodorus*: even so among these people this office is successive, and by tradition they do teach the secret thereof to their eldest sons. For *Membertou's* eldest son (who was named *Judas*, in jest, for which he was angry, understanding it was a bad name) told us, that after his father, he should be *Aoutmoin* in that precinct, which is a small matter: for every *Sagamos* hath his *Aoutmoin*, if himself be not so, but yet they covet the same, for the profit that cometh thereof.

The *Brasilians* have their *Caraibes*, who travel through the villages, making the people believe that they have communication with spirits, through whose means they can, not only give them victory against their enemies, but also, that of them depends the fertility or sterility of the ground. They have commonly a certain kind of bells or rattles in their hands, which they call *maraca*, made with the fruit of a tree, as big as an Ostrich's egg, which they make hollow, as they do here the bottles of the pilgrims that go to *St. James*. And having filled them with small stones, they make a noise with them in their solemnities, like the bladders of hogs: and going from town to town they beguile the world, telling the people that their devil is within the same. These *maraca* or rattles, well decked with fair feathers, they stick in the ground the staff that is through it, and do place them all along and in the midst of the houses, commanding that meat and drink be given to them. In such wise that these cogging mates, making the other poor idiots to believe (as the sacrificers of the idol *Bel* did heretofore, of whom mention is made in the history of *Daniel*) that those fruits do eat and drink in the night; every householder giving credit thereto, doth not fail to set near these *maraca*, meal, flesh, fish and drink, which service they continue by the space of fifteen days or three weeks; and during that time, they are so foolish as to persuade themselves, that in sounding with these *maraca*, some spirit speaketh unto them, and attribute divinity unto them in such sort, that they would esteem it a great misdeed to take away the meat that is presented before those fair *Bels*; with which meats, those reverend *Caraibes* do merely fatten themselves. And so under false pretexts, is the world deceived.

The im-
posture of
the Ca-
raibes.

C H A P. VII.

Of their language.

Sundry
languages.

THE effects of the confusion of *Babel*, are come in as far as to those people whereof we speak, as well as in the hither world. For I see that the *Patagons* do speak another language than them of *Brasil*, and they otherwise than the *Peruvians*, and the *Peruvians* are distinct from the *Mexicans*: the isles likewise have their peculiar speech; they speak not in *Florida* as they do in *Virginia*: our *Souriquois* and *Etechemins* understand not the *Armouchiquois*, nor these the *Iroquois*; briefly, every nation is divided by the language; yea in one and the self same province there is difference in language, even as in *Gallia*, the *Fleming*, they of *Base Bretagne*, the *Gascon* and the *Basque* do not agree. For the Author of the history of *Virginia* saith, that there every *wiroans* or lord, hath his peculiar speech. Let this be for example, that the chief man or captain of some precinct (whom our historians *James Quartier* and *Laudonniere*, do call by the name of king) is called in *Canada*, *Agobanna*; among the *Souriquois*, *Sagamos*; in *Virginia*, *Viroans*; in *Florida*, *Paracussi*; in the isles of *Cuba*, *Cacique*; the kings of *Peru*, *Inguas*, and so forth: I have left the *Armouchiquois* and others, which I know not. As for the *Brasilians* they have no kings, but the old ancient men, whom they call *Peoreroupi-cheeb*, because of the experience they have of things past, are they which do govern, exhort and dispose of all things. The very tongues are changed, as we see, that with us we have not the language of the ancient *Gaullois*, nor that which was in *Carolus Magnus's* time, (at least it doth differ very much). The *Italians* do speak no more *Latin*, nor the *Grecians* the ancient *Greek*, especially in the sea coasts, nor the *Jews* the ancient *Hebrew*. In like manner, *James Quartier* hath left unto us a kind of dictionary of the language of *Canada*, wherein our *Frenchmen* that haunt there, in these days, understand nothing, and therefore I would not insert it here: only I have there found *Caraconi* which signifieth bread, and now they say *Caracona*, which I esteem to be a word of *Basque*. For the satisfaction of some, I will set here some numbers of the ancient and new language of *Canada*.

3	<i>Ashe.</i>	3	<i>Nichtoa.</i>
4	<i>Homacou.</i>	4	<i>Rau.</i>
5	<i>Oniscon.</i>	5	<i>Apateta.</i>
6	<i>Indaic.</i>	6	<i>Coutouachin.</i>
7	<i>Ayaga.</i>	7	<i>Neouachin.</i>
8	<i>Addegue.</i>	8	<i>Nestouachin.</i>
9	<i>Madellon.</i>	9	<i>Pescoüadet.</i>
10	<i>Assen.</i>	10	<i>Metren.</i>

The <i>Souriquois</i> do say.	The <i>Etechemins</i> :
1 <i>Negout.</i>	1 <i>Beckkon.</i>
2 <i>Tabo.</i>	2 <i>Nich.</i>
3 <i>Chicht.</i>	3 <i>Nach.</i>
4 <i>Neou.</i>	4 <i>Iau.</i>
5 <i>Nan.</i>	5 <i>Prencbk.</i>
6 <i>Kamachin.</i>	6 <i>Chachit.</i>
7 <i>Eroeguenik.</i>	7 <i>Coutachit.</i>
8 <i>Meguemorcbin.</i>	8 <i>Erouiguen.</i>
9 <i>Echkonadek.</i>	9 <i>Pechcoquem.</i>
10 <i>Metren.</i>	10 <i>Peiock.</i>

For the conformity of languages, there are sometimes found words in these parts, which do signify something there, as *John de Leri* saith, that *leri* signifieth an oyster in *Brasil*; but very few words are found which come in one and the self same signification. In *Maffeus's* oriental history, I have read *sagamos* in the same signification as our *Souriquois* do take it, to wit, a king, a duke, a captain: and they that have been in *Guiney* say, that this word *babougie*, signifieth there a little child, or a fawn of a beast, in that sense as the said *Souriquois* take that word; as this *French* word *moustache*, which cometh of *mistax*, and that which we say in *French*, *boire a tire-larigot*, which I construe in *English*, to drink till one's eyes be out, cometh of *larynx*, *lariggos*, &c. and the *Greek* words *paradeisos*, *bosphoros*, come from the *Hebrew* פדס and פדס.

But concerning the cause of the change of the language in *Canada*, whereof we have spoken, I think that it hath happened by a destruction of people: for it is some eight years, since the *Iroquois* did assemble themselves to the number of eight thousand men, and discomfited all their enemies, whom they surprized in their inclosures. To this I add, the traffic which they make from time to time for their skins, since the *Frenchmen* came to fetch them; for in the time of *James Quartier*, beavers were not cared for; the hats that be made of it are in use but since that time; not that the invention thereof is new; for

The old.	The new.
1 <i>Segada.</i>	1 <i>Begou.</i>
2 <i>Tigeni.</i>	2 <i>Nichou.</i>

in

in the ancient orders of the hat-makers of *Paris*, it is said, that they shall make hats of fine beavers (which is the castor) but whether it be for the dearness or otherwise, the use thereof hath been long since left off.

Of the
pronun-
ciation.

As for the pronounciation, our *Souriquois* have the greek α which we call *v*, and their words do commonly end in *a* as *souriquois*, *souriquoa*; *captain*, *capitania*; *normand*, *normandia*; *basque*, *basquoa*; *une martre* (a marten) *martra*; a banquet, *tabaguia*, &c. But there are certain letters which they cannot well pronounce, that is to say, an *v* consonant, and *f* instead whereof they put *b* and *p*, as for *sevre* (which is a smith) they will say *pebre*; and for *sauvago*, (which signifieth *savage*) they say *chabaia*, and so call they themselves, not knowing in what sense we take that word: and yet they pronounce the rest of the *French* tongue better than our *Gascons*, who, besides the turning of *v* into *b* and of the *b* into *v*, were yet discerned in the last troubles, and badly handled in *Provence*, by the pronouncing of the word *cabre*, instead whereof they did say *crabe* as aforetime the *Ephraimites* having lost the battle against the *Gileadites*, thinking to scape away, were well known in passing the river *Jordan*, in pronouncing the word *shibboleth*, which signifieth an ear of corn, instead whereof they did say *sibboleth*, which signifieth the ford of a river, asking if they might well pass: the *Greeks* had also a sundry pronounciation of the selfsame word, because they had four distinct tongues, varying from the common speech: and in *Plautus* we read that the *Peænestins*, not far distant from *Rome*, did pronounce *konia* instead of *ciconia*. Yea even at this day, the good wives of *Paris* do yet say, *mon courin* for *mon cousin*, which is my cousin; and *mon mazi* for *mon mari*, which signifieth husband.

The savages have a particular tongue.

Now to return to our savages: although that by reason of traffic many of our *Frenchmen* do understand them, notwithstanding they have a particular tongue, which is

only known to them; which maketh me to doubt of that which I have said, that the language which was in *Canada* in the time of *James Quartier* is no more in use: for to accommodate themselves with us, they speak unto us in the language which is to us more familiar, wherein is much *basque* mingled with it; not that they care greatly to speak our languages; for there be some of them which do sometimes say, that they come not to seek after us; but by long frequentation, they cannot but retain some word or other.

I will farther say, that concerning the numbers (seeing we have spoken of it) they do not reckon distinctly as we do, the days, the weeks, the months, the years, but do declare the years by number of suns; as for one hundred years, they will say *cachmetren achtek*, that is to say one hundred suns; *bitumetrenaguè achtek* one thousand suns, that is to say one thousand years; *metren knichkaminou*, ten months, *tabo metren guenak* twenty days: and for to shew an innumerable thing, as the people of *Paris*, they will take their hairs or hands full of sand: and after that manner doth the holy scripture likewise use sometimes to number, comparing (*Hiperbolicalie*) armies to the sand that is on the sea shore. They also signify the seasons by their effects, as for to make a man to understand that the *Sagamos Poutrincourt* will come at the spring time, they will say, *nibir betour*, (*Sagmo* for *Sagamos*, a word shortened) *Poutrincourt betour kedretch*; that is to say, the leaf being come, then will the *Sagamos Poutrincourt* come certainly. Therefore as they have no distinction neither of days nor of years, so be not they persecuted by the ungodliness of their creditors, as in these parts; neither do their *Aoutmoins* shorten, nor lengthen the years, for to gratify the brokers and bankers, as did in antient time the idolatrous priests of *Rome*, to whom was attributed the government and disposing of times, of seasons and of years, as *Solon* writeth.

Their
manner of
number-
ing.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the use of letters.

Of letters.

IT is well known, that these western nations have no use of letters, and it is that, which all them that have written of them do say they have most admired, to see that by a piece of paper I give knowledge of my will, from one end of

the world to the other; and they thought that there should be enchantment in this paper. But that is not so much to be wondered at, if we consider, that in the time of the *Roman* emperors, many nations of these parts knew not the secrets of letters; amongst

amongst whom, *Tacitus* putteth the *German*s, (who at this day do swarm with men of learning) and he adds a notable sentence, that good manners are in more credit there, than good laws elsewhere.

As for our *Gaullois*, it was not so with them. For even from the old time of the golden age, they had the use of letters, yea (by the leave of those godly doctors who do call them barbarous) before the *Greeks* and *Latins*: for *Xenophon* (who speaketh largely of them, and of their beginning, in his *Equivoques*) doth witness unto us, that the letters which *Cadmus* brought to the *Greeks*, were not so much like to the *Phœnician* letters, as the *Galatees* were, that is the *Gaullois*. Wherein *Cæsar* did equivocate in saying that the *Druids* did use of *Greek* letters in private matters; for contrariwise, the *Greeks* have used of the *Gaullois* letters. And *Berosé* saith, that the third king of the *Gaullois* after the flood, named *Sorron*, did institute universities in these parts: and *Diodorus* doth add, that there were among the *Gaullois*, philosophers and divines, called *Sorronides*, (much more ancient than the *Druids*) which were greatly revered, and unto whom all the people did obey. The same authors do say, that *Bardus*, first king of the *Gaullois*, did invent both rhymes and musick, brought in poets and rhetoricians, who were called *Bards*, whereof *Cæsar* and *Strabo* make

mention. But the same *Diodorus* writeth, that poets were among them in such reverence, that when two armies were ready to strike, having their swords drawn, and the javelins in hand to give the onset, those poets coming, every one did surcease and put up their weapons; so much doth wrath give place to wisdom, yea among the wildest barbarians, and so much doth *Mars* reverence the muses, saith the author. So I hope that our most Christian, most august, and most victorious king *Henry* the fourth, after the thundering of besieging of towns and battles is ceased, reverencing the muses and honouring them, as he hath already done; not only he will reduce his eldest daughter to her ancient glory, and give unto her, being a royal daughter, the propriety of that *Basilic*, fastened to the temple of *Apollo*, who, by an hidden virtue, did hinder that the spiders should weave their web along his walls; but will also establish his *New France*, and bring to the bosom of the church, so many poor souls which that country beareth, all starved for the want of the word of God, who are as a prey unto hell: and that for to do this, he will give means to conduct thither, Christian *Sorronides* and *Bards*, bearing the flower-de-luce in their hearts, who will instruct and bring to civility those barbarous people, and will bring them to his obedience.

C H A P. IX.

Of their cloathing and wearing of their hairs.

GOD in the beginning, did create man naked and innocent, made all the parts of his body to be of honest sight: but sin hath made the members of generation to become shameful unto us, and not unto beasts which have no sin. It is the cause why our first parents having known their nakedness, destitute of cloaths did sow fig leaves together for to hide their shame therewith: but God made unto them coats of skins and cloathed them with it, and this before they went out of the garden of *Eden*. Cloathing then is not only to defend us from cold, but also for decency, and to cover our shame: and nevertheless many nations have anciently lived, and at this day do live naked, without apprehension of this shame, decency and honesty. And I marvel not of the *Brasilian* savages that are such, as well men as women, nor of the ancient *Picts* (a nation of *Great Britain*) who (*Herodian* saith) had not any

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use of cloaths, in the time of *Severus* the emperor; nor of a great number of other nations, that have been and yet are naked: for one may say of them, that they be people fallen into a reprobate sense, and forsaken of God: but of Christians which are in *Æthiopia*, under the great *Negus*, whom we call *Prester-John*; which, by the report of the *Portugueze* that have written histories of them, have not their parts, which we call privy-members, any ways covered. But the savages of *New France* and of *Florida*, have better learned and kept in mind the lesson of honesty, than those of *Æthiopia*. For they cover them with a skin tied to a latch or girdle of leather, which passing between their buttocks joineth the other end of the said latch behind; and for the rest of their garments, they have a cloak on their backs made with many skins, whether they be of otters or of beavers, and one only skin, whether

Naked-
ness of the
*Æthio-
pians*.

it be of ellan, or stag's skin, bear, or Iuferne, which cloak is tied upward with a leather ribband, and they thrust commonly one arm out; but being in their cabins they put it off, unless it be cold: and I cannot better compare it, than to pictures that are made of *Hercules*, who killed a lion and put the skin thereof on his back; notwithstanding they have more civility, in that they cover their privy-members. As for the women, they differ only in one thing, that is, they have a girdle over the skin they have on; and do resemble (without comparison) the pictures that be made of *St. John Baptist*. But in winter, they make good beaver sleeves, tied behind, which keep them very warm. And after this manner were the ancient *Germans* cloathed, by the report of *Cæsar* and *Tacitus*, having the most part of the body naked.

As for the *Armouchiquois* and *Floridians*, they have no furs, but only shamois: yea the said *Armouchiquois* have very often but a piece of mat upon their back for fashion sake, having nevertheless their privy members covered. God having so wisely provided for man's infirmity, that in cold countries he hath given furs, and not in the hot, because that otherwise men would make no esteem of them; and so for that which concerneth the body. Let us come to the legs and feet, then we will end with the head.

Our savages in the winter, going to sea, or a hunting, do use great and high stockings, like to our boot-hosen; which they tie to their girdles, and at the sides outward, there is a great number of points without taggs. I do not see that they of *Brasil* or *Florida* do use them, but seeing they have leather, they may as well make of them if they have need as the others. Besides these long stockings, our savages do use shoes, which they call *mekezin*, which they fashion very properly, but they cannot dure long, especially when they go into watry places, because they be not curried nor hardened, but only made after the manner of buff, which is the hide of an ellan. Howsoever it be, yet are they in better order than were the ancient *Gottes*, which were not thoroughly hosed, but with buskins or half boots, which came somewhat higher than the ancle of the foot, where they made a knot, which they bound with horse hairs, having the calf of the leg, the knees and thighs naked: and for the rest of their garments, they had leather coats plated, as greasy as lard, and the sleeves down to the beginning of the arm; and on those jerkins, instead of gold lace, they made red borders, as our savages do. Behold the state of those that ransacked the *Roman* empire, whom *Sidonius Apolli-*

naris, bishop of *Auvergne*, doth describe after this manner, going to the council of *Avitus* the emperor, for to treat of peace:

—*Squalent vestes, ac sordida macro
Lintea pinguescunt tergo, nec tangere possunt
Altatæ suram pelles, ac poplite nudo
Peronem pauper nudis suspendit equinum, &c.*

As for the head attire, none of the savages have any, unless it be that some of the savages head hither lands truck their skins with *Frenchmen* attire. for hats and caps; but rather both men and women wear their hairs flittering over their shoulders, neither bound nor tied, except that the men do truss them upon the crown of the head, some four fingers length, with a leather lace, which they let hang down behind. But for the *Armouchiquois* and *Floridians*, as well men as women, they have their hairs much longer, and they hang them down lower than the girdle when they are untrussed; for to avoid then the hindrance that they might bring to them, they truss them up as our horse-keepers do a horse's tail, and the men do stick in them some feather that like them, and the women a needle or bodkin with three points, after the fashion of the *French* ladies; who also wear their needles or bodkins, that serve them partly for an ornament of the head. All the ancients had this custom to go bare-headed, and the use of hats is but lately come in. The fair *Abalom* was hanged by his hairs at an oak, after he had lost the battle against his father's army; and they did never cover their heads in those days, but when they did mourn for some misfortune, as may be noted by the example of *David*, who having understood his son's conspiracy, fled from *Jerusalem*, and went up the mountain of *Olives* weeping and having his head covered, and all the people that was with him. The *Persians* did the like, as may be gathered by the history of *Haman*, who being commanded to honour him whom he would have to be hanged, to wit, *Mordecai*, went home to his house weeping, and his head covered, which was a thing extraordinary. The *Romans* at their beginning did the like, as I gather by the words which did command the hangman to do his office, recited by *Cicero* and *Titus Livius*, in these terms; *vade liſtor, colliga manus, caput obnubito, arbori infelici suspendito*. And if we will come to our westerly and northerly people, we shall find that the most part did wear long hairs, like unto them that we call savages. That cannot be denied of the *Trans-Alpin Gaulois*, who for that occasion, gave the name to *Gallia Comata*; whereof *Martial* speaking saith;

Mel-

The women.

Of hosing.

Shoing.

The *Gottes* cloathing.

The savages women wear bodkins.

— *Molleſque flagellans colla comæ.*

Our *French* kings have been ſirnamed *hairy*, becauſe they did wear their hairs ſo long that they did beat down to the back and the ſhoulders; ſo that *Gregory of Tours*, ſpeaking of king *Clovis's* hairs, he calleth them *Capillorum Flagella*. The *Goths* did the like, and left to hang over their ſhoulders great flocks of hairs curled, which the authors of that time do call *granos*, which faſhion of hairs was forbidden to prieſts, alſo the ſecular apparel, in a council of the *Goths*: and *Jornandes* in the hiſtory of the *Goths* reciteth, that king *Atalaric* would that the prieſts ſhould were the *thiare*, or hat, making two ſorts of people, ſome whom he called *Pileatos*, the others *Capillatos*, which theſe took for ſo great a favour to be called hairy, that they made mention of this benefit in their ſongs; and notwithstanding they braided not their hairs. But

I find by the teſtimony of *Tacitus*, that the *Suevians*, a nation of *Germany*, did wreath, knit, and tie their hairs on the crown of their heads, even as we have ſaid of the *Souriquois* and *Armouchiquois*. In one thing the *Armouchiquois* do differ from the *Souriquois* and other ſavages of *Newfoundland*, which is, that they pull out their hairs before, which the others do not. Contrary to whom, *Pliny* reciteth, that at the deſcent of the *Ripheen* Mountains, anciently was the region of the *Arimpbeens*, whom we now call *Muscovites*, who dwelt in forests; but they were all ſhaven, as well men as women, and took it for a ſhameful thing to wear any hairs. So we ſee that one ſelf-ſame faſhion of living is received in one place and rejected in another: which is familiarly evident unto us in many other things in our regions of theſe parts, where we ſee manners and faſhions of living, all contrary, yea ſometimes under one and the ſame prince.

CHAP. X.

Of the form, colour, ſtature, and activity of the ſavages; and incidently of the ſkies in theſe weſtern parts; and why the Americans be not black, &c.

AMongſt all the forms of living and bodily creatures, that of man is the faireſt and the moſt perfect: which was very decent, both to the creature and to the creator, ſeeing that man is placed in this world, to command all that is here beneath. But although that nature endeavoureth herſelf always to do good, notwithstanding ſhe is ſometimes ſhort and forced in her actions; and thereof it cometh that we have monſters and ugly things, contrary to the ordinary rule of others. Yea even ſometimes after that nature hath done her office, we help by our arts, to render that which ſhe hath made ridiculous and miſhapen; as for example, the *Braſilians* are born as fair as the common ſort of men, but coming out of the womb they are made deformed in ſqueezing of their noſe, which is the chiefſt part wherein conſiſteth the beauty of man. True it is that as in certain countries they praiſe the long noſes, in others the kawk noſes, ſo among the *Braſilians* it is a fair thing to be flat noſed, as alſo among the *Moors* of *Africa*, which we ſee to be all of the ſame ſort. And with theſe large noſtrils, the *Braſilians* are accuſtomed to make themſelves yet more deformed by art, making great holes in their cheeks, and under the lower lip, for to put therein green ſtones and of other colours, of the

bigneſs of a teſter; ſo that thoſe ſtones being taken away, it is a hideous thing to ſee thoſe people. But in *Florida*, and every where, on this ſide the *Tropick* of *Cancer*, our ſavages be generally goodly men, as they be in *Europe*; if there be any ſhort-noſed one it is a rare thing. They be of a good ſtature, and I have ſeen no dwarfs there, nor any that drew near to it. Notwithstanding (as I have ſaid elſewhere) in the Mountains of the *Iroquois*, which are beyond the great fall of the great river of *Canada*, there is a certain nation of ſavages, little men, valiant and feared every where, which are more often affailers than defenders. But although that where we dwelt the men be of a good height, nevertheless I have ſeen none ſo tall as *Monſ. de Poutrincourt*, whoſe tallneſs becometh him very well. I will not ſpeak here of the *Patagons*, a people which is beyond the river of *Plate*, whom *Pigbaſetta*, in his voyage about the world, ſaith to be of ſuch an height that the tallſt among us could ſcarce reach to their girdle. The ſame is out of the limits of our *New France*. But I will willingly come to the other circumſtances of body of our ſavages, ſeeing the ſubject calleth us thereunto.

They are all of an olive colour, or rather tawny colour, like to the *Spaniards*, not ſo dark as theſe ſavages. That they be ſo born, but being the moſt part of the time naked, they greaſe their bodies

The *Braſilians* be ſhort noſed.

The colour of the ſavages.

The description of the flies of New France.

bodies, and do anoint them sometimes with oil, for to defend them from the flies, which are very troublesome; not only, where we were, but also thorough all that new world, and even in *Brasil*; so that it is no wonder if *Beelzebub* prince of flies hath there a great empire. These flies are of a colour drawing towards red, as of corrupted blood, which maketh me to believe that their generation cometh but from the rottenness of woods. And indeed we have tried that the second year, being in a place somewhat more open, we have had fewer of them than at the first. They cannot endure great heat, nor wind; but otherwise (as in close dark weather) they are very noisome, by reason of their stings which they have, long for so small a body; and they be so tender that if one touch them never so little they are squeezed. They begin to come about the fifteenth of *June*, and do retire themselves in the beginning of *September*. Being in the *Port de Campseau* in the month of *August*, I have not seen or felt any one; whereof I did wonder, seeing that the nature of the soil and of the woods is all one. In *September*, after that this vermine is gone away, there grow other flies like unto ours, but they are not troublesome, and become very big. Now our savages to save themselves from the stinging of these creatures, rub themselves with certain greases and oils, as I have said, which makes them foul and of a tawnish colour: besides, that always they lie on the ground, or be exposed to the heat and the wind.

The savages remedies against the flies.

From whence cometh the burning of *Africa*.

From whence proceed.

But there is cause of wondring, wherefore the *Brasilians*, and other inhabitants of *America* between the two *Tropicks*, are not born black as they of *Africa*, seeing that it seemeth it is the self-same case, being under one and the self-same parallel, and like elevation of the sun. If the poets fables were sufficient reasons for to take away this scruple, one might say that *Phaeton* having done the foolish deed in conducting the chariot of the sun, only *Africa* was burned, and the horses set again in their right course, before they came to the new world. But I had rather say, that the heat of *Lybia*, being the cause of this blackness of men, is ingendred from the great lands over which the sun passeth before it come thither, from whence the heat is still carried more abundantly by the swift motion of this great heavenly torch. Whereunto the great sands of that province do also help, which are very capable of those heats, specially not being watered with store of rivers as *America* is, which aboundeth in rivers and brooks as much as any province in the world; which do give per-

petual refreshing unto it, and makes the region much more temperate; the ground being also there more fat, and retaining better the dews of heaven, which are there abundantly, and rains also, for the reasons abovesaid. For the sun finding in the meeting of these lands those great moistnesses, he doth not fail to draw a good quantity of them; and that so much the more plentifully, that his force is there great and marvellous; which makes there continual rains, especially to them that have him for their zenith. I add one great reason, that the sun leaving the lands of *Africa*, giveth his beams upon a moist element by so long a course, that he hath good means to suck up vapours, and to draw together with him great quantity thereof into those parts; which maketh that the cause is much differing of the colour of those two people, and of the temperature of their lands.

Let us come to other circumstances, Black and seeing that we are about colours, I hairs. will say, that all they which I have seen have black hairs, some excepted which have *Abraham* colour hairs; but of flaxen colour I have seen none, and less of red; and one must not think that they which are more southerly be otherwise; for the *Floridians* and *Brasilians* are yet blacker than the savages of *Newfoundland*. The beard of the chin (which our savages call *migidoni*) is with them as black as their hairs. They all take away the producing cause thereof, except the *Sagamos*, who for the most part have but a little. *Memberton* hath more than all the others, and notwithstanding it is not thick, as it is commonly with *Frenchmen*: if these people wear no beards on their chin (at the least the most part) there is no cause of marvelling. For the ancient *Romans* themselves, esteeming that that was a hindrance unto them, did wear none, until the time of *Adrian* the emperor, who first began to wear a beard; which they took for such an honour, that a man accused of any crime, had not that privilege to shave his hairs, as may be gathered by the testimony of *Aulus Gellius*, speaking of *Scipio*, the son of *Paul*. As for the inferior parts, our savages do not hinder the growing or increasing of hairs there; it is said that the women have some there also. And according as they be curious, some of our men have made them believe, that the *French* women have beards on their chins, and have left them in that good opinion, so that they were very desirous to see some of them, and their manner of cloathing. By these particularities one may understand, that all these people have generally lesser hairs than we; for along the body they have none

none at all ; so far is it then that they be hairy as some think. This belongeth to the inhabitants of the isles *Gorgades*, from whence *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* captain brought two womens skins, which he did set up in the temple of *Juno* for great singularity ; but here is to be noted what we have said, that our savage people have almost all their hairs black ; for the *Frenchmen* in one and the self-same degree are not commonly so. The ancient authors *Polybius*, *Cæsar*, *Strabo*, *Diodore* the *Cicilian*, and particularly *Ammian Marcellin*, do say, that the ancient *Gaullois* had almost all their hairs as yellow as gold, were of high stature, and fearful for their ghastly looks ; besides quarrelsome and ready to strike ; a fearful voice, never speaking but in threatening. At this time those qualities are well changed ; for there are not now so many yellow hairs ; nor so many men of high stature, but that other nations have as tall ; as for the fearful looks, the delicacies of this time have moderated that ; and as for the threatening voice, I have scarce seen in all the *Gauls*, but the *Gascons*, and them of *Languedoc*, which have their manner of speech somewhat rude, which they retain of the *Gotish* and of the *Spaniard*, by their neighbourhood ; but as for the hair it is very far from being so commonly black. The same author *Ammian* saith also, that the women of the *Gauls* (whom he noted to be good shrews, and to be too hard for their husbands, when they are in choler) have blue eyes, and consequently the men ; and notwithstanding in that respect we are much mingled ; which maketh that one knoweth not what rareness to chuse for the beauty of eyes. For many do love the blue eyes ; and others love them green ; which were also in ancient time most praised. For among the *Sonnets* of *Monf. de Couci*, (who was in old time so great a clerk in love matters, that songs were made of it) green eyes are praised.

The *Germans* have kept better than we the qualities which *Tacitus* giveth them ; likewise that which *Ammian* reciteth of the *Gaullois* : In so great a number of men (saith *Tacitus*) there is but one fashion of garments ; they have blue eyes and fearful, their hairs shining as gold, and are very corpulent. *Pliny* giveth the same bodily qualities to the people of the *Ta-probane*, saying that they have red hairs, their eyes blue, and the voice horrible and fearful. Wherein I know not if I ought to believe him, considering the climate, which is in the 8th, 9th, and 10th, degrees only, and that in the kingdom of *Calecute*, farther off than the *Æquinoctial* line, the men are black. But as

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for our savages, concerning their eyes, they have them neither blue nor green, but black for the most part, like to their hairs ; and nevertheless their eyes are not small, as they of the ancient *Scythians*, but of a decent greatness. And I may say assuredly and truly, that I have seen there as fair boys and girls, as any can be in *France*. For as for the mouth, they have no big moorish lips, as in *Africa*, and also in *Spain* ; they are well limbed, well boned, and well bodied, competently strong ; and nevertheless we had many in our company who might have wrestled well enough with the strongest of them ; but being hardned, there would be made of them very good men for the war, which is that wherein they most delight. Moreover, among them there are none of those prodigious men whereof *Pliny* maketh mention ; which have no noses on their faces, or no lips, or no tongue ; *item*, which are without mouth, and without nose ; having but two small holes, whereof one of them serveth for to breathe, the other serveth instead of a mouth ; *item*, which have dogs heads, and a dog for a king ; *item*, which have their heads on the breast, or one only eye in the midst of the forehead, or a flat broad foot to cover their heads when it raineth, and such like monsters. There is none also of them which our savage *Ago-hanna* told *Capt. James Quartier*, that he had seen in *Saguenay*, whereof we have spoken heretofore. If there be any blind with one eye, or lame (as it happeneth sometimes) it is a casual thing, and cometh of hunting.

Being well composed, they cannot chuse but be nimble and swift in running ; we have spoken heretofore of the nimbleness of the *Brasilians*, *Margaias* and *Ouetacas* ; but all nations have not those bodily dispositions. They which live in mountains have more dexterity than they of the vallies, because they breathe a purer and clearer air, and that their food is better. In the vallies the air is grosser, and the lands fatter, and consequently unwholesomer. The nations that be between the *Tropicks*, have also more agility than the others, participating more with the fiery nature than they that are farther off. This is the cause why *Pliny* speaking of the *Gorgones* and isles *Gorgonides* (which *Gorgones* are those of *Cape Verd*) saith, that the men are there so light of foot, that scarce one may follow them by the eye-sight, in such manner, that *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* could not catch any one of them. He maketh the like relation of the *Troglo-dytes*, a nation of *Guiney*, whom he saith are called *Therotohens*, because they are as swift in hunting upon the land, as the

IO M

Ichthy-

Ichthyophages are prompt in swimming in the sea, who almost are as seldom weary therein as a fish. And *Maffeus* in his histories of the *Indies* reporteth, that the *Naires* (so the nobles and warriors are called) of the kingdom of *Malabaris*, are so nimble and so swift, as it is almost incredible, and do handle so well their bodies at will, that they seem to have no bones, in such sort, that it is hard to come to skirmish against such men, forasmuch as with this agility, they advance and recoil as they list. But for to make themselves such, they help nature, and their sinews are stretched out even from seven years of age, which afterward are anointed and rubbed with oyl of *Sesamum* *. That which I say, is known even in beasts; for a *Spanish* jennet or a barbe is more lively and light in running, than a roosin or *German* curtall; an *Italian* horse more than a *French* horse. Now although that which I have said be true, yet for all that there be nations out of the *Tropicks*, who by exercise and art come to such agility. For the holy scripture maketh mention of one *Hazael* an *Israelite*, of whom it witnesseth, that he was as light of foot as a roe-buck of the fields; and for to come to the people of the north, the *Heruli* are renowned for being swift in running, by this verse of *Sidonius*.

Cursu Herulus, jaculis Hunnus, Francusque natatu.

And by this swiftness the *Germans* sometimes troubled very much *Julius Caesar*. So our *Armouchiquois* are as swift as greyhounds, as we have said heretofore, and the other savages are little inferior unto them, and yet they do not force nature, neither do they use any art to run well. But as the ancient *Gaullois*, being addicted to hunting (for it is their life) and to war, their bodies are nimble, and so little charged with fat, that it doth not hinder them from running at their will.

Now the savages dexterity is not known only by running, but also in swimming, which they all can do; but

Their dexterity in swimming.

it seems, that some more than others. As for the *Brasilians* they are so natural in that trade, that they would swim eight days in the sea, if hunger did not press them, and they fear more that some fish should devour them, than to perish through weariness. The like is in *Florida*, where the men will follow a fish in the sea, and will take it unless it be too big. *Joseph Acosta* saith so much of them of *Peru*; and as for that which concerneth breathing, they have a certain art to sup up the water, and to cast it out again, by which means they will remain easily in it a long time. The women likewise have a marvellous disposition to that exercise; for the history of *Florida*, maketh mention that they can pass great rivers in swimming, holding their children with one arm; and they climb very nimbly up the highest trees of the country. I will affirm nothing of the *Armouchiquois*, nor of our savages, because I took no heed to it; but it is very certain that all can swim very cunningly. For the other parts of their bodies they have them very perfect, as likewise the natural senses. For *Membertou* (who is above a hundred years old) did see sooner a shallop or a canoe of the savages, to come a-far off unto *Port Royal*, than any of us; and it is said of the *Brasilians* and other savages of *Peru* hidden in the mountains, that they have the smelling so good, that in smelling of the hand, they know if a man be a *Spaniard* or a *Frenchman*; and if he be a *Spaniard*, they kill him without remission, so much do they hate him for the harms that they have received of them; which the abovesaid *Acosta* doth confess when he speaketh of leaving the *Indians* to live according to their ancient policy, reproving the *Spaniards* in that. And therefore (saith he) this is a thing prejudicial unto us, because that they take occasion to abhor us (note that he speaketh of them who do obey them) as men who in all things, whether it be in good whether it be in evil, have always been, and still are, contrary unto them.

C H A P.

* *Sesame* a kind of corn, *Pliny*. *Lib.* 18. *cap.* 10.

C H A P. XI.

Of the paintings, marks, incisions, and ornaments of their bodies.

Of the fa-
vages
painting
themselves

IT is no marvel if the ladies of our time do paint themselves; for of a long time, and in many places that trade hath had beginning. But it is reproved in the holy books, and made a reproach by the voices of the prophets, as when *Jeremiah* threateneth the city of *Jerusalem*; *When thou shalt be destroyed, saith he, what wilt thou do? though thou cloathest thyself with scarlet; though thou deckest thyself with ornaments of gold; though thou paintest thy face with colours, yet shalt thou trim thyself in vain: for thy lovers will abhor thee, and seek thy life.* The prophet *Ezekiel* maketh the like reproach to the cities of *Jerusalem* and *Samaria*, which he compareth to two lewd harlots, who having sent to seek out men coming from far, and being come, they have washed themselves, and painted their faces, and have put on their fair ornaments. The queen *Jezebel* doing the same, was for all that cast down out of a window, and bore the punishment of her wicked life. The *Romans* did anciently paint their bodies with vermillion, as *Pliny* saith, when they entered in triumph into *Rome*, and he addeth, that the princes and great lords of *Ethiopia* made great account of that colour, wherewith they wholly painted themselves red; also both the one and the other did serve themselves therewith, to make their god fairer. And that the first expence which was allowed of by the censors and masters of accounts in *Rome*, was of the monies bestowed for to colour with vermilion the face of *Jupiter*. The same author reciteth, in another place, that the *Anderes*, *Matbites*, *Mofagebes*, and *Hipporeens*, people of *Libya*, did plaister all their bodies over with red chalk. Briefly, this fashion did pass as far as to the north; and thereof is come the name that was given to the *Piëts*, an ancient people of *Scythia*, neighbours to the *Goths*, who in the year 87, after the nativity of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, under the empire of *Domitian*, made courses and spoils through the isles which lie northward, where having found men who made them resistance, they returned back without doing any thing, and lived yet naked in their cold country, until the year of our lord 370. At which time under the empire of *Valentinian*, being joined with the *Saxons* and *Scots*, they tormented very much them of *Great Britain*, as *Ammian Marcellin* reciteth; and being resolved to remain there, as they did, they demanded of the *Britons*, which now are *Englishmen*,

wives in marriage; whereupon being denied, they retired themselves to the *Scots*, of whom they were furnished, upon condition that the masculine race of the king's coming to sail among them, that then the women should succeed in the realm; now these people were called *Piëts*, because of the paintings which they used upon their naked bodies, which, saith *Herodian*, they would not cover with any cloathing for fear to hide and darken the fair painting they had set upon it, where were set out beasts of all sorts, and printed with iron instruments, in such sort that it was impossible to take them off: which they did as *Solon* saith, even from their infancy, in manner, that as the child did grow, so did grow those fixed figures, even as the marks that are graved upon the young pompions. The poet *Claudian* doth also give us many witnesses of this in his *Panegyrics*, as when he speaketh of the emperor *Honorius's* grand-father.

*Ille leves mauros, nec falso nomine piëtos
Edomuit----*

And in the Gothic war,

-----*Ferroque notatas,*

Perlegit exanimis Piëto moriente figuras.

This hath been noted by *Monf. de Belleforest*, and afterward by the learned *Savaron* upon the observation that *Sidoine de Polignac* maketh thereof. And albeit that our *Celtiic Poitevins*, called by the *Latins Piëtones*, be not descended from the race of those, for they were ancient *Gaullois* even in *Julius Cæsar's* time, nevertheless I may well believe that this name hath been given them for the same occasion as that of the *Piëts*. And as customs once brought in among a people, are not lost but by the length of many ages, as we see yet the follies of *Shrove Tuesday* to continue, so the uses of painting, whereof we have spoken remaineth in some northerly nations. For I have heard sometimes *Monf. Le Comte d' Egmond* tell, that he hath seen in his young years, them of *Brunswic* come into his father's house with their faces greased with painting, and their visage all blacked, from whence peradventure this word of *Bronzer* may be derived, which signifieth in *Picardy* to black. And generally I believe that all those northerly people did use painting, when they would make themselves brave; for the *Gelons* and *Agathyr- ses*, nations of *Scythia*, like the *Piëts*, were of this fraternity, and with iron instruments did colour their bodies; the *English-*
men

men likewise, then called *Britons*, by the saying of *Tertullian*; the *Goths*, besides the iron instruments, did use vermillion to make their faces and bodies red. Briefly, it was a sport in the old times to see so many anticks, men and women; for there are found yet old pictures, which he that hath made the history of the *Englishmen's* voyage into *Virginia*, hath cut in brasse, where the *Picts* of both sex are painted out, with their fair incisions, and swords hanging upon the naked flesh, as *Herodian* describeth them.

The West-Indians.

This humour of painting having been so general in these parts, there is no cause of mocking, if the people of the *West-Indies* have done, and yet do the like, which is universal and without exception among those nations. For if any one of them maketh love, he shall be painted with blue or red colour, and his mistress also; if they have venison in abundance, or be glad for any thing, they will do the like generally. But when that they are sad, or plot some treason, then they overcast all their face with black, and are hideously deformed. Touching the body, our savages apply no painting to it, which the *Brasileans* and *Floridians* do, the most part whereof are painted over the body, the arms and thighs with fair branches, whose painting can never be taken away, because they are pricked within the flesh. Notwithstanding many *Brasileans* do paint only their bodies, without incision, when they list; and this with the juice of a certain fruit, which they call *Genipat*, which doth black so much, that though they wash themselves, they cannot be clean in ten or twelve days after. They of *Virginia*, which are more of this side, have marks upon their backs, like to those that our merchants do put upon their packs, by the which, even as the slaves, one may know under what lord they live, which is a fair form of government for this people; seeing that the ancient *Roman* emperors have used the like towards their soldiers, which were marked with the imperial mark, as *St. Augustine*, *St. Ambrose*, and others do witness unto us. Which thing *Constantine* the great did likewise, but his mark was the sign of the cross, which he

Virginia.

made to be printed upon the shoulders of his soldiers, as himself saith in an epistle which he wrote to the king of *Persia*; reported by *Theodoret* in the ecclesiastical history; and the first Christians, as marching under the banner of *Jesus Christ*, did take the same mark, which they printed in their hand, or on the arm, to the end to know one another, especially in time of persecution; as *Procopius* saith, expounding this place of *Isaiah*: *One will say, I am the Lord's, and the other will call himself with the name of Jacob, and another will write with his hand, I am the Lord's, and will surname himself with the name of Israel.* The great apostle *St. Paul*, did bear the marks of the Lord *Jesus Christ* in his flesh, but it was yet after another manner, that is to say, by the bruises, which he had on his body, of the stripes that he had received for his name. And the *Hebrews* had for mark the circumcision of the fore-skin, by the which they are separated from other nations, and known for God's people. But as for other bodily incisions, such as anciently the *Picts* did make, and the savages do yet make at this day, they have been anciently very expressly forbidden in the law of God given to *Moses*. For it is not lawful for us to disfigure the image and the form that God hath given unto us; yea the pictures and paintings have been blamed and reprov'd by the prophets, as we have noted elsewhere. And *Tertullian* saith, that the angels which have discovered and taught unto men their paintings and counterfeited things, have been condemned of God; alledging for proof of his saying, the book of *Enoch's* prophesy. By these things above recited, we know that this hither world hath anciently been as much deformed and savage as they of the *West-Indies*, but that which seemeth unto me, most worthy of wondering, is the nakedness of those people in a cold country, wherein they delight; even to harden their children in the snow, in the river, and among the ice, as we touched heretofore in another chapter, speaking of the *Cimbri* and *Frenchmen*, which hath also been their chiefest strength in the conquest that they have made.

CHAP. XII.

Of their outward ornaments of the body, bracelets, ear-rings, &c.

WE that do live in these parts, under the authority of our princes, and civilized commonwealths, have two great tyrants of our life, to whom the people

of the new world have not been yet subjected, the excesses of the belly, and the ornament of body, and briefly all that which belongeth to bravery, which if we should

should cast off, it would be a means to recall the golden age, and to take away the calamities which we see in most sort of men. For he which possesseth much, making small expence, would be liberal, and would succour the needy, whereunto he is hindred, willing not only to maintain but also to augment his train, and to make shew of himself, very often at the costs of the poor people whose blood he sucketh. *Qui devorant plebem, meam sicut escam panis*, saith the psalmist. I leave that which belongeth to food, not being my purpose to speak of it in this chapter; I leave also the excesses which consist in household implements, sending the reader back to *Pliny*, who hath spoken ample of the *Roman* pomps and superfluities, as of vessels after the *Furviene* and *Clodienne* fashion, of bed-steads after the *Deliaque* fashion, and of tables all wrought with gold and silver imbossed; where also he setteth out a slave, *Drusillanus Rotundus*, who being treasurer of the higher *Spain*, caused a forge to be made for to work a piece of silver plate of five quintals weight, accompanied with eight others, all weighing half a quintal. I will only speak of the *matachias* of our savages, and say, that if we did content ourselves with their simplicity, we should avoid many troubles that we put ourselves unto, to have superfluities, without which we might live contentedly, because nature is satisfied with little, and the coveting whereof makes us very often to decline from the right way, and to stray from the path of justice. The excesses of men do consist the most part in things which I have said I will omit, which notwithstanding I will not leave untouched if it come to purpose. But ladies have always had this reputation, to love excesses in that which concerneth the decking of their bodies; and all the moralists who have made profession to repress vices have mentioned them, where they have found a large subject to speak of. *Clement Alexandrine* making a long numeration of women's trinkets, which he hath the most part taken out of the prophet *Isaiab*, saith in the end, that he is weary to speak so much of it, and that he marvelleth that they are not killed with so great a weight.

Let us take them then by those parts wherein they be complained of. *Tertullian* marvelleth of the audaciousness of man, which setteth himself against the word of our Saviour, which said, *That it is not in us to add any thing to the measure or height that God hath given unto us; and notwithstanding ladies endeavour themselves to do the contrary, adding upon their heads cages made of hairs, fashioned like to loaves of bread, to hats, to panniers, or to the hollownes of scutcheons. If they be not a-*

shamed with this superfluous enormity, at least, saith he, let them be ashamed of the filth which they bear; and not to cover a holy and a Christian head with the leavings of another head, peradventure unclean, or, guilty of some crime, and ordained to a shameful death. And in the same place, speaking of them which do colour their hairs; *I see some, saith he, who do change the colour of their hairs with saffron.* They are ashamed of their country, and would be *Gaullois* women, or *German* women, so much do they disguise themselves. Whereby is known how much red hairs were esteemed in the old time. And indeed the holy scripture praiseth that of *David* which was such. But to seek it out by art, *St. Cyprian*, and *St. Hierome*, with our *Tertullian* do say, that the same doth preface the fire of hell. Now our savages, in that which consisteth in the borrowing of hairs, are not reprovably; for their vanity stretcheth not so far; but for the colouring of them, for as much as when they are merry, and paint their faces, be it with blue or with red, they paint also their hairs with the same colour.

Now let us come to the ears, to the neck, to the arms and to the hands, and there we shall find wherewith to busy ourselves; these are parts where jewels are easily seen, which ladies have learned very well to observe. The first men which have had piety in them have made conscience to offer any violence to nature, and to pierce the ears for to hang any precious thing at it; for none is lord of his own members to abuse them, so saith the civilian *Ulpian*. And therefore when the servant of *Abraham* went into *Mesopotamia* for to find out a wife for *Isaac*, and had met with *Rebecca*, he put upon her forehead a jewel of gold hanging down between her eyes, and also bracelets of gold upon her hands; for which reason it is said in the *Proverbs*, that *a fair woman which lacketh discretion is like a golden ring in a swine's snout.* But men have taken more licence than they ought, and have defaced the workmanship of God in them, to please their own fancies. Wherein I do not wonder at the *Brazilians* (of whom we will hereafter speak) but of civilized people, which have called other nations barbarous, but much more of the Christians of this age. When *Seneca* did complain of that which was in his time; *The folly of women, saith he, had not made men subject enough, but it hath been yet be-hoveful to hang two or three patrimonies at their ears.* But what patrimonies? They carry (saith *Tertullian*) islands and farm-houses upon their necks, and great registers in their ears containing the revenues of a great rich man, and every finger of the left

band hath a patrimony to play withal. Finally, he cannot compare them better than to condemned men that are in the caves of *Ethiopia*, which the more they are culpable, so much the richer are they, because that the fetters and bolts, wherewith they are tied, are of gold. But he exhorteth the Christian women not to be such, "for as much as those things are certain marks of lasciviousness, which do belong to those mischievous oblations of publickunchastity." *Pliny*, albeit he was an heathen, doth no less abhor those excesses. "For our ladies saith he, for to be brave do bear hanging at their fingers those great pearls which are called *elencbus*, in fashion of pearls, and have two of them, yea three at their ears. Yea they have invented names to serve themselves therewith in their cursed and troublesome superfluities. For they call bells them which they carry in number at their ears, as if they did take pleasure to hear pearls gingling at their ears. And that which is more, the housewifely women, yea the poor women also, deck themselves therewith; saying, that a woman ought to go as seldom without pearls, as a consul without his ushers. Finally, they are come so far as to adorn their shoes with them, and garters, yea their buskins are yet full and garnished therewith. In such sort that it is not now any more question to wear pearls, but they must be made to serve for pavement, to the end to tread but upon pearls." The same author doth recite that *Lollia Paulina*, forsaken by *Caligula*, in the common feasts of mean men was so overladen with emeralds and with pearls, on her head, her hair, her ears, her neck, her fingers and her arms, as well in collars, necklaces, as bracelets, that all did shine at it, and that she had of them to the worth of a million of gold. The same was excessive, but she was the greatest princess of the world, and yet he doth not say that she did wear any on her shoes; as he doth yet complain in some other where that the dames of *Rome* did wear gold on their feet. *What disorder!* (saith he) *Let us permit the women to wear as much gold as they will in bracelets, at their fingers, at their necks, at their ears, and in carkenets and bridles, &c. must they for all that deck their feet with it? &c.* I should never make an end, if I should continue this speech.

The *Spanish* women in *Peru* do go beyond that, for their shoes are set over with nothing but plates of gold and silver, and garnished with pearls. True it is that they are in a country which God hath blessed abundantly with all these riches.

But if thou hast not so much of them, do not vex thy self at it, and be not tempted through envy; such things are but earth, digged and purified with a thousand troubles, in the bottom of hell, by the incredible labour, and with the life of men like unto thee; pearls are but ^{Pearls} dew, received within the shell of a fish, ^{what they} which are fished by men that be forced to be. become fishes, that is to say, to be always diving in the depth of the sea. And for to have these things, and to be cloathed in silk, and for to have robes with infinite folds, we turmoil our selves, we take cares which do shorten our days gnaw our bones, suck out our marrow, weaken our bodies, and consume our spirit. He that hath meat and drink is as rich as all these, if he could consider it. And where those things do abound, there delights do abound, and consequently vices; and to conclude, behold what God saith by his prophet: *They shall cast their silver out into the streets, and their gold shall be but dung, and shall not deliver them in the day of my great wrath.* He that will have further knowledge of the chastisements wherewith God doth threaten the woman that abuse carkenets and jewels, which have no other care but to attire and deck themselves, go with their breasts open, their eyes wandring, and with a proud gate, let him read the third chapter of the prophet *Isaiab*. I will not for all that blame the virgins which have some golden things, or chains of pearls, or other jewels, also some modest vesture; for that is comeliness, and all things are made for the use of man; but excess is that which is to be blamed, because that under that, very often is lasciviousness hidden. Happy are the people which not having the occasions to sin, do purely serve God, and possess a land which furnisheth them of that which is necessary for life. Happy are our savage people if they had the full knowledge of God; for in that case they be without ambition, vain-glory, envy, avarice, and have no care of these braveries, which we have now described; but rather do content themselves to have *matachias*, hanging at their ears, and about their necks, bodies, arms, and legs. The *Brasilians*, *Floridians*, and *Armouchiquois*, do make carkenets and bracelets (called *bou-re* in *Brasil*, and by ours *matachias*) of the shells of those great sea cockles, which be called *vignols*, like unto snails, which they break and gather up in a thousand pieces, then do smooth them upon a hot stone, until they do make them very small, and having pierced them, they make them beads with them, like unto that which we call *porcelain*. Among those beads they inter-

might

mingle between spaces other beads, as black as those which I have spoken of to be white, made with jet, or certain hard and black wood which is like unto it, which they smooth and make small as they list, and this hath a very good grace. And if things are to be esteemed for their fashion, as we see it practised in our merchandizes; these collars, scarfs, and bracelets made of great periwinkles or porcelain, are richer then pearls (notwithstanding none will believe me herein) so do they esteem them more than pearls, gold or silver; and this is that which they of the great river of *Canada* in the time of *James Quartier* did call *esurgin* (whereof we have made mention heretofore) a word which I have had much ado to know, and which *Belleforest* the cosmographer understood not, when he would speak of it. At this day they have not any more of them, or else they have lost the knowledge to make them; for they use *matachias* very much, that are brought unto them out of *France*. Now as with us, so in that country women do deck themselves with such things, and will have chains that will go twelve times about their necks, hanging down upon their breasts, and about their hand-wrists, and above the elbow. They also hang long strings of them at their ears, which come down as low as their shoulders. If the men wear any, it will be only some young man that is in love. In the country of *Virginia* where some pearls be found, the women do wear carkenets, collars and bracelets of them, or else of pieces of copper (made round like small bullets) which are found in their mountains, where some mines of it are. But in *Port Royal*, and in the confines thereof, and towards *Newfoundland*, and at *Tadoussac*, where they have neither pearls nor vignols, the maids and women do make *matachias*, with the quills or bristles of the *porcupine*, which they dye with black, white, and red colours, as lively as possibly may be, for our scarlets have no better lustre than their red dye; but they more esteem the *matachias* which come unto them from the *Armouchiquois* country, and they buy them very dear; and that because they can get no great quantity of them, by reason of the wars that those nations have continually one against another. There are brought unto them from *France* *matachias* made with small quills of glass mingled with tin or lead, which are trucked with them, and measured by the fathom, for want of an ell; and this kind of merchandize is in that country, that which the *Latins* do call *Mundus muliebris*. They also make of them small squares of sundry colours sewed together, which they tie behind, on

the little childrens hairs. The men do not much care for them, except that the *Brasilians* do wear about their necks half moons of bones very white, which they call *y-aci* of the moon's name: and our *Souriquois* do likewise wear some jollities of like stuff, without excess. And they which have none of that, do commonly carry a knife before their breasts, which they do not for ornament, but for want of pocket, and because it is an implement which at all times is necessary unto them. Some have girdles made of *matachias*, wherewith they serve themselves, only when they will set out themselves and make them brave. The *Aoutmoins* or *South-sayers* do carry before their breasts some sign of their vocation, as we will hereafter say. But as for the men of the *Armouchiquois* they have a fashion to wear at their hand-wrists, and above the ankle-bone of the foot, about their legs, plates of copper, fetter-wise, and about their waists girdles fashioned with copper quills as long as the middle-finger filed together the length of a girdle, even just of that fashion which *Herodian* reciteth to have been in use among the *Picts*, whereof we have spoken, when he saith, that they girded their bodies and their necks with iron, esteeming that to be a great ornament unto them, and a testimony of their great riches, even as other *Barbarians* do to have gold about them. And there are yet in *Scotland* savage men, which neither ages, nor years, nor the abundance of men could yet reduce unto civility. And although that (as we have said) the men be not so desirous of *matachias* as the women, notwithstanding the men of *Brasil*, not caring for clothing, take great pleasure to deck and garnish themselves with the feathers of birds, and do use those wherewith we use to fill our beds whereon we lye, and chop them as small as pye-meat, which they dye in red, with their *Brasil* wood, then having anointed their bodies with certain gums, which serve them instead of paste or glue, they cover themselves with those feathers, and make a garment at one clap, after the antick fashion; which hath made (saith *John de Leri* in his History of *America*) the first of our men that went thither to believe that the men which be called savages were hairy over all their bodies, which is nothing so. For (as we have already said) the savages in what part soever, have lesser hairs than we. They of *Florida* do also use this kind of down, but it is only about their heads, to make themselves more ugly. Besides this that we have said, the *Brasilians* do make frontlets of feathers, which they tie and fit in order of all colours; those frontlets being

Jet.

Pearls in
Virginia.
Copper.

Excellent
scarlet
dye.

Savage
Scots.

being like in fashion to those rackets or periwigs, which ladies use in these parts, the invention whereof they seem to have learned of those savages. As for them of our *New France*, in the days that be of solemnity and rejoicing among them, and when they go to the wars, they have about their heads as it were a crown made with long hairs of an ellan or stag, painted in red, pasted, or otherwise fastened to a fillet of leather of three fingers breadth, such as *James Quartier* saith he

had seen with the king (so doth he call him) and lord of the savages, which he found in the town of *Hochelaga*. But they do not use so many ornaments of feathers as the *Brasilians*, which make gowns of them, caps, bracelets, girdles, and ornaments for their cheeks, and targets upon their loins of all colours; which would be more tedious than delightful to specify, since it is an easy matter for every one to supply the same, and to imagine what it is.

C H A P. XIII.

Of marriage.

HAVING spoken of the savages garments, deckings, ornaments and paintings, it hath seemed good unto me to marry them, to the end the generation of them be not lost, and that the country remain not desert. For the first ordinance that ever God made, was to increase and multiply, and every creature capable of generation to bring forth fruit according to his kind. And to the end to encourage young folks that do marry, the *Jews* had a custom anciently to fill a trough with earth, in the which, a little before the wedding, they did sow barley, and the same being sprung, they brought it to the bridegroom and the bride, saying, *Bring forth fruit and multiply as this barley, which brings forth sooner than all other seeds.*

Now to return to our savages, many thinking (as I believe) that they be some loggs of wood, or imagining a commonwealth of *Plato*, do demand if they have any marriage, and if there be any priests in *Canada* to marry them. Wherein they seem to be very raw and ignorant. Capt. *James Quartier* speaking of the marriage of the *Canadians*, in his second relation saith thus: "They observe the order of marriage, saving that the men take two or three wives. And the husband being dead the women do never marry again, but do mourn for his death all their life long, and do daub their face with coal beaten to powder and with grease, the thickness of a knife, and thereby are known to be widows. Then he goeth further; they have another bad custom with their daughters; for being come to be marriageable, they are put all in a stew-house, abandoned to all comers, until they have found out a match; and all this have we seen by experience; for we have

seen the houses as full of these maidens, "as is a school of boys in *France*." I would have thought that the said *James Quartier* had (touching this prostituting of maids) added somewhat of his own, but the discourse of *Monf. Champlain*, which is but six years since, doth confirm the same thing unto me, saving that he speaketh not of assemblies, which keepeth me from contrarying it. But among our *Souriquois* there is no such thing; not that these savages have any great care of continency and virginity, for they do not think to do evil in corrupting it: but whether it be by the frequentation of *Frenchmen* or otherwise, the maids are ashamed to do any unchaste thing publickly; and if it happen that they abandon themselves to any one, it is in secret. Moreover, he that will marry a maid it behoveth him to demand her of her father, without whose consent she shall be none of his, as we have already said heretofore, and brought forth the example of one that had done otherwise. And if he will marry, he shall sometimes make love, not after the manner of the *Esseens*, who (as *Josephus* saith) did try the maidens by the space of three years, before they married them, but by the space of six months or a year, without abusing of them; will paint his face that he may seem the fairer, and will have a new gown of beavers or otters, or of something else well garnished with *matachias* garded and laid over in form of parchment lace of gold and silver, as the *Goths* did use heretofore. It is meet moreover that he shew himself valiant in hunting, and that they know him able to do something, for they do not trust in a man's means, which are none other than that which he getteth by his days labour, not caring anywise for other riches than hunting, unless our

Canadians.

The prostituting of maidens.

our manners make them to have a desire of it.

The prostituting of the maidens in *Brasil*.

The maidens of *Brasil* have liberty to prostitute themselves as soon as they are able for the same, even as them of *Canada*. Yea the fathers do serve for *panders* to their daughters, and they repute for an honour to communicate them to the men of these parts that go thither, to the end to have of their race. But to consent unto it, would be too damnable an abomination, and that would deserve rigorous punishment, as indeed for the slackness of men God hath punished this vice in such wise, that the sore hath been communicated in these parts, even to them that have been too much addicted after Christian wenches and women, by the sickness which is called the pox, which before the discovery of those lands was unknown in *Europe*; for these people are very much subject to it, and even they of *Florida*; but they have the *guayac*, the *esquin*, and the *sassafras* trees very sovereign for the cure of that leprosy, and I believe that the tree *annedda*, whose wonders we have recited, is one of these kinds.

The pox.

The chastity of the ancient *Germans*, and of the savages of *New France*.

One might think that the nakedness of this people would make them more lecherous, but it is not so. For as *Cæsar* giveth the *Germans* this commendation, that they had in their ancient savages life such a continency, as they reputed it a thing most vile for a young man to have the company of a woman before he came to the age of twenty years; and in their own disposition also, they were not moved thereunto, although that pell-mell, all together men and women, young and old did bathe themselves in rivers; so also may I say for our savages, that I never saw amongst them any unseemly gesture or unchaste look, and I dare affirm that they be less given to that vice than we in these parts. I attribute the cause thereof, partly to this their nakedness, and chiefly to the keeping bare of their head, from whence the matter of generation hath his original; partly to the want of hot spices, of wine, and of meats that do provoke to that which is the primary sign of unclean desires, and partly to the frequent use which they have of tobacco, whose smoke dulleth the senses, and mounting up to the brain hindereth the functions of *Venus*. *John de Leri* praiseth the *Brasilians* for this continency; nevertheless he addeth, that when they are angry they call sometimes one another *Tiurê*, that is to say, *Sodomite*, whereby it may be conjectured that this sin reigneth among them, as Capt. *Laudonniere* saith it doth in *Florida*; and that the *Floridians* love the feminine sex very much. And

V O L. II.

indeed I have heard, that for to please the women the more they busy themselves very much about that which is the primary sign of unclean desires, whereof we spake even now; and that they may the better do it, they furnish themselves with *Greatstore* *ambergrease*, whereof they have great store, of *ambergrease*. which first they melt at the fire, then inject it (with such pain, that it maketh them to gnash their teeth) even so far as to the bone *Sacrum*, and with a whip of nettles, or such like thing, make that idol of *Maacha* to swell, which king *Asa* made to be consumed into ashes, and cast it into the brook *Cedron*. On the other side the women use certain herbs, and endeavour themselves as much as they can to make restrictions for the use of the said *Ityphalles*, and to give either party their due.

Let us return to our marriages, which are better than all these rogueries. The *Contract* of marriage. the hands of notaries, nor of their soothsayers, but simply do demand the consent of the parents; and so they do every where. But here is to be noted, that they keep, and in *Brasil* also, three degrees of consanguinity, in the which they are not used to contract marriage, that is to wit, of the son with the mother, of the father with his daughter, and of the brother with the sister. These excepted, all things are permitted. As for dowry, there is no mention of it. Also when any divorce happeneth the husband is bound to nothing: and although that, as it hath been said, there is no promise of loyalty given before any superior power, nevertheless, in what part soever the wives keep chastity, and seldom is any found that breaketh it: yea, I have heard oftentimes say, that in yielding the duty to the husband, they make themselves oftentimes to be constrained; which is rare in these parts. For the *Gaullois* women are renowned by *Strabo* to be good porters, I mean fruitful, and breeders; and contrariwise I do not see that the people do abound in these parts, although that they all labour for generation, and that polygamy is ordinary with them, which was not among the ancient *Gaullois*, nor among the *Germans*, though they be a more rustick people. True it is that our savages do kill one another daily, and are always in fear of their enemies, keeping watches upon their frontiers.

This frigidity of *Venus* bringeth an admirable and incredible thing among these women, and which was not to be found, even among the wives of the holy patriarch *Jacob*, which is, that, although there be many wives to one husband, for polygamy is received through all that new world, *Polygamy*. notwithstanding.

notwithstanding there is no jealousy among them, which is in *Brasil*, a hot country as well as *Canada*: but as for the men, they are in many places very jealous; and if the wife be found faulty she shall be put away, or in danger to be killed by her husband; and in that (as for the spirit of jealousy) there needs not so many ceremonies as those that were done amongst the *Jews*, recited in the book of *Numbers*. And as for divorcement, not having the use of letters, they do it not in writing, in giving to the wife a bill signed by a publick notary, as *St. Augustin* doth note, speaking of the said *Jews*; but are contented to tell to the parents, and unto her, that she provide for herself, and then she liveth in common with the others until that some body do seek after her. This law of putting away hath been received almost among all nations, except among the Christians, which have kept this precept of the gospel, *That which God hath joined together, let no man put asunder*: which is most expedient and less scandalous; and very wisely did *Ben-Sira* answer (who is said to have been nephew to the prophet *Jeremy*) being asked of one who had a lewd wife, how he should do by her, *Gnaw*, saith he, *that bone which is fallen to thee*.

As for the widows, I will not affirm that which *James Quartier* hath said of them

in general, but I will say, that where we have been, they stain their faces with black, when they please, and not always: if their husband hath been killed, they will not marry again, nor eat flesh, until they have seen the revenge of his death. And so we have seen the daughter of *Membertou* to practise it, who after the war made to the *Armouchiquois*, hereafter described, did marry again: except in that case, they make no other difficulty to marry again when they find a fit match.

Sometimes our savages having many wives will give one of them to their friend, if he hath a desire to take her in marriage, and shall be thereby so much disburdened. Touching maidens that be loose, if any man hath abused them, they will tell it at the first occasion, and therefore it is bad jesting with them; for the chastisement ought to be very rigorous against them that mingle the Christian blood with the infidels, and for the keeping of this justice *Monf. de Villegagnon* is praised, even by his enemies: and *Phinebas*, the son of *Eleazar*, the son of *Aaron*, because he was zealous of the law of God, and appeased his wrath, which was about to exterminate the people, for such a sin, had the covenant of perpetual priesthood, promised to him and to his posterity.

Abominable
whoredom
among the
infidels.

C H A P. XIV.

The tabagie.

THE ancients have said, *Sine Cerere & Baccho friget Venus*, that is, without *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, *Venus* is cold: having then married our savages, it is meet to make dinner ready, and to use them after their own manner: and for to do it, one must consider the times of the marriage; for if it be in winter they will have venison from the woods, if it be in the spring-time or in summer, they will make provision of fish; as for bread, there is no talk of it from the north of *Newfoundland* until one come to the country of the *Armouchiquois*, unless it be in trucking with *Frenchmen*, for whom they tarry upon the sea-shores, sitting on their tails like apes, as soon as the spring-time is come, and receive in exchange for their skins, for they have no other merchandize, bisket, beans, pease, and meal. The *Armouchiquois*, and other nations more remote, besides hunting and fishing, have wheat called *mais*, and beans, which is a great comfort unto them in time of necessity; they make no bread with it, for they

have neither mill nor oven, and they cannot knead it otherwise than in stamping it in a mortar, and in gathering those pieces the best they can, they make small cakes with it, which they bake between two hot stones; most often they dry this corn at the fire, and parch it upon the coals. And after that manner did the ancient *Italians* live, as *Pliny* saith: and, therefore, one must not so much wonder at these people, seeing that they which have called others barbarous, have been as barbarous as they.

If I had not recited heretofore the manner of the savages *tabagie*, or banquet, I would make here a larger description: but I will only say that when we went to the river *St. John*, being in the town of *Ouigoudi*, so may I well call a place enclosed replenished with people, we saw in a great thicket eighty savages all naked, except the middle parts, making *tabaguia* with meal they had of us, whereof they had kettles full. Every one had a dish made with the bark of a tree, and a spoon as deep

What
savage
countries
have corn.

deep as the pain of one's hand, or more; and with this they had venison besides. And here it is to be noted, that he which entertaineth the others doth not dine, but serveth the company, as very often the bridegrooms do here in *France*.

The women do not eat with the men.

The women were in another place apart, and did not eat with the men; wherein may be noted a bad use among those people, which have never been used among the nations of these parts, specially the *Gaullois* and *Germans*, which have admitted the women, not only in their banquets, but also in their publick counsels, especially with the *Gaullois*, after they had pacified a great war which arose between them, and did decide the controversy with such equity, as *Plutarch* saith, that thereby ensued a greater love than ever before: and in the treaty that was made with *Hannibal*, being entered into *Gallia*, to go against the *Romans*, it was said, that if the *Carthaginians* had any difference against the *Gaullois*, it should be decided by the advice of the *Gaullois* women. It was not so in *Rome*, where their condition was so base, that by the law *Voconia*, the very father could not make them to inherit more than of the one third part of his goods: and the emperor *Justinian* forbiddeth them in his decrees to accept the awardship which had been deferred unto them, which shewed either a great severity against them, or an argument that in that country they have a very weak spirit. And after this sort, be the wives of our savages, yea, in worse condition, in not eating with the men in their *tabagies*; and, notwithstanding it seemeth unto me that their fare is not in their feasts so delicate, which ought not to consist only in eating and drinking, but in their society of that sex which God hath ordained unto man for to help him and to keep him company.

It will seem to many that our savages do live very poorly, in not having any seasoning in those few messes that I have named: but I will reply that it was not *Caligula* nor *Heliogabulus*, nor such like, that have raised the *Roman* empire to its greatness; neither was it that cook who made made an imperial feast all with hogs-flesh, disguised in a thousand sorts; nor those liquorish companions, who after they have destroyed the air, the sea, and the land, not knowing what to find more to assuage their gluttony, go a seeking worms from the trees, yea do keep them in mew, and do fatten them, for to make thereof a delicate mess: but rather it was one *Curius Dentatus* who did eat in wooden dishes, and did scrape raddishes by the fire-side: *item*, those good husbandmen whom the senate did send for from the

What men have rais'd Rome to her greatness.

plough for to conduct the *Roman* army; and in one word, those *Romans* which did live with sodden food after the manner of our savages; for they had not the use of bread but about 600 years after the foundation of the city, having learned in tract of time to make some cakes grossly dressed and baked under the embers, or in the oven: *Pliny*, author of this report, saith moreover, that the *Scythians*, now *Tartars*, do also live with sodden food and raw meal as the *Brasilians*. And, nevertheless, they have always been a warlike and mighty nation. The same saith, that the *Arymphaen*, which be the *Muscovites*, do live in forests, as our savages do, with grains and fruits which they gather from the trees, without mention either of flesh or of fish. And, indeed, the prophane authors do agree, that the first men did live after that manner, to wit, of corn, grains, pulse, acorns, and mastes, from whence cometh the *Greek* word *phagein*, to wit, to eat; some particular nations, and not all, had fruits, as pears were in use among the *Argives*, figs with the *Athenians*, almonds with the *Medes*, the fruit of *cannes* with the *Æthiopians*, the *cardamuin* with the *Persians*, the dates with the *Babylonians*, the trefoil, or three-leaved grass, with the *Egyptians*. They which have had none of those fruits have made war against the beasts of the woods and forests, as the *Getulians* and all the northern men, yea also the ancient *Germans*, notwithstanding they had also meats made of milk; others dwelling upon the shores of the sea, or lakes and rivers, lived on fishes, and were called *Ichthyophages*; others living of tortoises, were called *Chelonophages*: part of the *Æthiopians* do live of grasshoppers, which they salt and harden in the smoak in great quantity for all seasons, and therein do the historians of this day agree with *Pliny*; for there are sometimes clouds of them, that is to say, such infinite numbers, that they hide the clouds; and in the east likewise, which destroy all the fields, so that nothing remaineth unto them to eat but those grasshoppers, which was the food of *St. John Baptist*, in the desert, according to the opinion of *St. Hierome* and *Augustine*: although *Nicephorus* thinketh that they were the tender leaves of the tops of trees, because that the *Greek* word *achrides* signifieth both the one and the other. But let us come to the *Roman* emperor, best qualified: *Ammian Marcellin*, speaking of their manner of life, saith, that *Scipio*, *Æmilian*, *Metellus*, *Trajan*, and *Adrian*, did content themselves ordinarily with the meat of the camp, that is to say, with bacon, cheese, and bruvage. If then our savages have venison and fish abundantly, I do not think them ill furnished; for many times we

Ichthyophages.

Æthiopians do live of grasshoppers.

Sturgeons, we have received of them quantity of sturgeons, of falmons, and other fish; besides their venison, and beavers which live in ponds, and live partly on the land, partly in the water: at least, one laudable thing is known in them, that they are not men-eaters, as the *Scythians* have been aforetime, and many other nations of these parts of the world; and as yet are at this day the *Brasilians*, *Cannibals*, and others of the new world.

Bread.

The inconvenience which is found in their manner of life is, that they have no bread. Indeed bread is a food very natural for man, but it is easier to live with flesh, or with fish, than with bread only. If they have not the use of salt, the most part of the world do use none; it is not altogether necessary, and the principal profit thereof consisteth in preserving, whereunto it is altogether proper; notwithstanding, if they had any to make some provisions they would be more happy than us; but for want of that they sometimes suffer some need, which happeneth when the winter is too mild, or the latter end of the same, for then they have neither venison nor fish, as we will declare in the chapter of hunting; and are then constrained to feed upon the barks of trees, and on the parings of skins, and on their dogs, which, upon this extremity, they do eat; and the history of the *Floridians* saith, that in extremity they eat a thousand filths, even to the swallowing down of coals, and to put earth in their spoon-meat. True it is, that in *Port Royal* there is always shell-fish, so that in all cases one cannot die there for hunger. But yet have they one superstition that they will not feed on mussels, and they can alledge no reason for it, no more than our superstitious Christians which will not be thirteen at a table, or which fear to pair their nails on the *Friday*, or which have other scrupulosities, true apish toys, such as *Pliny* reciteth a good number of them in his natural history: notwithstanding, in our company seeing us to eat of them they did the like; for we must say here by the way, that they will eat no unknown meat, but first they must see the trial of it by others. As for beasts of the woods they eat of all them, the wolf excepted. They also eat eggs, which they go gathering along the shores of waters, and they do lade their canoes with them, when the geese and outards have done laying in the spring-time, and they use all, as well them that be old as new. As for modesty they use it being at table with us, and eat very soberly; but at home in their own houses, as the *Brasilians*, they stretch out their bellies as much as they can, and do not leave eating as long as there is any meat: and

if any of ours be at their *tabagie*, they will bid him do as they do. Notwithstanding I see no gluttony like to that of *Hercules*, who alone did eat whole oxen, and did devour one from a *Paisan* called *Diamadas*, by reason whereof he was called *Butheus*, or *Buphagos*, ox-eater. And without going so far, we see in the countries of these parts, greater gluttonies than that which one would impute to the savages; for in the diet of *Augsbourg* was brought to the emperor *Charles* the fifth, a great whore-son which had eaten a calf and a sheep, and yet was not full: and I do not know that our savages do wax fat, or that they have great bellies, but that they are nimble and swift, like to our ancient *Gaullois* and high *Allemands* or *Germans*, who by their agility, did trouble very much the *Roman* armies.

The food of the *Brasilians* are serpents, crocodiles, toads, and great lizards, which they esteem as much as we do capons, leverets and conies. They, also, make meal of white roots, which they call *maniel*, having the leaves of *pæoniomas*, and the tree of the height of the elder tree; those roots are as big as the thigh of a man, which the women do crumble very small, and eat them raw, or else they make them to seeth well in a great earthen vessel, stirring it always, as the comfit-makers do make sugar-plumbs. They are of a very good taste, and of easy digestion, but they be not fit to make bread, because they dry and burn themselves, and always return into meal. They have also with this *mabis*, or *mais*, which groweth in two or three months after it is sowed, and that is a great succour unto them. But they have a cursed and an inhuman custom to eat their prisoners, after they have well fattened them; yea, a most horrible thing, they give them in marriage the fairest maidens they have, putting about their necks as many halters as they will keep him moons; and when the time is expired, they make wine of the said *mais*, and roots, wherewith they make themselves drunk, calling all their friends; then he that hath taken him knocketh him on the head with a club, and divideth him into pieces, and makes carbonnadoes of him, which they eat with a singular pleasure above all meats in the world.

Furthermore, all savages generally do live every where in common; the most perfect and most worthy life of man, seeing that he is a sociable creature; the life of the ancient golden age, which the holy apostles would have restored again; but being to establish the spiritual life, they could not execute that good desire. If it happens then that our savages have venison, or other food, all the company have

The savages suspicious.

The sobriety and gluttony of the savages.

The meat of the *Brasilians*.

Common life.

Hospitality.

part of it. They have this mutual charity which hath been taken away from us, since that *mine* and *thine* have come into the world. They have, also, hospitality, a virtue peculiar to the ancient *Gaullois*, according to the witness of *Parthenius*, in his *Erotes*, of *Cæsar*, *Salvian* and others, who did constrain travellers and strangers to come into their houses, and there to take a refreshing; a virtue which seemeth to have conserved herself only with the nobility and gentry; for among the other sort we see her very weak and at the point of death. *Tacitus* giveth the same praise to the *Germans*, saying that with them all houses are opened to strangers, and there they are in such assurance, that, as if they were sacred, none dare do them an injury; charity and hospitality, which are mentioned in the law of God, who said to his people, *The stranger which sojourneth among you, shall be unto you as he which is born among you, and you shall love him as yourselves; for you have been strangers in the land of Egypt*; so do our savages, who, stirred up with an humane nature, receive all strangers, except their enemies, whom they accept in their commonality of life.

Of drinking.

But we have spoken enough of eating, let us now speak of drinking. I know not whether I ought to place among the greatest blindnesses of the *West-Indians*, to have abundantly the most excellent fruit that God hath given unto us, and they know not the use thereof. For I see that the ancient *Romans* were a long time, as *Pliny* saith, without either vines or vineyards; and our *Gaullois* did make beer, the use whereof is yet frequent in all *Gallia Belgica*; and this kind of drink did the *Egyptians*, also, use in former times, as saith *Diodorus*, who attributeth the invention thereof to *Osiris*. Notwithstanding after that the use of wine was come among the *Romans*, the *Gaullois* took so good a taste in it, in the voyages that they made there with their armies, that they continued afterwards the same way; and afterwards the *Italian* merchants did draw much money from the *Gaullois*, with their wine that they brought thither. But the *Germans*, knowing their own nature subject to drink more than is needful, would have none brought to them, for fear that being drunk, they might be a prey to their enemies; and contented themselves with beer. And notwithstanding, because the continual drinking of water engendreth crudities in the stomach, and thereby great indispositions, the nations have commonly found better the moderate use of wine, which hath been given of God to rejoice

the heart, as bread for to strengthen him, as the *Psalmist* saith; and the apostle *St. Paul* himself doth counsel his disciple *Timothy* to use it by reason of his infirmity. For wine, saith *Oribasius*, *recreateth and quickeneth our heat; whereby, by consequence, the digestures are made better, and good blood is engendred, and good nourishment thorough all the parts of the body where the wine hath force to pierce; and therefore they which be weakened by sickness do recover by it a stronger being, and do likewise renew by it an appetite to their meat. It breaketh the phlegm, it purgeth cholerick humours, by the urine, and with its pleasant odour and lively substance gladdeth the heart of man, and giveth strength to the body. Wine taken moderately is the procurer of all those good effects, but if it be drank unmeasurably, it produceth effects quite contrary.* And *Plato* willing to shew forth in one word, the nature and property of wine; that which warmeth, saith he, both body and soul, is that which is called wine. The savages, which have no use of wine, nor of spices, have found out another means to warm the same stomach, and in some sort to break so many crudities proceeding from the fish that they eat, which otherwise would extinguish their natural heat; it is the herb which the *Brafileans* do call *petun*, that is to say tobacco, the smoak whereof they take almost every hour, as we will declare more at large, when we come hereafter to speak of that herb. Then as in these parts one drinketh to another, in presenting the glass to him to whom one hath drunk, which is done in many places; so the savages willing to feast somebody, and to shew him sign of amity, after they have well taken of that smoak, they present the tobacco pipe to him that they like best: which custom to drink one to another is not new, nor particular to the *Flemings* and *Germans*; for *Heliodorus* in the *Ethiopian* history of *Chariclea*, witnesseth that the same was a custom altogether used in the countries, whereof he speaketh, to drink one to the other in token of friendship. And because it was abused, and men were appointed to constrain them that would not pledge, *Abasuerus*, king of the *Persians*, at a banquet that he made to all the principal lords and governors of his countries, did forbid by an express law to force any, and did command that every one should be served after his own will. The *Egyptians* did use no forcing, but notwithstanding they drank up all, and that with great devotion; for after they had found out the invention to apply painting and *matachias* upon silver, they took

took great delight to see their God *Anubis* painted in the bottom of their cups, as *Pliny* saith.

The *Floridians* drink.

Our savages, *Canadians*, *Souriquois*, and others, are far from these delights; and having nothing but the tobacco, spoken of by us, to warm their stomachs after the crudities of waters, and to give some smatch to the mouth, having that in common with many other nations, that they love that which is biting, such as the said tobacco is, which, even as wine or strong beer, taken, as it is said, in smoak, maketh giddy the senses, and, in some sort, procureth sleep; so that this word drunkard is among them, by this word *escorcken*, as well as amongst us. The *Floridians* have a certain sort of drink called *casine*, which they drink all hot, which they make of certain leaves of trees; but it is not lawful for every one to drink of it, but only to the *Paraousti*, and to them that have made proof of their valour in the wars. And this drink hath such virtue, that as soon as they have drunken it, they become all in a sweat, which being past, they be fed for twenty four hours, by the nourishing force of the same. As for them of *Brasil* they make a certain kind of drink which they call *caouin*, with roots

The drink of the *Brasilians*.

and a grain called *mill*, which they put to seeth and soften in great earthen vessels, made in the manner of a tub, over the fire, and being softened, it is the office of the women to chew it all, and to set them again to seeth in other vessels, then having left all to be settled and skimmed, they cover the vessel until that it must be drunken; and this drink is as thick as lees, after the manner of the defrutum of the *Latins*, and of the taste of sour milk, white and red as our wine is, and they make it in every season, because that the said roots do grow there at all times. Furthermore they drink this *caouin* somewhat warm, but with such excess, that they never depart from the place where they make their feasts, until that they have drunk all out, though there were of the same a tun for every one. So that the *Flemings*, *High Dutchmen*, and *Switzers*, are but young novices in that trade in regard of them. I will not speak here of the cyders and perries of *Normandy*, nor of the *Hidromels*, the use whereof, by the report of *Plutarch*, was long before the invention of wine, seeing our savages use none of it. But I have thought good to mention the fruit of the vine, by reason that *New France* is plentifully furnished therewith.

CHAP. XV.

Of their dances and songs.

Dances instituted in divine things.

WHEN the belly is full then comes mirth, saith the proverb; it will not be then unfit to speak of dancing after feasting: for it is also said of the people of *Israel*, that after they had well filled their bellies they arose for to play and dance about their golden calf. Dancing is a thing very ancient among all people. But it was first made and instituted in divine things, as we did now mark an example of it; and the *Canaanites* who did worship the fire, did dance about it, and sacrificed their children unto it; which manner of dancing was not invented by the idolaters, but rather by the people of God. For we read in the book of *Judges*, that there was a solemnity to God in *Silo*, where the maidens came to dance at the sound of the flute. And *David* bringing back the ark of the covenant into *Hierusalem*, went before it in his shirt, dancing with all his strength.

As for the heathens they have followed this fashion; for *Plutarch* in the life of *Nicias* saith, that the towns of *Greece* had a custom every year to go into *Delos*, for to celebrate the dances and songs in the ho-

nour of *Apollo*; and in the life of *Lycurgus*, the orator, saith, that he did ordain a very solemn dance in the *Pyree*, unto the honour of *Neptune*, with a wager of a hundred crowns price to the best dancer, and to the second of eighty crowns, and to the third of sixty. The muses, daughters of *Jupiter*, do love dancing, and all they that have spoken of them make us to go seek for them upon the mountain *Parnassus*, where, say they, they dance at the sound of *Apollo's* harp.

As for the *Latins*, the same *Plutarch* saith in the life of *Numa Pompilius*, that he did institute the college of the *Salians*, which were priests dancing and gamboling and singing songs in the honour of God *Mars*, when that a buckler of brass fell miraculously from heaven, which was a gage from that God for the conservation of the empire; and that buckler was called *ancile*, but for fear that it should be stolen away, he caused twelve others to be made alike named *ancilia*, which were carried in the wars, as we did heretofore our *oriflamme*, and as the emperor *Constantine* did the *labarum*. Now the foremost of those *Salians*

Salians that did lead the others in the dance was called *Præful*, that is to say, first dancer, *præ aliis Salians*, saith *Festus*, who taketh from that the name of the *French* people, which were called *Salians* because they did love to dance, to skip and to gambol; and of these *Salians* are come the laws, which we call *Salique*, that is to say laws of dances.

So then to come again to our purpose, the dances have been first instituted for holy things. Whereto I will add, the testimony of *Arrian*, who saith, that the *Indians* which did worship the sun rising, did not think to have duly saluted him, unless their songs and prayers were accompanied with dances.

This kind of exercise was since applied to another use, that is to say, for the government of health, as *Plutarch* saith, in the treaty for the same. So that *Socrates* himself (howsoever precise and reformed) took pleasure therein, for which cause he desired to have a house large and spacious, as *Xenophon* writeth in his banquet, and the *Persians* did expressly use the same, as *Duris* writeth in the seventh of his histories.

But the delights, lasciviousness, and disorders, did convert them since to their own use, and the dances have served for *proxenetes* and brokers of unchastity, as we find it but too much, whereof we have testimonies in the gospel; where we find that it cost the life of the greatest that ever arose amongst men, which is *St. John Baptist*. And *Arcefilaus* said very well, that dances are venoms, sharper than all the poisons that the earth bringeth forth, forasmuch as by a certain incitement they insinuate into the soul, wherein they communicate and imprint voluptuousness and delectation, which the bodies properly do affect.

All savages do dance.

Our savages, and generally all the people of the *West-Indies*, have time out of mind the use of dances. But lascivious pleasure hath not yet so far prevailed against them, as to make them dance at the pleasure thereof, a thing which ought to serve as a lesson to the Christians. The use then of their dances is for four ends, either to please their gods (let who will call them devils it is all one to me) as we have marked in two places before, or to cheer up some body, or to rejoice themselves of some victory, or to prevent sicknesses. In all these dances they sing, and make no dumb shews, as in those dances whereof the *Pythienne* oracle speaketh, when he saith; it behoveth that the beholder understand the dancing stage-player, although he be dumb; and that he hear him though he doth not speak. But as in *Delos* they did sing to the honour of *Apollo*, the *Salians*

to the honour of *Mars*; likewise the *Floridians* do sing to the honour of the sun, to whom they attribute all their victories: not for all that so filthily as *Orpheus*, inventor of the heathenish devilishnesses, of whom *St. Gregory Nazianzen* mocketh himself in an oration, because that among other follies, in an hymn he speaketh of *Jupiter* in this wise: *O glorious Jupiter! the greatest of all the gods, which art resident in all sorts of dung, as well of sheep as of horses and mules, &c.* And in another hymn that he maketh to *Ceres*, he saith, that she discovereth her thighs for to submit her body to her paramours, and to make herself to be tilled.

Our *Souriquois* do make also dances and songs to the honour of the devil which sheweth them their game, and that they think to gratify him; whereof one needeth not to marvel, because that we ourselves, that be better instructed, do sing psalms and songs of praise to our God, for that he giveth us our daily food: and I do not see that a man who is a hungred, have any great lust either in singing or dancing: *nemo enim saltat fere sobrius*, saith *Cicero*.

Also when they will feast any body, they have no fairer gesture, in many places and ces than dancing; as in like manner, if any one maketh them a feast, for all thanksgiving, they betake themselves to dancing, as it hath been seen sometimes, when *Monf. de Poutrincourt* did give them their dinner, they did sing songs of praises unto him, saying, that he was a brave *Sagamos*, who had made them good chear, and which was their good friend; which they did comprehend very mystically under these three words, *epigico iaton edico*: I say mystically, for I could never know the proper signification of every one of these words. I believe that it is of the ancient language of their forefathers which is out of use, like as the old *Hebrew* is not the *Jews* language at this day, and was already changed in the time of the apostles.

They sing also in their common *tabagies*, the praises of their brave captains and *Sagamos* that have killed many of their enemies: which was practised anciently in many nations, and is practised yet amongst us at this day; and is found to be approved and of decency in the holy scripture, in the canticle of *Deborah*, after the overthrow of king *Sisera*. And when young *David* had killed the great *Goliath*, as the king did return victorious into *Jerusalem*, the women came out of all the towns, and met him with tabrets, rebecks and timbrels, dancing and singing merrily, saying by course and answering one another; *Saul hath slain his thousand, and David his ten thousand*. *Atheneus* saith, that the *Gaullois* had

The songs
of the
French-
men.

had poets named *Bards*, whom they revered very much; and those poets did sing *viva voce*, the deeds of virtuous and famous men; but they did write nothing in publick, because that writing maketh men slothful and negligent in learning. Notwithstanding *Carolus Magnus* was of another opinion; for he caused songs to be made in the vulgar tongue, containing the deeds and acts of the ancients, and commanded that the children should be made to learn them by heart, and that they should sing them, to the end that their memory should remain from father to son, and from race to race, and by this means others should be stirred up to do good, and to write the actions and deeds of valiant men. I will further say here by the way, that the *Lacedæmonians* had a certain manner of dancing, which they used in all their feasts and solemnities, which did represent the three ages; to wit, the time past, by the old men, which did say in singing this burthen, *we were heretofore valorous*; the present, by the young men in the flower of their youth, saying, *we be so now at this time*; the future, by the children, who did say, *we shall be so too, when our turn comes*.

What are
the sava-
ges dan-
ces.

I will not busy myself in describing all the fashions of the gambols of their ancient predecessors, but it sufficeth me to say, that the dances of our savages are made without removing from one place, and notwithstanding they are all in a round (or very near) and do dance with vehemency, striking with their feet upon the ground, and lifting themselves up as in half a leap: and as for their hands they hold them close, and their arms in the air, in form of a man

that threateneth with a motion of them. As for the voice, there is but one that singeth, be it man or woman; all the rest do and say, *bet, bet*, as some that breatheth out with vehemency: and at the end of every song, they all make a long and loud exclamation, saying, *béeee*. For to be more nimble, they commonly put themselves stark naked, because that their gowns made of skins do hinder them; and if they have any of their enemies heads or arms, they will carry them about their necks, dancing with this fair jewel, which they will sometimes bite, so great is their hatred even against the dead. And for to end this chapter as we began it, they never make any *tabagie* or feast, but that there is a dance after it; and afterward, if the *Sagamos* be disposed, according to the state of their affairs, he will make an oration of one, two, or three hours continuance, and at every demonstration asking the advice of the company: if they approve his proposition, every one will cry out aloud, *béeee*, in sign of allowing and ratifying of the same; wherein they give him very attentive audience, as we have seen many times. And also when that *Monf. de Poutrincourt* did feast our savages, *Membertou*, after dancing, made an oration with such vehemency, that he made the world to wonder, “ shewing the courtesies and witnesses of
“ friendship that they received of the
“ *Frenchmen*, what they might hope of
“ them hereafter; and how much their
“ presence was profitable, yea necessary
“ unto them, because that they did sleep
“ in security, and had no fear of their
“ enemies, &c.”

C H A P. XVI.

Of the disposition of their bodies, and of their physick and chirurgery.

WE have said in the last chapter, that dancing is profitable for the preservation of health: also it is one of the causes why our savages do delight so much in it. But they have yet some other preservatives which they use very often, that is to say, sweats, whereby they prevent sicknesses: for they be sometimes touched with this *phthisick*, wherewith the men of *Capt. James Quartier* and *Monf. de Monts* were annoyed, which notwithstanding is but seldom; but when it happeneth, they have in *Canada* the tree called *annedda*, which I term the tree of life for the excellency thereof, wherewith they heal themselves; and in the country of the *Armo-*

Annedda.

chiquois, they have *sassafras*, and in *Flo-* *Sassafras.*
rida, esquin. The *Souriquois* which have *Esquin.*
none of these kinds of woods, do use sweats, as we have said, and they have their *Aout-*
moins for *physicians*, who for that purpose do dig in the ground and make a pit, *Stows or*
which they cover with wood and big flat *hot hou-*
stones over it; then they put fire to it by a *ses.*
hole, and the wood being burned, they make a raft with poles, which they cover with all the skins and other coverings which they have, so as no air entereth therein; they cast water upon the said stones, which are fallen in the pit, and do cover them: then they put themselves under the same raft, and with motions, the *Aoutmoin* sing-
ing

ing, and the others saying (as in their dances) *bet, bet, bet*, they put themselves into a sweat. If they happen to fall into sickness, (for one must die in the end) the *Aoutmoin* doth blow, with exercisings, upon the member grieved, doth lick it and suck it; and if that be not sufficient, he letteth the patient blood, scotching his flesh with the point of a knife or something else. If they do not heal them always, one must consider that our physicians do not always cure their patients neither.

The physicians in Florida.

In *Florida* they have their *Jarvars*, who continually carry a bag full of herbs and drugs hanging about their necks to cure the sick, which are for the most part sick of the pox; and they blow upon the parts affected, until they draw the very blood from it.

The Brazilian physicians.

The *Brazilian* physicians are named among them *Pages*, (they be not their *Caraiibes* or soothsayers) who in sucking as aforesaid, they endeavour themselves to heal diseases; but they have one sickness which is incurable, which they call *pians*, proceeding of leachery, which notwithstanding little children sometimes have, even as them in these our parts that be full of pock-holes, which cometh unto them (as I think) from the corruption of their parents. This contagion doth convert itself into boils broader than the thumb, which disperse themselves throughout all the body, and even as far as the face, and being touched therewith, they bear the marks thereof all their life-time, fouler than lepers, as well *Brazilians* as other nations. As for the sick body's diet, they give him not any thing, unless he asketh for it; and without taking any other care of them, they cease not to make their noise and hurly-burly before them, drinking, skipping and singing, according to their custom.

The Souriquois chirurgeons.

As for the wounds, the *Aoutmoins* of our *Souriquois* and their neighbours do lick and suck them, using the beavers kidney, whereof they put a slice upon the wound, and so it doth heal itself with that. The ancient *Germans* (saith *Tacitus*) not having yet the art of chirurgery did the like: *They bring* (saith he) *their wounds to their mothers and to their wives, who are not afraid either to number them, or to suck them; yea they bring them victuals to the camp, and exhort them to fight valiantly: so that sometimes armies ready to run away, have been restored by the prayers of the women, opening their breasts to their husbands. And afterwards they willingly used the womens advices and counsels, wherein they esteem some holy thing to be.*

And among the Christians, many (not caring for God no longer than they receive

good gifts of him) do seek for the healing of their diseases, by charms and help of witches. So among our savages, the *Aoutmoin* having some fore in cure, enquireth often of his devil to know whether he shall heal or no; and hath never no answer but doubtfully, by *if* or *and*. There be some of them which sometimes do make incredible cures, as to heal one that hath his arms cut off. Which notwithstanding, I know not why I should find it strange, when I consider what *Mons. de Busbeque* writeth in his discourse of his embassy into *Turky*, the fourth epistle.

“Coming near unto *Buda*, the basha sent some of his household servants to meet us, with many heralds and officers: but among the rest, a fair troop of young men on horseback, remarkable for the novelty of their order. They had their heads bare and shaven, upon the which they had made a long bloody slash, and thrust divers feathers of birds within the wound, from whence the very pure blood did trickle down; but instead of shrinking at it, they went lifting up their heads with a laughing countenance. Before me marched some foot men, one of them had his arms naked and hanging down on his sides; both which arms above the elbow, were thrust quite thro’ with a knife that stuck fast in them. Another was naked from his head to the navel, having the skin of his back so jagged up and down in two places, athwart which he had made to pass an hatchet of arms, which he did carry in scarf-wise as we would do a cutlase. I saw another of them, who had fixed upon the crown of his head a horseshoe with many nails, and of so long continuance, that the nails were so fixed and fast in the flesh that they stirred not. We entred into *Buda* in this pomp, and were brought into the basha’s house, with whom I treated of my affairs. All this youthful company little caring for their wounds, were in the lower court of the house: and as I was a looking on them, the basha asked of me what I thought of it? All well said I, except that these men do with the skin of their bodies, that which I would not do with my coat; for I would seek to keep it whole. The basha laughed, and we took our leave.”

Our savages do very well sometimes make tryal of their constancy, but we must confess that it is nothing in regard of the things above rehearsed: for all that they do is to put burning coals upon their arms, and to suffer their skins to burn, so that the marks thereof do remain there for ever; which thing they do also on other parts of

The tryal of the savages constancy.

the body, and shew these marks, to say that they have a great courage. But the ancient *Mutius Scævola*, did much more than that, burning courageously his arm in the fire, after he had missed the killing of king *Porfenna*. If this were of my purpose, I would declare the customs of the *Lacedæmonians*, who did make every year a feast to the honour of *Diana*, where the young boys did shew their tryal by whipping of themselves. Item the custom of the ancient *Persians*, who worshipping the sun, which they called *Mithra*, none could be received to that fraternity until he had given his constancy to be known, by four-score kinds of torments, of fire, of water, of fasting, of solitariness, and other things.

Healthful country. But let us return to our savages physicians and surgeons. Although the number of them be but small, yet so it is, that the hope of their living doth not consist wholly in that trade; for as concerning the ordinary sicknesses, they are so rare in those parts, that the verse of *Ovid* may be very well applied unto them:

Si valeant homines ars tua Phæbe jacet:

Long lives. In saying *si, pro quia*. For these do also live a great age, which is commonly seven score or eight score years. And if they had our commodities, to live by forecast and industry to gather up in summer for the winter, I believe they would live above three hundred years: which may be conjectured, by the report that we have made heretofore of an old man in *Florida*, who had lived that great age. In such sort, that it is no particular miracle of that which *Pliny* saith, that the *Pandorians* do live 200 years, or that they of *Taprobane*, are lively and nimble at a hundred years old. For *Memberton* is above a hundred years old, and yet hath not one white hair on his head, and so ordinarily be the others: and that which is more in every age, they have all their teeth, and go bare-headed, not caring at least to make any hats of their skins, as the first did that used them in these parts of the world. For they of *Peloponnesus*, the *Lacedæmonians* did call a hat *cynen*, which *Julius Pollux* saith, to signify a dog's skin. And of these hats do yet the northerly people use at this day, but they are well furred.

Concord is a cause of long life. That which also procureth the health of our savages, is the concord which they have among them, and the small care they take for the commodities of this life, for the which we torment and vex ourselves. They have not that ambition, which in these parts gnaweth and fretteth the minds and spirits, and filleth them with cares, making blinded men to go to the grave in the very flower of their age, and sometimes to serve for a shameful spectacle to a publick death.

Sobriety. I dare also, and that very well, attribute the cause of this disposition and long health of our savages to their manner of life, which is after the ancient fashion, without curiosity; for every one doth grant that sobriety is the mother of health: and although they sometimes exceed in their *tabagies*, or feasts, they diet themselves afterwards well enough, living very often eight days more or less with the smoke of tobacco, not returning to hunting until they be hungry; and that besides being nimble they want no exercise, some way or other. Briefly, there is no mention amongst them of those short ages which do not out-pass forty years, which is the life of certain people of *Æthiopia*, as *Pliny* saith, which do live of locusts, or grasshoppers, salted in the smoke. Also corruption is not among them, which is the fostering mother of physicians and of magistrates, and of the multiplicity of officers, and of publick extortioners, which are created and instituted for to give order unto it, and to cut off the abuses. They have no suits in law, the plague of our lives, to the prosecuting whereof we must consume both our years and our means, and very often one cannot obtain justice, be it either by the ignorance of the judge, to whom the case is disguised, or by his own malice, or by the wickedness of an attorney that will sell his client: and from such afflictions do proceed the tears, fretfulness, and desolations, which bring us to the grave before our time: For Sorrow, saith the wise man, hath killed many, and there is no profit in it. Envy and wrath shorten the life, and care bringeth old age before the time; but the joy of the heart is the life of man, and a man's gladness prolongeth his days.

C H A P. XVII.

The exercises of the men.

Bows and
arrows.

AFTER health, let us speak of exercises which be the maintainers and protectors thereof. Our savages have no base exercise, all their sport being either the wars or hunting, whereof we will speak severally, or in making implements fit for the same, as *Cæsar* witnesseth of the ancient *Germans*, or a dancing, and of that we have already spoken, or in passing the time in play: they make then bows and arrows, bows which be strong and without fineness; as for the arrows, it is an admirable thing, how they can make them so long and so strait with a knife, yea with a stone only, where they have no knives. They feather them with the feathers of an eagle's tail, because they are firm and carry themselves well in the air: and when they want them they will give a beaver's skin, yea, twain for one of those tails. For the head, the savages that have traffick with *Frenchmen* do head them with iron heads which are brought to them; but the *Armouchiquois*, and others more remote, have nothing but bones made like serpents tongues, or with the tails of a certain fish called *sicnau*, the which fish is also found in *Virginia* by the same name, at least the *English* historian doth write in *seekenauk*. This fish is like to a crause lodged within a very hard shell, which shell is of the greatness of a dish, a long tail, likewise hard, for it is shell and sharp. His eyes are upon his back, and is very good meat.

They also make wooden mases, or clubs, in the fashion of an abbot's staff, for the war, and shields which cover all their bodies, as did our ancient *Gaullois*. As for the quivers that is the womens trade.

For fishing: the *Armouchiquois* which have hemp do make fishing lines with it, but ours that have not any manuring of the ground, do truck for them with *Frenchmen*, as also for fishing-hooks to bait for fish; only they make with guts bow-strings, and rackets, which they tie at their feet to go upon the snow a hunting.

Canoes, or
boats.

And for as much as the necessity of life doth constrain them to change place often, whether it be for fishing (for every place hath its particular fish, which come thither in certain season) they have need of horses in their remove for to carry their stuff. Those horses be canoes and small boats made of barks of trees, which go as swiftly as may be without sails: when

they remove they put all that they have into them, wives, children, dogs, kettles, hatches, *matachias*, bows, arrows, quivers, skins, and the coverings of their houses. They are made in such sort, that one must not stir nor stand up when he is in them, but crouching or sitting in the bottom, otherwise the merchandize would overturn: they are four foot broad, or thereabouts, in the midst, and are sharp towards the ends, and the nose is made rising, for to pass commodiously upon the waves. I have said that they make them of the barks of trees, for the keeping whereof in measure, they garnish them within with half circles of cedar wood, a wood very supple and pliable, whereof *Noah's ark* was made: and to the end they leak not, they cover the seams, which join the said barks together, which they make of roots, with the gum of fir-trees. They also make some of willows very properly, which they cover with the said gum of fir-trees; a thing which witnesseth that they lack no wit, where necessity presseth them.

Many nations of these parts have had the like in times past. If we seek in the holy scripture, we shall find that *Moses's* mother, seeing she could hide her child no longer, she did put him in a little chest, that is to say, in a little canoe: for *Noah's ark*, and this same small chest is one same word פֶּנֶת in *Hebrew*, made of reed, and daubed it with slime and pitch; then put the child in it, and laid it among the bull-rushes by the shore of the river. And the prophet *Isaiab* threatening the *Æthiopians* and *Affyrians*, *Woe*, saith he, unto the country which sendeth by sea ambassadors in paper vessels (or rushes) upon the waters, saying, messengers go ye quickly, &c. The *Ægyptians*, neighbours to the *Æthiopians* had in the time of *Julius Cæsar*, the same vessels, that is to say, of paper, which is a rind of a bark of a tree, witness *Lucan* in these verses:

Conseritur bibula Memphitis cymba papyro.

But let us come from the east and south to the north: *Pliny* saith, that anciently the *Englishmen* and *Scotchmen* fetched tin in the land of *Mitis*, with canoes of willows sewed in leather. *Solin* saith as much, and *Isidore*, which calleth this fashion of canoes, carabus, made of willows, and environed with ox-hides all raw; *Which*, saith he, the *Saxon*

Saxon pirates do use, who with those instruments are swift in fight. Sidoneus de Polignac, speaking of the same Saxons saith,

—Cui pelle salam fulcare Britannum
Ludus, Et affuto glaucum mare findere
lembo.

The savages of the north, towards Labrador, have certain small canoes of thirteen or fourteen foot long, and two foot broad, made of this fashion, all covered with leather, yea, over-head, and there is but one hole in the midst, where the man putteth himself on his knees, having half his body out, so that he cannot perish, furnishing his vessels with victuals before he cometh in it. I dare believe, that the fables of the syrens, or mermaidens, come from that, the dunces esteeming that they were fish, half men or women, as they have feigned centaurs by seeing men on horseback.

The original of the syren fables.

Canoes of hollowed trees.

The *Armouchiquois*, *Virginians*, *Floridians*, and *Brasilians*, do make another fashion of canoes, for having neither hatchets nor knives, except some copper ones, they burn a great tree very strait at the foot, and fell it down; then they take such length as they will, and use to burn it instead of sawing it, scraping the burnt part of the tree with stones: and for the hollowing of the vessel, they do continue the same. In one of those boats six men will sail with some stuff, and will make long voyages: but these kind of canoes are heavier than the others.

They also make long voyages by land as well as by sea, and they will undertake (a thing incredible) to go 20 or 30, yea, 40 leagues through the woods, without meeting with any path or inn, and without carrying any victuals but tobacco, and a tinder box, with their bow in hand, and their quiver at their backs; and we in *France* are much troubled when we have never so little lost our way in some great forest. If they be pressed with thirst, they have the skill to suck the trees, from whence do trickle down a sweet and very pleasant liquor, as myself have tried it sometimes.

They are commonly birch-trees.

Pottery of earth.

In the countries where they use tillage, as in that of the *Armouchiquois*, and farther off, the men do make an infinite number of earthen-pots, like in fashion to night-caps, in which they seeth their meats, flesh, fish, beans, corn, pumpions, &c. Our *Souriquois* did so anciently, and did till the ground; but since that *Frenchmen* do bring unto them kettles, beans, pease, bisket and other food, they are become slothful, and make no more account of those exercises. But as for the *Armouchiquois* which have yet no commerce with us, and them that are further

off, they till the ground, do fatten it with shells of fish, they have their families distinct, and their plots of ground about them; contrary to the ancient *Germans* which (as *Cæsar* saith) had not any field proper, neither did they dwell above a year in one place, having almost no other living than milk, flesh, and cheese, thinking it too tedious a thing for them to tarry a whole year of purpose for to reap a harvest. Which is also the humour of our *Souriquois* and *Canadians*, who, and all others (as we must needs confess) are nothing laborious but in hunting. For, the manuring of the ground, the women do take the greatest pains in it, who amongst them do not command at home, and do not make their husbands to go to the market, as they do in many provinces in these our parts, and especially in the country of Jealousy.

As for the tillage of the *Floridians*, The Floridians hear what *Laudonniere* saith of it; they sow their corn twice a year, that is to say, in *March* and in *June*, and all in one and the self-same land. The said mill from the time that it is sowed until it be ready to be reaped, is not above three months in the ground: The six other months they suffer the ground to rest. They also gather fair pumpions and very good beans, they do not dung their land; only when they will sow, they set the weeds on fire which are grown during the six months, and burn them all. They till their land with an instrument of wood, which is made like to a broad pickax, wherewith they dig their vines in *France*; they put two grains of mill together. When the lands are to be sowed, the king commandeth one of his men to call his subjects together every day to come to labour, during the which, the king causeth great store of that drink whereof we have spoken to be made. In the season that the corn is gathered, it is all carried into the common store-house, where it is distributed to every one according to his quality. They sow but so much as they think will serve them for six months, and that very hardly; for during the winter they retire themselves three or four months of the year into the woods; where they make little houses of palm leaves, to lodge themselves in, and there do live of acorns, of fish which they take, of oysters, or stags, turkey-hens and other beasts that they take.

Their living during the winter.

And seeing they have towns and houses, The towns or cabins I may yet well put this among of the savages. As for the towns, they be multitudes of cabins, made somewhat pyramid wise; others in form of a cottage, others like garden bowers, compassed as it were with high pales of trees joined one near the other, even as I have set

set out the town of *Hochelaga*, in my map of the great river of *Canada*. Furthermore, one must not marvel of this shape of a town, which might seem simple; seeing that the fairest towns of *Muscovy* have no better inclosure. The ancient *Lacedæmonians* would have no other walls than their courage and valour: Before the general flood *Cain* did build a town, which he named *Enoch* (I believe it was no otherwise made than those of our savages) but he did feel the wrath of God which pursued him, and had lost all assurance. Men had but cabins and pavillions, and as it is written of *Jabal* the son of *Ada*; *that he was the father of the dwellers in Tabernacles and of Shepherds*. After the flood they built the tower of *Babel*, but this was folly. *Tacitus* writing of the manners of the *Germans*, saith that in his time they had not any use neither of lime nor stones, the *English Britons* much less. Our *Gaullois* were then, from many ages before, come to civility; but yet were they a long time in the beginning without any other habitations than cabins; and the first *Gaullois* king that built towns and houses, was *Magus*, who succeeded his father the wise *Samothès*, three hundred years after the flood, eight years after the nativity of *Abraham*, and the one and fiftieth year of the reign of *Ninus*, as *Berosius* the *Chaldean* doth say. And although they had buildings, they lay notwithstanding on the ground upon skins, like to our savages. And as in the ancient times the names were given which contained the qualities

and acts of persons, *Magus* was so called, because he was the first builder. For in the *Scythian* and *Armenian* language (from whence our *Gaullois* came shortly after the flood) and in the ancient *Gaullois* tongue, *Magus* signifieth a builder, saith the same author; and so hath *John Annius* of *Viterbo* very well marked; from whence came our names of the towns of *Rothomagus*, *Neomagus*, *Noviomagus*. So likewise *Samothès* signifieth wise, and the old *Gaullois* philosophers were (before the *Druids*) called *Samothéans*, as *Diogenes Laertius* reporteth, who confesseth that philosophy did begin from them whom the *Greek* vanity did call *Barbarous*.

I will add here for an exercise of our savages their play at hazard, whereunto they are so addicted that sometimes they play out all that they have; and *James Quartier* writeth the same of them of *Canada*, in the time that he was there. I have seen a kind of game that they have, but not thinking then to write this treaty, I took no heed to it. They put some number of beans coloured and painted of the one side in a platter; and having stretched out a skin on the ground, they play thereupon, striking with the dish upon this skin, and by that means the beans do skip in the air, and do not all fall on that part that they be coloured; and in that consisteth the chance and hazard; and according to their chance they have a certain number of quills made of rushes, which they distribute to him that winneth for to keep the reckoning.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of the womens exercises.

THE woman was given in the beginning unto man, not only for to aid and assist him, but also to be the storehouse of generation. Their first exercise then that I will attribute unto her, after that she is married is to bring forth goodly children, and to assist her husband in this work; for this is the end of marriage. And therefore is she very well and fitly called in *Hebrew* נקבה that is to say *Pierced*, because it is meet that she be pierced, if she will imitate our common mother the earth, which in the spring time, desirous to bring forth, openeth her bosom for to receive the rain and dews which the heaven poureth upon her. Now I find that this exercise shall be requisite for them that will inhabit *New France* to bring

forth there store of creatures, which shall sing the praises of God. There is land enough to nourish them, so that they be willing to work; and their condition shall not be so miserable as it is with many in these parts, which do seek to employ themselves and do not find wherein; and albeit they find it, yet very often is their labour unrewarded and unfruitful. But in that country he that will take pleasure, and as it were sport himself with sweet labour, he shall be assured to live out of bondage, and that his children shall yet be in better state than himself was. The first exercise then of the woman is to work in generation, which is a labour so fair and so meritorious, that the great apostle *St. Paul*, to console them in the pains they

The woman is called Pierced.

take in that labour hath said ; *that the woman shall be saved through bearing of children, if they remain in faith, and love, and holiness with modesty.* That is to say, if she instruct them in such sort that the godliness of the mother may be known by the good institution of the children.

This first and chiefest article being mentioned, let us come to the others. Our savage women after they have brought forth the fruit of this exercise, by I know not what practice, do observe without law that which was commanded in the law of *Moses* touching purification. For they shut themselves up a-part, and know not their husbands for thirty yea forty days ; during which time they do not leave for all that from going here and there, where they have business, carrying their children with them, and taking care for them.

I have said in the chapter of the *tabagie* that among the savages, the women are not in as good a condition as they were anciently among the *Gaullois* and *Germans*. For (by the report of *James Quartier* himself) they labour more than the men, saith he, whether it be in fishing, be it in tilling or in any thing else. And notwithstanding they are neither forced, nor tormented ; but they are neither in their *tabagies* nor in their councils, and do the servile business, for want of servants. If there be any venison killed, they go to slay it and to fetch it, yea were it three leagues off ; and they must find it out by the only circumstance that shall be described to them by words. They that have prisoners do also employ them to that, and to other labours, as to go fetch wood with their wives ; which is folly in them to go fetch dry and rotten wood very far off for to warm them, although they be in the midst of a forest. True it is that the smoke is very irksome to them, which it may be is the cause thereof.

Matts.

The currying and dressing of skins.

Touching their smaller exercises ; when the winter doth approach, they prepare that which is necessary to oppose themselves against this rigorous adversary, and make matts of rushes, wherewith they garnish their cabins, and others to sit upon, and all very artificially ; yea also colouring their rushes, they make partitions in their works, like to them that our gardeners do make in their garden knots, with such measure and proportion as nothing is found amiss therein. And because that the body must also be cloathed, they curry and supple the skins of beavers, stags and others, as well as can be done here. If they be little they sew many together,

and make cloaks, sleeves, stockings, and shoes, upon all which things they make works which have a very good grace.

Item, they make panniers of rushes and Panniers. roots, for to put their necessities in, as corn, beans, pease, flesh, fish and other things. They make also purses of lea- Purses.

ther, upon which they make works worthy of admiration, with the hairs of porcupines, coloured with red, black, Dies.

white and blue, which be the colours that they make, so lively that ours seem in nothing to be comparable to them. They Dishes, also exercise themselves in making dishes of bark to drink, and put their meats in, which are very fair according to the stuff.

Item, scarfs, necklaces and bracelets which they and the men do wear, which they Mata- call *matachias*, are of their making. chias.

When the barks of trees must be taken off in the spring-time, or in summer, therewith to cover their houses, it is they which do that work ; as likewise they labour in the making of canoes and small Canoes.

boats, when they are to be made ; and as for the tilling of the ground (in the countries where they use it) they take therein more pains than the men, who do play the gentlemen, and have no care but in hunting, or of wars. And notwithstanding all their labours, yet commonly they love their husbands more than the women

The women of these our parts. For none of them are mens love seen to marry again upon their graves, to their husbands, that is to say presently after their decease,

but rather do tarry a long time. And if he hath been killed, they will eat no flesh nor will condescend to second marriage until they have seen the revenge thereof made ; a testimony both of true love (which is scarce found among us) and also of chastity. Also it happeneth very seldom that they have any divorcements, but such as are voluntary ; and if they were Christians they would be families with whom God would dwell and be well pleased, as it is meet it should be so, for to have perfect contentment ; for otherwise marriage is but torment and tribulation ; which the *Hebrews*, great speculators and searchers into holy things, by a subtle animadversion, have very well noted, for *Aben Hezra* saith, that in the name of the man *שׁוֹן* and of the woman *שׁוֹן* the name of God, *Yah*, is contained ; and if the two letters which do make this name of God be taken away, there shall remain these two words *שׁוֹן שׁוֹן* which do signify fire and fire ; that is to say, that God being taken away it is but anguish, tribulation, bitterness and grief.

C H A P. XIX.

Of their civility.

ONE must not hope to find in our savages that civility which the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* did require in the disciples of our Lord. For which their over great curiosity he made them such answer as they deserved; for they had brought in ceremonies and customs which were repugnant to God's commandment, which they would have streightly to be observed, teaching ungodliness under the name of *piety*. For if a wicked child did give and put into the common box of the temple that which appertained to his father, or to his mother, they (for to draw this profit) did justify this wicked son, against the commandment of God, who hath above all things commended and commanded the childrens obedience and reverence towards them that have brought them into the world, which are the image of God, who hath no need of our goods, and doth not accept the oblation that is made unto him of the goods of another. The same *Scribes* and *Pharisees* did also bring in a civility to wash hands, which our Lord doth not blame but in as much as they made the not observing of it to be a great sin.

I have no cause to praise our savages in those kind of civilities, for they wash not themselves at meals; unless they be monstrously foul; and not having any use of linnen, when their hands be greasy they are constrained to wipe them on hairs, or upon their dogs hairs. They make no curiosity of belching, being at meals; which the *Germans* and others in these parts do as well as they. Not having the art of joyners work they dine upon the broad table of the world, spreading a skin where they eat their meat, and sit on the ground. The *Turks* also do the same. Our ancient *Gaullois* were no better than they, who (*Diodorus* saith) did the same, spreading on the ground dogs skins, or wolves skins, upon which they did dine and sup, making themselves to be served by young boys. The *Germans* were more rude; for they had not learning, philosophy, nor so much delicateness as our nation, which *Cæsar* saith to have had the use of a thousand things by the means of their navigations on the seas, whereby they helped the bordering people of *Germany*, who used some small civility, and more humanity than the o-

thers of their nation, by reason of the communication they had with our people.

As for the compliments that they use one towards another coming from far, they may very briefly be recited; for we have many times seen savage strangers to arrive in *Port Royal*, who being landed, without any discourse, went strait to *Membertou's* cabin, where they sat down, taking tobacco, and having well drunken of it, did give the tobacco-pipe to him that seemed to be the worthiest person, and after consequently to the others; then some half an hour after they did begin to speak. When they arrived at our lodgings, their salutation was, *Ho, ho, ho*, and so they do ordinarily; but for making of curtesies and kissing of hands they have no skill; except some particulars which endeavoured themselves to be conformable unto us, and seldom came they to see us without a hat, to the end they might salute us with a more solemn action.

The savages salutations.

The *Floridians* do make no enterprise, before they assemble their counsel divers times; and in these assemblies when they arrive they salute one another. The *Paraousti* (whom *Laudonniere* calleth king) placeth himself alone upon a seat which is higher than the others; where, one after another, they come to salute him, and the eldest begin their salutation, lifting up twice both their hands as high as their faces, saying *Ha, be, ya, ba, ha*, and the others do answer, *Ha, ba*. And they sit every one upon seats which are about the council-chamber.

The Floridians salutations.

Now whether the salutation *Ho, ho*, doth signify any thing or no (for I know no particular signification in it) yet notwithstanding it is a salutation of joy, and the only voice *Ho, ho*, cannot be made but almost in laughing, testifying thereby that they are glad to see their friends. The *Greeks* have never had any thing else in their salutations, but a witnessing of joy by their word *chaire*, which signifieth, *be ye merry*; which *Plato* disliking was of advice that it were better to say *sophroney*, *be ye wise*. The *Latins* have had their *ave*, which is a wish of happiness; sometimes also *salve*, which is a wishing of health to whom one saluteth. The *Hebrews* had the verb *shalum* which is a word of peace and of health. According unto which our Saviour did command

mand his apostles to salute the houses where they should enter in, that is to say, according to the interpretation of the common translation, to pronounce peace unto them; which salutation of peace was from the first ages amongst the people of God. For it is written that *Jethro*, *Moses's* father in law, coming to rejoice with him for the graces that God had done unto him and unto his people, by the delivering of them from the land of *Ægypt*, *Moses* went out to meet his father-in-law, and having bowed himself kissed him; and they saluted one another with words of peace. We Frenchmen do say, *Dieu vous gard*, that is, God keep you, *Dieu vous doint le bon jour*, God give you good morrow; Item, *Le bon soir*, good evening. Notwithstanding there be many, who ignorantly do say, *Je vous donne, Le bon jour, Le bon soir*, that is to say, I give (or bid) you good morrow, good evening; a manner of speech which would be more decent, by desiring and praying to God that it be so. Angels have sometimes saluted men, as he who did say to *Gideon*: *Most strong and valiant man, the Lord is with thee*. But God saluteth no body; for it belongeth to him to give salvation, and not to wish it by prayer.

Salutation
in sneez-
ing.

The heathen had yet a civility in saluting them which did sneeze, which custom we have kept of them. "And the emperor *Tiberius*, the saddest man in the world (saith *Pliny*) would be saluted in sneezing, although he were in his coach, &c. All those ceremonies and institutions (saith the same author) are come from the opinion of them which think that the gods will assist our affairs." Out of these words may be easily conjectured that the salutations of the heathen were prayers and vows for health, or other felicity, that they made to the gods.

And as they did such things in meetings,

so did they use the word *vale* (be ye well, be ye in health, as we use to say in *English* fare you well) at the departure; yea in letters and epistles, which also they began always with these words: *If you be in health, it is well; I am in health*. But *Seneca* saith that this good custom was broken in his time; as at this day among us it is to write clownish like to put in the beginning of a letter, *God keep you in health*; which was in times past a holy and Christian manner of writing. Instead of this *vale*, which is often found in the holy scriptures, we say in our language *A Dieu* God be with you, wishing not only health to our friend, but also that God do keep him. The ancient fashion in the beginning of letters.

But our savages have not any salutation at the departure, but only the *A Dieu* which they have learned of us. And to finish this discourse where we began, they are to be commended for their obedience that they yield to their fathers and mothers, to whose commandments they obey, do nourish them in their old age, and defend them against their enemies. The savages obedient to their parents. And here with us (Oh miserable thing!) there is often seen the childrens suits in law against their parents; books of the fatherly power are seen published, concerning the childrens withdrawing from their obedience. An unworthy act for children that be Christians, to whom may be applied the speeches of *Turnus Hernonius*, recited in *Titus Livius*, saying, *that there is no speedier deciding and taking up of any matter, than between the father and the son; a thing that might be dispatched in few words; for if he would not obey and give place to his father, undoubtedly evil should come to him*. And the word of God which is a thunder-bolt saith: *Cursed be he who honoureth not his father and his mother, and all the people shall say Amen*.

CHAP. XX.

Of the virtues and vices of the savages.

VIRTUE like unto wisdom, disdaineth not to be lodged under a mean roof. The northerly nations are the last that have been brought to civility; and notwithstanding, before that civility, they have done great actions. Our savages, although they be naked, are not void of those virtues, that are found in men of civility; for every one (saith *Aristotle*) hath in him, even from his birth, the principles

and seeds of virtue. Taking then the four virtues by their springs, we shall find that they participate much of them. For first concerning fortitude and courage, they have thereof as much as any nation of the savages (I speak of our *Souriquois* and of their allied) in such sort, that ten of them will always adventure themselves against twenty *Armouchiquois*; not that they be altogether without fear (a thing which the fore-

fore-alleged *Aristotle* doth reproach to the ancient *Celtien-Gaullois*, who feared nothing, neither the motions of the earth, nor the tempests of the sea, saying, that this was the property of an harebrain fellow) but with that courage they have, they esteem that wisdom giveth unto them much advantage. They fear then, but it is that which all wise men do fear, and that is death, which is terrible and dreadful; as she that riseth all, through which she passeth. They fear shame and reproach, but this fear is cousin-german to virtue. They are stirred to do good by honour, for as much as he, amongst them, is always honoured, and getteth renown to himself that hath done some fair exploit. Having these things proper unto them, they are in a mediocrity, which is the very feat of virtue. One point maketh this virtue of force and courage imperfect in them, that is, they are too revengeful; and in that they put their sovereign contentment, which inclineth to brutishness. But they are not alone, for all those nations how far soever they may stretch themselves from one pole to the other, are infected with this vice. The Christian religion only may bring them to reason, as in some sort she doth with us (I say in some sort) because that we have men very imperfect, as well as the savages.

Temper-
ance.

Temperance is another virtue, consisting in the mediocrity in things that concern the pleasures of the body; for as for that which concerneth the mind he is not called temperate or intemperate, who is moved with ambition, or with desire to learn, or that employeth his time in toys. And for that which concerneth the body, temperance or intemperance, is not applied to all things that might be subject to our senses, unless it be by accident, as to colour, to a picture; *item*, to flowers and good scents; *item*, to songs and hearing of orations, or comedies; but rather to that which is subject to feeling, and to that which smelling seeketh by arts, as in eating and drinking, in perfumes, in the venereal act, to tennis play, to wrestling, to running, and such like. Now all these things do depend of the will, which being so, it is the part of a man to know how to bridle his appetites.

Our savages have not all the qualities requisite for the perfection of this virtue; for as for meats we must acknowledge their intemperance, when they have where-with, and they do eat perpetually, yea so far as to rise in the night to banquet. But seeing that in these our parts many are as vicious as they, I will not be too rigorous a censurer of them. As for the other actions there is no more to be

reproved in them than in us; yea I will say less, in that which concerneth the venereal action, whereto they are little addicted; not comprehending here, for all that, them of *Florida*, and in hotter countries, of whom we have spoken heretofore.

Liberality is a virtue as worthy praise, Liberal- as avarice and prodigality, her opposites; ity. are blame-worthy. It consisteth in giving and receiving, but rather in giving in time and place, and according to occasion, without excess. This virtue is proper and befitting great personages, which be as it were stewards of the goods of the earth, which God hath put into their hands, for to use them liberally, that is to say to distribute them to him that hath none, not being excessive in needless expences, nor too sparing where magnificence is to be shewn.

Our savages are praise-worthy in the exercise of this virtue, according to their poverty; for as we have said before, when they visit one another, they give mutual presents one to the other. And when some *French Sagamos* cometh to them, they do the like with him, casting at his feet some bundle of beavers, or other furs, which be all their riches; and so did they to *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, but he took them not to his own proper use, but rather put them into *Monf. de Monts's* store-house, because he would not go against the privilege given unto him. This custom of the said savages proceedeth but from a liberal mind, and which hath some generosity. And although they be very glad when the like is done unto them, yet so it falleth out, that they begin the venture, and put themselves in hazard to lose their merchandise. And who is he amongst us that doth more than they, that is to say, which giveth but with intention to receive? the poet saith,

Nemo suas gratis perdere vellet opes.

“ There is no body that giveth, intending to lose.”

If a great personage giveth to a mean man, that is for to draw some service from him. Even that which is given to the poor, is to receive the hundred-fold, according to the promise of the gospel; and for to shew the gallantness of our said savages; they do not willingly cheapen, and do content themselves with that which is given them honestly with a willing mind, disdaining and blaming the fashions of our petty merchants, which be an hour a cheapning for to buy a beaver-skin; as I saw being at the river *St. John*, whereof I have spoken heretofore, that they called a young merchant of *St. Malo*, *Mercato-*
ria,

ria, which is a word of reproach among them, borrowed of the *Basques*, signifying as it were, a haggling fellow. Finally, they have nothing in them but frankness and liberality in their exchanging. And seeing the base manners of some of our men, they demanded sometimes, what they came to seek for in their country, saying, that they came not into ours; and seeing that we are richer than they, we should give them liberally that which we have.

Out of this virtue, there groweth in them a magnificence which cannot appear, and remaineth hidden, but for all that they are provoked by it, doing all they can for to welcome their friends. And *Membertou* was very desirous that so much honour should be done unto him as to shoot off our cannons when he did arrive, because he saw that the same was done to the *French* captains in such a case, saying that it was due unto him, seeing that he was a *Sagamos*.

Here hospitality may be mentioned; but having spoken thereof heretofore, I will refer the reader to the chapter of the *tabagie*, where I give them the praise attributed to the *Gaullois* and ancient *Frenchmen* for this respect. True it is that in some places there be some which be friends for the time, and take their advantage in necessity, as hath been noted in *Laudonniere's* voyage. But we cannot accuse them in that, lest we also accuse ourselves, which do the like. One thing I will say that belongeth to fatherly piety, that the children are not so cursed as to despise their parents in old age, but do provide for them with venison, as the *storks* do towards them that have ingendred them. A thing which is the shame of many Christians, who being weary of their parents long life, do oftentimes strip them before they go to bed, and so do leave them naked.

They use also humanity and mercy towards their enemies wives and little children, whose lives they spare, but they remain their prisoners for to serve them, according to the ancient right of servitude, brought in amongst all the nations of the other world, against the natural liberty. But as for the men of defence they spare none, but kill as many of them as they can catch.

As for justice, they have not any law either divine or human, but that which nature teacheth them, that one must not offend another. So have they quarrels very seldom; and if any such thing do chance to happen, the *Sagamos* quieteth all, and doth justice to him that is offended, giving some bastinadoes to the wrong doer, or condemning him to make

some presents to the other, for to pacify him, which is some form of dominion. If it be one of their prisoners, that hath offended, he is in danger to go to pot. For after he is killed no body will revenge his death: the same consideration is in these parts of the world; there is no account made of a man's life that hath no support.

One day there was an *Armouchiquois* woman, prisoner, who had caused a country-Execution of justice. man of hers, prisoner, to escape away; and to the end to travel and pass on the way, she had stolen from *Membertou's* cabin a tinder-box (for without that they can do nothing) and a hatchet; which being come to the knowledge of the savages, they would not proceed on the execution thereof near unto us, but they went to cabin themselves four or five leagues from *Port Royal*, where she was killed: and because she was a woman, our savages wives and daughters did execute her. *Kinibech-coech*, a young maid of eighteen years of age, fair and well spotted with colours, gave her the first stroke in the throat, which was with a knife; another maid of the same age, handsome enough, called *Metembroech*, followed on, and the daughter of *Membertou*, which we called *Membertou-ech-coech*, made an end. We reproved them sharply for this cruelty, whereof they were all ashamed, and durst not shew themselves any more. This is their form of justice.

Another time a man and a woman, prisoners, went clean away, without tinder-box or any provision of meat; which was hard to be performed, as well for the great distance of way, which was above three hundred leagues by land, because it behoved them to go secretly, and to take heed from meeting with any savages. Nevertheless those poor souls pulled off the bark of certain trees, and made a little boat with the bark of them, wherein they crossed the bay *Francoise*, and got to the other shore, over-against *Port Royal*, shortning their way above one hundred and fifty leagues; and got home into their country of the *Armouchiquois*.

I have said in some place that they are not laborious, but in hunting and fishing, loving also the labour taken by sea; slothful at all other painful exercise, as in the manuring of the ground, and in our mechanical trades; also to grind corn for their own use. For sometimes they will rather seeth it in grains, than to grind it by handy strength. Yet notwithstanding they will not be unprofitable; for there will be some means to employ them, to that whereunto they be inclined by nature, without forcing it; as heretofore did the *Lacedæmonians* to the

The piety of the savages towards their parents.

Wherein the savages are diligent and slothful.

the young men of their commonwealth. As for the children having yet taken no bias, it will be easier to keep them at home and to employ them in those things that

shall be thought fit: howsoever it be, hunting is no bad thing, nor fishing neither. Let us see then how they behave themselves therein.

C H A P. XXI.

Of their hunting.

GOD, before sin, gave for food unto man, every herb bearing seed upon all the earth, and every tree wherein is the fruit of a tree bearing seed; without making mention of the spilling of the blood of beasts: and notwithstanding after the banishment from the garden of pleasure, the labour ordained for the punishment of the said sin, required a stronger and more substantial food than the former; so man full of carnality, accustomed himself to feed upon flesh, and did tame certain number of beasts for to serve him to that effect; though some would say, that before the flood no flesh was eaten: for in vain had *Abel* been a shepherd, and *Jabel* father of shepherds. But after the flood, God renewing his covenant with man; *the fear and dread of you, saith the Lord, shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the heaven, with all that moveth on the earth, and upon all the fishes of the sea; they are given into your hands; all that moveth, having life, shall be unto you for meat.*

Upon this privilege is formed the right of hunting; the noblest right of all rights that be in the use of man, seeing that God is the author of it. And therefore no marvel if kings and their nobility have reserved it unto them, by a well concluding reason, that if they command unto men, with far better reason may they command unto beasts. And if they have the administration of justice to judge malefactors, to overcome rebels, and to bring to human society wild and savage men; with far better reason shall they have it for to do the same towards the creatures of the air, of the forests and of the fields. As for them of the sea, we will speak of them in another place. And seeing that kings have been in the beginning chosen by the people, for to keep and defend them from their enemies, whilst that they are at their necessary works; and to make war as much as need is for the reparation of injury, and recovery of that which hath been wrongfully usurped, or taken away; it is very reasonable and decent, that as well them as the nobility that do assist and serve them in those things, have the exercise of hunt-

ing, which is an image of war, to the end to rouse up the mind and to be always nimble, ready to take horse, for to go to encounter with the enemy, to lie in ambush, to assail him, to chace him, to trample him under foot. There is another and first aim in hunting, it is the food of man, whereunto it is destinated, as is known by the place of scripture afore alleged: yea, I say so destinated, that in the holy language, it is but one and the self-same word *ו'צ* for to signify hunting (or venison) and meat: as among a hundred places this of the 132d psalm. Where our God having chosen *Sion* for his habitation and perpetual rest, promiseth unto her, that he will abundantly bless her victuals, and will satisfy her poor with bread. Upon which place, *St. Hierome* termeth *venison*, that which the other translators do call *victuals*, better to the purpose than *widow* in the common translation.

The first
end of
hunting

Hunting then having been granted unto man by a heavenly privilege, the savages throughout all the *West-Indies*, do exercise themselves therein without distinction of persons, not having that fair order established in these parts, whereby some are born for the government of the people and the defence of the country, others for the exercising of arts and the tillage of the ground, in such sort, that by this fair œconomy every one liveth in safety.

This hunting is made amongst them chiefly in the winter. For all the spring and summer time, and part of autumn, having fish abundantly for them and their friends, without taking any pains, they do not much seek for other food. But in winter when that fish goeth away, feeling the cold, they forsake the sea shores and cabin themselves within the woods, where they know to have any prey; which is done as far as the countries that approach near to the *Tropic of Cancer*. In the countries where beavers are, as throughout all the great river of *Canada*, and upon the coasts of the *ocean*, as far as the country of the *Armouchiquois*, they do winter upon the shores of lakes, for the fishing of the said beavers, whereof we will speak in due place:

The beginning of the right of hunting.

For what end kings have been chosen.

place: but first let us speak of the *ellan*, which they call *aptaptou*, and our *Basques* *originac*.

The description of the *ellan* or stag.

It is the tallest creature that is, next unto the *dromedary* and *camel*, for it is higher than the horse. His hairs be commonly of grey colour, and sometimes of dun or fallow, almost as long as the fingers of one's hand: his head is very long, and hath almost an infinite order of teeth: he beareth his horns double like the stag, but as broad as a plank, and three foot long, garnished with sprigs growing upward all along upon one side: his feet be forked as the stags, but much more flat: his flesh is short and very delicate: he feedeth in the meadows, and liveth also of the tender crops of trees. It is the plentifullest thing that the savages have, next to fish.

Fit time to hunt.

We may say then, that the best and fittest time for the said savages to all hunting by land is the winter season, when that the forests be hoary, and the snow deep, and especially if upon the snow, there comes a hard frost which doth harden it. Then being well cloathed with a cloak furred with beavers, and sleeves on the arms tied together with a latch; item stockings made with the leather of *ellans*, like to buff, (which they tie at their girdles) and shoes on their feet of the same leather, very finely made; they go with their bow in hand, and the quiver on their backs, that way that their *Aoutmoin* hath shewn them (for we have said heretofore that they consult with the oracle when they are hungry) or somewhere else, where they think they shall not lose their time and labour. They have dogs or hounds almost like to foxes in form and bigness, and of hairs of all colours, which follow them; and although they do not spend nor call, nevertheless they can very well find the haunt of the beast which they seek for, which being found, they pursue her courageously, and they never give her over until they have her down: and for to follow the game more easily, they tie rackets (thrice as great as ours) under their feet, with the which they run swiftly upon that hard snow without sinking: if it be not hard enough, yet they give not over hunting, but will follow the chase three days together, if need be. Finally, having wounded her to death, they so tire her with their hounds, that she is forced to fall down; then they cut and rip up her belly, give relief to the hunters, and take their share of it. One must not think that they eat the flesh raw, as some do imagine, and as *James Quartier* himself doth write, for they carry always, going through the woods, a tinder-box before their breasts for to make fire when hunting is done, where the night doth force them to tarry.

Rackets at their feet.

We went once to the spoil of an *ellan*, left dead upon the brink of a great brook, about two leagues and an half within the lands; where we passed the night, having taken the snows for to lodge us. We made there a very dainty feast with this venison, more tender than any other kind of flesh; and after the roast we had sodden meat, and broth abundantly, made ready at an instant by a savage, who did frame with his hatchet, a tubb or trough of the body of a tree, in which he boiled his flesh. A thing which I have admired, and having propounded it to many, who thought themselves to have good wits, could not find out the invention of it, which notwithstanding is but brief, which is, to put stones made red hot in the fire in the said trough, and to renew them until the meat be sod. *Joseph Acosta* reciteth, that the savages of *Peru* do the same.

Fair invention of a savage for the kitchen.

The chief hunter being returned to the cabins telleth the women what he hath done, and that in such a place, which he nameth to them, they shall find the venison. It is the said womens duty to go and slay the *ellan*, the dear, stag, bear, or other game, and to bring it home. Then they make good cheer as long as there is any provision; and he that hath hunted, is he that hath the lesser share; for their custom is, that he must serve the others, and eateth none of his own purchase. As long as the winter continueth, they lack none of it; and there hath been some one savage, that in a hard season hath killed fifty of them for his part, as I have sometimes heard.

The womens duty.

As for the hunting of the beaver, it is also in winter that chiefly they use it, for two reasons; one of them we have alleged heretofore, the other because that after winter this beast sheddeth her hairs, and hath no furr in summer. Besides, that when in such a season they would seek out for beavers, hardly should they meet with any, because this creature is amphibious, that is to say, earthy and waterish, and more waterish than otherwise; and having no invention to take her in the water, they might be in danger to lose their pains. Notwithstanding if by chance they meet any in summer-time, spring-time, or autumn, they fail not to eat it.

Why the beaver is not taken in summer.

Behold then how they catch them in winter time, and with most profit. The beaver is a beast very near as big as a shorn sheep, the young ones be less, the colour of his hair is of a chefnut colour: his feet be short, the fore-feet have claws, and the hinder feet with fins, like geese: the tail is as it were scaled, almost of the form of a soal-fish, notwithstanding the scale goeth not off: it is the best and delicatest part of the beast. As for the head, it

The description and fishing of the beaver.

it is short and almost round, having two ranks of jaws at the sides, and before four great sharp teeth one by another, two above and two beneath: with these teeth he cutteth small trees and poles in fundry pieces, wherewith he buildeth his house.

The beavers cabin or den.

That which I say is an admirable and incredible thing. This creature lodgeth himself upon the brinks of lakes, and there he first maketh his couch with straw or other things fit to lie upon, as well for him as for his female; raiseth a vault with his wood, cut and prepared, which he covereth with turf, in such sort that no wind enters therein, forasmuch as all is covered and shut up, except one hole which leadeth under the water, and by that way he goeth forth to walk where he listeth. And because the waters of the lakes do sometimes rise, he maketh a chamber above the lower dwelling, for to retire himself in, if in case any inundation should happen: in such sort, that some beavers cabin is above eight foot high, all made with wood, pyramid-wise, and daub'd with mud. Moreover it is held that being amphibious, as we have said, he must always participate with water, and that his tail be dipped in it; which is the cause why he lodgeth himself so near a lake. But being subtle he contenteth not himself with that which we have said, but hath moreover an issue into another place out of the lake, without any cabin, by which way he goeth on the land and beguileth the hunter. But our savages being aware of it, take order for the same and stopt his passage.

How the beaver is taken.

When they will then take the beaver, they pierce through the ice of the frozen lake, about his cabin, then one of the savages thrusteth his arm into the hole, tarrying the coming of the said beaver, whilst that another goeth upon this ice, striking with a staff upon it for to astonish him, and make him to return into his lodging. Then one must be nimble for to seize on his neck, for if one catch him by any part where he may bite, he will bite very sore. The flesh thereof is very good, almost as if it were mutton.

And as every nation hath commonly something peculiar that it bringeth forth, which is not so common with others; so anciently the realm of *Pontus* had the fame for the producing of beavers, as I learn it out of *Virgil*, where he saith,

—*Virosaque Pontus castorea.*

And after him, of *Sidonie de Polignac* bishop of *Auvergne*, in these verses,

—*Fert Indus ebur, Chaldaeus amomum,
Assyrius gemmas, Ser vellera, thura Sabæus,*
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*Attis mel, Phœnix palmas, Lacedæmon olivum,
Argos equos, Epirus equas, pecuaria Gallus,
Arma Calybs, frumenta Libes, Campanus
jacchum,*

*Aurum Lydus, Arabs guttam, Panchaia
myrrham,*

*Pontus castorea, blattam Tyrus, æra Corin-
thus, &c.*

Sidon. Apol. in Carm. 5.

But at this day, the land of *Canada* beareth the bell away for that respect, although that some of them are brought out of *Muscovy*, but they are not so good as ours.

Our savages have also made us to eat of beavers flesh, which was very good and tender, and like to beef: *item*, of leopards, resembling much the wild cat, and of a beast which they call *nibathes*, which hath *Nibathes* his paws almost like to the ape's paws, by means whereof he climbeth easily upon the trees, yea he layeth his young ones there. He is of greyish hairs, and his head like to a fox; but he is so fat that it is almost incredible. Having described the principal game, I will not stand to speak of wolves (for they have some, and yet eat none of them) nor of lucerns, otters, coney, and others which I have mentioned in my *Farewell to New France*, whereto I refer the reader, and to the recital of Capt. *James Quartier*.

Nevertheless it is good to shew here, that our *French* cattle profiteth very well in those parts. We had hogs which have *Hogs* multiplied very much; and although they had a sty, they did lie abroad, even in the snow and during the frost. We had but one *A we-* wether, which proved very well, although *ther* he was not taken in by night, but was in the midst of our yard in winter time. *Monf. de Poutrincourt* made him twice to be shorn, and the wool of the second year, hath been esteemed in *France* better by two sous, or seven farthings *English*, in the pound than that of the first. We had no other household cattle, but hens and pigeons, which failed not to yield the accustomed tribute, and to multiply abundantly. The said *Monf. de Poutrincourt* took, coming out of the shell, small outards, which he did very well breed, and gave them to the king at his return. When the country is once stored with those creatures and others, they will encrease so much, that one shall not know what to do with them; like as in *Peru*, where are at this day; and long since, such quantity of oxen, kine, swine, horses and dogs, that they have no more owners, but do appertain to the first that do kill them. Being killed, they carry away the hides to traffic withal, and the carcases are left there; which I have many times

times heard of them that have been there, besides the witnessing of *Joseph Acosta*.

The beasts of Florida and Virginia. Coming into the country of the *Armou-chiquois*, and going farther towards *Virginia* and *Florida*, they have no more ellans nor beavers, but only stags, hinds, roebucks, deers, bears, leopards, lucerns, ounces, wolves, wild-dogs, hares and coneyes, with whose skins they cover their bodies, making chamois of them of the biggest beasts. But as the heat is there greater than in the countries more northerly, so they do not use furs, but pluck out the hairs from their skins, and very often for all garment they have but half breeches, or a small cushion made with their matts, which they wear on that side that the wind doth blow.

But they have in *Florida* crocodiles also, which do assail them oftentimes in swimming. They kill some of them sometimes, and eat them: the flesh whereof is very fair and white, but it smelleth of musk. they have also a certain kind of lions, which little differ from them of *Africa*.

Lions. *Brasilians*. As for the *Brasilians*, they are so far from *New France*, that being as it were, in another world, their beasts are quite different from those that we have named, as the *tapirroussou*, which if one desireth to see, he must imagine a beast half an ass and half a cow, saving that her tail is very short: his hairs draw towards red, no horns, ears hanging, and an ass's foot: the flesh thereof is like to beef.

Stags. They have a certain kind of small stags and hinds, which they call *seou-assous*, whose hairs be as long as goat's hairs.

But they are persecuted with an evil beast which they call *janou-are*, almost as tall and swift as a grey-hound, much like to the ounce; she is cruel, and doth not spare them if she can catch them. They

take sometimes some of them in snares, and do kill them with long torments. As for their crocodiles they be not dangerous.

Their wild-boars are very lean and unfleshy, and they have a fearful grunting and cry. But there is in them a strange deformity, which is, that they have a hole upon the back, through which they blow and breathe. Those three be the biggest beasts of *Brasil*. As for small ones they have seven or eight sorts of them, by the taking whereof they live, and also of man's flesh; and are better and more provident husbands than ours. For one cannot find them unprovided, but rather having always upon the boucan, (that is to say a wooden grate somewhat high built upon four forks) some venison or fish, or man's flesh; and with that they live merrily and without care.

Now leaving there those *Anthropophages Brasilians*, let us return to our *New France*, where the Men there are more humane, and live but with that which God hath given to man, not devouring their like. Also we must say of them that they are truly noble, not having any action but is generous, whether we consider their hunting, or their employment in the wars, or that one search out their domestical actions, wherein the women do exercise themselves, in that which is proper unto them, and the men in that which belongeth to arms, and other things befitting them, such as we have said, or will speak of in due place. But here one must consider, that the most part of the world have lived so from the beginning, and by degrees men have been civilized, when that they have assembled themselves, and have formed commonwealths for to live under certain laws, rule and policy.

C H A P. XXII.

Of hawking.

SEEING that we hunt on the land, let us not overstray ourselves, lest if we take the sea we lose our fowls; for the wise man saith, *that in vain the net is spread before the eyes of all that have wings*. If hunting then be a noble exercise, wherein the very muses themselves take delight, by reason of silence and solitariness, which brings forth fair conceits in the mind; in such sort, that *Diana* (saith *Pliny*) *doth not more frequent the mountains than Minerva*. It, I say, hunting be a noble exercise,

hawking is far more noble, because it aimeth at an higher subject, which doth participate of heaven, seeing that the inhabitants of the air, are called in the sacred scripture, *volucres cali*, the fowls of the air. Moreover, the exercise thereof doth belong but to kings and to the nobles, above which their brightness shineth, as the sun's brightness doth above the stars. And our savages being of a noble heart, which maketh no account but of hunting and martial affairs, may very certainly have right

right of usage over the birds that their land doth afford them; which they do likewise, but with much difficulty, because they have not (as we have) the use of guns. They have enough, and too many birds of prey, as eagles, laynards, faulcons, tiercelets, sparrow-hawks, and others, which I have specified in my *Farewel to New France*; but they have neither the use nor industry to bring them to service, as the *French* gentlemen; and therefore they lose much good fowl, having no other means to seek after them, or to take them, but only with the bow and arrows, with which instruments they do, like unto them who in *France* shoot at the jay in time of middle-lent, or creep along the grafs, and go to assail the outards, or wild geese, which do graze in the spring time, and in summer along the meadows: sometimes also they carry themselves softly, and without making any noise, in their canoes and light vessels made with bark of trees, even to the shores where the mallards and other water-fowl are, and there strike them down. But the greatest abundance they have, come from certain islands, where such quantity of them are, to wit, of mallards, margaux, roquets, outards, or wild geese, curleus, cormorants and others, that it is a wonderful thing, yea that which Capt. *James Quartier* reciteth, will seem to some altogether incredible. When we were upon our return into *France*, being yet beyond *Campseau*, we passed by some of those islands, where in the space of a quarter of an hour, we laded our bark with them, we had no need but to strike down with staves, and not to go about to gather until one were weary of striking. If any man doth ask why they fly not away, one must consider that they be birds only of two, three, or four months old, which have been there hatched in the spring-time, and have not yet wings great enough to take flight, though they be well fleshy and in good plight. As for the dwelling of *Port Royal*, we had many of our men that furnished us with them, and particularly one of *Monf. de Monts's* household servants, called *Francois Addeni*, whose name I insert here, to the end he be had in memory, because he always provided for us abundantly with it. During the winter he made us to live only of mallards, cranes, herns, woodcocks, partridges, blackbirds, and some other kinds of that country birds: but in the spring time, it was a sport to see the grey geese and the big outards (a kind of wild geese) to keep their empire and dominion in our meadows; and in autumn the white geese, of which some did always remain for a pawn: then the sea larks flying in great

Great abundance of water fowl.

The fowl of Port Royal.

flocks upon the shores of the waters, which also very often were paid home.

Touching the birds of prey, some of our men took from the nest an eagle, from the top of a pine-apple tree, of the most monstrous height that ever I saw any tree, which eagle, *Monf. de Poutrincourt* did breed for to present her to the king, but she brake her ties, seeking to take her flight, and lost herself in the sea coming home. The savages of *Campseau* had six of them perched near to their cabins, at our coming thither, which we would not truck for, because they had pulled off their tails to feather their arrows. There be such a quantity of them in those parts, that often they did eat our pigeons, and it did behove us to look narrowly to them.

The birds that were known unto us, I have enrolled them (as I have said) in my *Farewel to New France*, but I have omitted many of them, because I knew not their names. There also may be seen the description of a little small bird, which the savages do call *niridau*, which liveth *Niridau, Flies.* but with flowers, and she did come noising in my ears, passing invisibly (so small is she) when in the morning I went to take a walk in my garden. There will be seen also the description of certain flies, shining in the evening, in the spring time, which do fly up and down the woods in such a multitude that it is a wonder. For the birds of *Canada*, I also refer the reader to the report of Capt. *James Quartier*.

The *Armouchiquois* have the same birds, *A wonderful fowl.* whereof there are many which are not known unto us in these parts. And particularly there is one kind of water-fowl, which have their bills made like two knives, having the two edges one upon another; and that which is worth the wondering at, the uppermost part of the said bill is shorter by the one half than the lowermost; in such wise that it is hard to think how this bird taketh her food. But in the spring time, the cocks and hens, which we call *Indian* or *Turkey* cocks, do fly thither as wandring birds, and sojourn there without passing further hitherward. They come from the parts of *Virginia* and *Florida*. There be yet besides these, partridges, parrots, pigeons, stock-doves, turtle-doves, black-birds, crows, tiercelets, faulcons, laynards, herns, cranes, storks, wild-geese, mallards, cormorants, white *aigrets*, red, black, and grey ones, and infinite sorts of fowl.

As for the *Brasilians*, they also have store of turkey-cocks and hens, which they name *arignan-oussou*, of whom they make no account, nor of their eggs: in such manner, that the said turkey-hens breed their

Turkey-cocks.

their young ones as they can, without so much a-do as in these parts. They have also ducks, but because they go heavily they eat none of them, saying that they would hinder them from running swiftly. *Item*, a kind of pheasants which they call

jacous ; other fowls which they name *mouton*, as big as peacocks ; some kinds of partridges as big as geese, called *mo-cacoua* ; parrots of fundry sorts, and many other kinds altogether unlike unto ours.

C H A P. XXIII.

Of their fishing.

Compari-
son be-
tween
hunting,
hawking,
and fish-
ing.

OPPIAN in the book that he hath made upon this subject, saith, that in the hunting of beasts and of birds, besides the facility, there is more contentment and delight than in fishing, because that a man hath many retreats: one may get himself into the shadow, one may meet with brooks to quench his thirst, one may lie down on the grass, one may take his repast under some shelter. As for birds one may take them in the nest and with bird-lime, yea of themselves very often they fall into the nets. But poor fisher-men cast their bait upon an uncertainty; yea, double uncertainty, as well because they know not what adventure shall happen unto them, as because they are upon an unconstant and untameable element, whose very sight only is fearful. They are always wandering from place to place, subject to tempests, and beaten with storms and winds. But yet in the end he concludeth that they are not destitute of all pleasure, but rather that they have enough, when they are in a ship well built, well tight, well closed, and swift in sailing. Then cutting the waves they go to sea, where the great skulls of devouring fishes are, and casting into the sea a line well twisted, the weight of it is no sooner in the bottom, but that as soon the bait is snatched up, and suddenly the fish is drawn up with great pleasure. And in this exercise did *Mark Anthony*, the son of the emperor *Severus* delight himself very much; notwithstanding *Plato's* reason, who forming his common-wealth hath forbidden his citizens the exercise of fishing, as ignoble, and illiberal, and fosterer of idleness, wherein he did grossly *equivocate*, specially when he chargeth fishermen with idleness, which is so evident that I will not vouchsafe to refute him. But I marvel not of that which he saith of fishing, seeing that with the same he also rejecteth hawking, upon the same reasons. *Plutarch* saith that it is more laudable to take either a hart, a roebuck, or a hare, than to buy them; but he wadeth not so far as the

other. Howsoever it be, the church, which is the first order in human society, whose priesthood is called royal by the great apostle *St. Peter*, hath permitted fishing to church-men, and forbidden hunting and hawking. And indeed, to say that which is most probable, the food of fish is the best and soundest of all, for as much (as *Aristotle* saith) that it is not subject to any sickness; from whence cometh the common proverb, *Sounder than a fish*. So that in the ancient hieroglyphics a fish is the symbol of health. Which notwithstanding I would mean, eaten whilst it is new; for otherwise (as *Plautus* saith) *Piscis nisi recens nequam est*, it is nothing worth.

Now our savages do eat it new enough, as long as it lasteth; which I believe to be one of the best instruments of their health and long life. When winter cometh, all fish are astonished, and shun the storms and tempests, every one where he may; some do hide themselves in the sand of the sea, others under the rocks, others do seek a milder country where they may be better at rest. But as soon as the mildness of the spring-time doth return, and the sea doth calm it self, as after a long siege of a town, truce being made, the people being before a prisoner, issueth forth by troops to go and take the air of the fields and to rejoice themselves; so those citizens of the sea, after the gusts and furious storms be past, they come to enlarge themselves through the salted fields, they skip, they trample, they make love, they approach to the shore and come to seek the refreshing of fresh water. And then our said savages that know the rendezvous of every one, and the time of their return, go to wait for them in good devotion to bid them welcome. The smelt is the first fish of all that presenteth himself in the spring; and to the end we go no further to seek out examples than at our *Port Royal*, there be certain brooks where such skulls of these smelts do come, that for the space of five or six weeks one might take of them sufficient to feed a whole

The fish
rendez-
vous.

Smelts in
great
quantity.

whole city. There be other brooks, where after the smelt cometh the herring, with like multitude, as we have already marked elsewhere. *Item*, the pilchers do come in their season, in such abundance, that sometimes, willing to have something more for our supper than ordinary, in less than the space of an hour, we had taken enough of them to serve us for three days. The dolphins, sturgeons and salmons do get to the head of the river in the said *Port Royal*, where such quantity of them are, that they carried away the nets which we had laid for them, by reason of the multitude of them that we saw there. In all places fish abound there in like manner, as we our selves have seen. The savages do make a hurdle, or wear, that crossieth the brook, which they hold almost up strait, propped against wooden bars, archwise, and leave there a space for the fish to pass, which space they stop when the tide doth retire, and all the fish are found stayed in such a multitude that they suffer them to be lost. And as for the dolphins, sturgeons and salmons, they take them after that manner or do strike them with harping irons, so that these people are happy; for there is nothing in the world so good as these fresh meats. And I find by my reckoning that *Pythagoras* was very ignorant, forbidding in his fair golden sentences the use of fish without distinction. One may excuse him, in that fish being dumb hath some conformity with his sect, wherein dumbness (or silence) was much commended. It is also said that he did it because that fish is nourished in an element enemy to mankind. *Item*, that it is a great sin to kill and to eat a creature that doth not hurt us. *Item*, that it is a delicious and luxurious meat, not of necessity (as indeed in the *hieroglyphics* of *Orus Apollo*, fish is put for a mark of delicacy and voluptuousness). *Item* that he (the said *Pythagoras*) did eat but meats that might be offered to the gods; which is not done with fish, and other such toys recited by *Plutarch* in his *Convivial Questions*. But all those superstitions be foolish; and I would fain demand of such a man, if being in *Canada* he had rather die for hunger than to eat fish. So many anciently to follow their own fancies, and to say these be we, have forbidden their followers the use of meats that God hath given to man, and sometimes lay'd yokes upon men that they themselves would not bear. Now whatsoever the philosophy of *Pythagoras* is, I am none of his. I find better the rule of our good religious men, which please themselves in eating of flesh, which I liked well in *New France*; neither am I yet displeased when I meet with such fare. If

this philosopher did live with *Ambrosia* and of the food of the gods, and not of fish, of which none are sacrificed unto them; our said good religious, as the *Cordeliers*, or *Franciscans* of *St. Malo*, and others of the maritime towns, together with the priests, may say that in eating sometimes fish, they eat of the meat consecrated to God. For when the *Newfoundlandmen* do meet with some wonderful fair cod, they make of it a *Sanctorum*, so do they call it, and do vow and consecrate it to *St. Francis*, *St. Nicholas*, *St. Leonard* and others, head and all, whereas in their fishing they cast the heads into the sea.

I should be forced to make a whole book if I would discourse of all the fish that are common to the *Brazilians*, *Floridians*, *Armouchiquois*, *Canadians*, and *Souriquois*. But I will restrain myself to two or three, having first told that in *Port Royal* there are great beds of muscles, wherewith we did fill our shallops, when that sometimes we went into those parts. There be also scallops twice as big as oysters in quantity. *Item*, cockles, which have never failed us; As also there are *chatagnes de mer*, sea chesnuts, the most delicious fish that is possible to be. *Item*, crabs and lobsters, those be the shell-fish; but one must take the pleasure to fetch them, and are not all in one place. Now the said port being eight leagues compass, there is (by the abovesaid philosophers leave) good sport to row in it for so pleasant a fishing.

And seeing we are in the country where the cods are taken, I will not yet leave off work, until I have spoken something thereof. For so many people and in so great number go to fetch them out of all the parts of *Europe* every year, that I know not from whence such a swarm may come. The cods that be brought into these parts are either dry or wet. The fishing of the wet fish is on the bank in the open sea, on this side *Newfoundland*. Fifteen or twenty (more or less) mariners have every one a line (it is a cord) of forty or fifty fathoms long, at the end whereof is a hook baited, and a lead of three pounds weight to bring it to the bottom; with this implement they fish their cods, which are so greedy, that no sooner let down, but as soon caught, where good fishing is. The fish being drawn a ship-board, there are boards in form of narrow tables along the ship where the fish are dressed. There is one that cutteth off their heads and casteth them commonly in the sea; another cutteth their bellies and garbelleth them, and sendeth back to his fellow the biggest part of the back-bone which he cutteth away.

That done, they are put into the salting-tub for four and twenty hours, then they are laid up. And in this sort do they work continually (without respecting the *Sunday*, which is the Lord's day) for the space of almost three months, their sails down, until the lading be fully made. And because the poor mariners do endure there some cold among the fogs, specially them that be most hasty, which begin their voyage in *February*, from thence cometh the saying, that it is cold in *Canada*.

Drying of
the cod.

As for the dry cod, one must go a-land. There is in *Newfoundland* and in *Bacaillos*, great number of ports where ships lie at anchor for three months. At the very break of day the mariners do go two or three leagues off in the sea to take their lading. They have every one filled their shallop by one or two a-clock in the afternoon, and do return into the port, where being, there is a great scaffold built on the sea-shore, whereon the fish are cast, as one cast sheaves of corn through a barn window. There is a great table whereon the fish cast, are dressed as above said; after six hours they are turned, and so sundry times. Then all are gathered, and piled together; and again at the end of eight days put to the air. In the end being dried they are laid up. But there must be no fogs when they are a drying, for then they will rot; nor too much heat, for they would become red, but a temperate and windy weather.

Why fish
sleep not.

They do not fish by night, because then the cod will not bite; I durst believe that they be of the fish which suffer themselves to be taken sleeping, although that *Oppian* is of opinion that fish, war- ring and devouring one another, as do the *Brazilians* and *Canibals*, are always watchful and sleep not; excepting nevertheless the *sargot* only, which he saith putteth himself in certain caves to take his sleep. Which I might well believe, and this fish deserveth not to be warred upon, seeing he maketh wars upon none others, and liveth of weeds; by reason whereof all the authors do say that he cheweth his cud like the sheep. But as the same *Oppian* saith that this fish only in chewing his cud doth render a moist voice, and in that he is deceived, because that myself have heard many times the seals, or sea wolves, in open sea, as I have said elsewhere; he might also have equivocated in this.

The same cod leaveth biting after the month of *September* is passed, but retireth himself to the bottom of the broad sea, or else goeth to a hotter country until the spring time. Whereupon I will here allege what *Pliny* noteth; that fish which

have stones in their heads do fear winter, and retire themselves betimes, of whose number is the cod, which hath within her brains two white stones made gundole wife and jagged about; which have not those that be taken towards *Scotland*, as some learned and curious man hath told me. This fish is wonderfully greedy, and devoureth others, almost as big as himself, yea even lobsters, which are like big *Langoustes*, and I marvel how he may digest those big and hard shells. Of the livers of cods our *Newfoundlandmen* do make oils, casting those livers into barrels set in the sun, where they melt of themselves.

Stones in
the cods
head.

There is great traffick made in *Europe* of the oyl of the fish of *Newfoundland*. And for this only cause many go to the fishing of the whale, and of the *hippopotames*, which they call the beast with the great tooth or the *morses*; of whom something we must say.

Fish oyl or
train.

The Almighty, willing to shew unto *Job* how wonderful are his works; wilt thou draw (saith he) *Leviathan* with a hook, and his tongue with a string which thou hast cast in the water? By this *Leviathan* is the whale meant, and all fish, of that reach, whose hugeness (and chiefly of the whale) is so great, that it is a dreadful thing, as we have shewed elsewhere, speaking of one that was cast on the coast of *Brazil* by the tide; and *Pliny* saith that there be some found in the *Indies* which have four acres of ground in length. This is the cause why man is to be admired (yea rather God, who hath given him the courage to assail so fearful a monster, which hath not his equal on the land.) I leave the manner of taking of her, described by *Oppian* and *St. Basil*, for to come to our *Frenchmen*, and chiefly the *Basques*, who do go every year to the great river of *Canada* for the whale. Commonly the fishing thereof is made in the river called *Lesquemin* towards *Tadoussac*. And for to do it they go by scouts to make watch upon the tops of rocks, to see if they may have the sight of some one; and when they have discovered any, forthwith they go with four shallops after it, and having cunningly boarded her, they strike her with a harping iron to the depth of her lard, and to the quick of the flesh. Then this creature feeling herself rudely pricked, with a dreadful boisterousness casteth herself into the depth of the sea. The men in the mean while are in their shirts, which vere out the cord whereunto the harping iron is tied, which the whale carrieth away. But at the shallop side that hath given the blow there is a man ready with a hatchet in hand to cut the said cord, lest per chance some accident

Fishing of
the whale.

The river
where the
whale is
fished.

dent should happen that it were mingled, or that the whale's force should be too violent; which notwithstanding having found the bottom, and being able to go no further, she mounteth up again leisurely above the water; and then again she is set upon with glave-staves, or pertuisans, very sharp, so hotly that the salt-water piercing within her flesh she loseth her force, and remaineth there. Then one tieth her to a cable at whose end is an anchor which is cast into the sea, then at the end of six or eight days they go to fetch her, when time and opportunity permits it they cut her in pieces, and in great kettles do seeth the fat which melteth itself into oyl, wherewith they may fill four hundred hogheads, sometimes more, and sometimes less, according to the greatness of the beast, and of the tongue commonly they draw five, yea six hogheads full of train.

How the
Indians
do take the
whale.

If this be admirable in us, that have industry, it is more admirable in the Indian people, naked and without artificial instruments; and nevertheless they execute the same thing, which is recited by *Joseph Acosta*, saying that for to take those great monsters they put themselves in a canoe or bark, made of the barks of trees, and boarding the whale they leap nimbly on her neck, and there do stand, as it were on horse-back, attending the fit means to take her, and seeing their opportunity, the boldest of them putteth a strong and sharp staff, which he carrieth with him, into the gap of the whale's nostrils (I call nostril the conduit, or hole through which they breathe) forthwith he thrusteth it in far with another very strong staff, and maketh it to enter in as deep as he can. In the mean while the whale beateth the sea furiously, and raiseth up mountains of water, diving down with great violence, then mounteth up again not knowing what to do through very rage. The Indian notwithstanding remaineth still sitting fast, and for to pay her home for this trouble, fixeth yet another like staff in the other nostril, making it to enter in, in such wise that it stoppeth her wind quite, and taketh away her breath, and he cometh again into his canoe, which he holdeth tied at the side of the whale with a cord, then retireth himself on land, having first tied his cord to the whale, which he vereth out on her; which whilst she findeth much water, skippeth here and there, as touched with grief, and in the end draweth to land, where forthwith, for the huge enormity of her body, she remaineth on the shore, not being able to move or stir herself any more. And then a great number of Indians do come to find out the conqueror

for to reap the fruit of his conquest, and for that purpose they make an end of killing of her, cutting her and making morsels of her flesh (which is bad enough) which they dry and stamp to make powder of it, which they use for meat, that serveth them a long time.

As for the *hippopotames*, or *morses*, *Morses*. we have said in the voyages of *James Quartier* that there be great number of them in the gulf of *Canada*, and especially in the isle of *Brion*, and in the seven *Isle de Brion*. isles, which is the river of *Chischedec*. It is a creature which is more like to a cow than to a horse; but we have named it *Hippopotame*, that is to say, the horse of the river, because *Pliny* doth so call them that be in the river *Nile*, which notwithstanding do not altogether resemble the horse, but doth participate also of an ox a cow. He is of hair, like to the seal, that is to say, dapple gray, and somewhat towards the red, the skin very hard, a small head like to a *Barbary* cow, having two ranks of teeth on each side between which there are two of them of each part hanging from the upper jaw downward, of the form of a young elephant's tooth, wherewith this creature helpeth herself to climb on the rocks. Because of those teeth, our mariners do call it *la beste a la grand' dent*, the beast with the great teeth. His ears be short and his tail also, he loweth as an ox, and hath wings or or fins at his feet, and the female calleth her young ones on the land. And because that he is a fish of the whale-kind and very fat, our *Basques* and other mariners do make oyl thereof, as they do with the whale, and they do surprise him on the land.

*Hippo-
tame.
or river.
Horse.*

Those of *Nile* (saith *Pliny*) are cloven footed, the main, the back, and the neighing of a horse, the teeth issuing forth as to a wild boar. And he addeth, that when this creature hath been in the corn for to feed, he goeth away backwards upon his return, for fear he should be followed by his traces.

I do not purpose to discourse here of all the sorts of fish that are in those parts, the same being too spacious a subject for my history, because also that I have specified a good number of them in my *Farewel* to *New France*. I will say only that by manner of pastime on the coasts of *New France*, I will take in one day fish enough for to serve as food for a longer time than six weeks, in the places where the abundance of cod is, for that kind of fish is there most frequent. And he that hath the industry to take mackarels at sea, may there take so many that he shall not know what to do with them, for in many places I have seen infinite numbers of them

*Infinite
multitude
of Mac-
karels.*

close

close together, which did occupy more space there three times than the market halls of *Paris* do contain. And notwithstanding I see a number of people in our country of *France*, so wretched, and so idle in these days, that they had rather die for

hunger, or live in slavery, at the least to languish upon their miserable dunghill, than to endeavour to get out of the mire, and to change their fortune by some generous action, or to die in it.

C H A P. XXIV.

Of the quality of the soil.

WE have made provision in the three last chapters of venison, of fowl, and of fish, which is much. But in our old ancient *France*, bread and wine being our usual sustenance, it would be hard unto us to make here our abode, unless the land were fit for the same. Let us then enter into consideration of it, and let us put our hands into our bosom, to see if the dugs of this mother will yield any milk to nourish her children; and as for the rest, we will take what may be hoped for of her. *Attilius Regulus*, twice consul in *Rome*, did commonly say, that one must not choose places over rank, because they are unhealthful; neither places over barren, although one may live healthily in them; and with such a moderate soil did *Cato* content himself. The ground of *New France* is such, for the most part of fat sand, under which we have often found clay ground; and of that earth did *Monf. de Poutrincourt* cause a quantity of bricks to be made, wherewith he built a furnace to melt the gum of the fir-tree, and chimneys. I will say farther, that one may make with this earth such operations, as with the earth which we call *terra sigillata*, or *bolus armenicus*, as in many occasions our apothecary, master *Lewis Hebert*, most sufficient in his art, hath made trial of it; by the advice of *Monf. de Poutrincourt*; yea even when that *Monf. du Pont's* son had three fingers cut off with a musket-shot, which did burst being over-charged, in the country of the *Ar-mouchiquois*.

This province having the two natures of earth that God hath given unto man for to possess, who may doubt but that it is a land of promise, when it shall be manured: We have made trial of it, and have taken pleasure therein, which never did all them that have gone before us, whether it be in *Brasil*, whether it be in *Florida*, or in *Canada*. God hath blessed our labours and hath given unto us fair wheat, rye, baerly, oats, pease, beans, hemp, turnips, and garden herbs; and this so plentifully, that the rye was as high as

the tallest man that may be seen, and we did fear that this height should hinder it from bringing forth seed; But it hath so well fructified, that one *French* grain sowed there, hath yielded one hundred and fifty ears of corn, such as by the testimony of my lord chancellor, the island of *Cicilia* nor the country of *Beausse* do yield none fairer. I did sow wheat, without suffering my land to rest, and without dunging it at all; and nevertheless it grew up in as fair perfection as the fairest wheat in *France*, although the corn and all that we did sow was too long kept. But the new corn which the said *Monf. de Poutrincourt* did sow before his departure from thence grew up so beautiful that it was wonderful, according to the report of them that have been there, a year after our departure. Whereupon I will say that which was of mine own doing, that in the month of *April* in the year 1607, having sowed too thick and too near one to the other, some few grains of the rye that was gathered at *St. Croix* (the first dwelling of *Monf. de Monts*, some twenty five leagues from *Port Royal*) these grains did multiply so abundantly that they choaked one another, and came to no good perfection.

But as for the ground mended, dunged with our hogs dung, or with the sweepings of the kitchen, shells of fish, or such like things; I would not believe unless I had seen it, the excessive loftiness of the plants that it hath produced every one in his kind. Yea the son of *Monf. de Poutrincourt*, a young gentleman of great forwardness, having sowed grains of oranges and of citrons in his garden, they sprung plants of a foot high at three months end. We did not expect so much, and notwithstanding we took pleasure therein, emulating one another. I refer to any man's judgment if the second trial will be done with a good courage. And here I must say by the way that the secretary of the said *Monf. de Monts*, being come into those parts before our departure, did say that he would not for any thing

One hundred and fifty ears of corn from one grain.

Oranges.
Citrons.

The earth of *New France* having the same effects as *terra sigillata*.

thing in the world, but to have made the voyage, and that unless he had seen our corn, he would not have believed it. Behold how continually the country of *Canada* hath been discredited, under whose name all that land is comprized, not knowing what it is, upon the report of some mariners, who only do go to fish for cod, and upon the rumour of some sicknesses, which may be avoided in maintaining of mirth; so that men be well furnished of necessaries.

But to continue our purpose of the mending of the ground, whereof we spake even now. One certain ancient author saith, that the censors of *Rome* did let to farm the dunghills and other uncleanness, which were drawn out of sinks, for a thousand talents a year, which are worth six hundred thousand *French* crowns, to the gardeners of *Rome*, because that it was the excellentest dung of all; and there was to that end commissioners ordained for to cleanse them; likewise the bottom and channel of the river *Tiber*, as certain ancient inscriptions, which I have sometimes read, do record.

The land of the *Armouchiquois*, doth bear yearly such corn, as that which we call *Saracen* wheat, *Turkey* wheat, and *Indian* wheat, which is the *Irio* or *Erysimon fruges*, of *Pliny* and *Columella*; but the *Virginians*, *Floridians*, and *Brazilians*, more southerly, make two harvests a year.

All these people do till their land with a wooden pick-ax, weed out the weeds and burn them, fatten their fields with shell-fish, having neither tame cattle nor dung, then they heap their ground in small heaps, two foot distant one from one another; and the month of *May* being come, they set their corn in those heaps of earth, as we do plant beans, fixing a stick, and putting four grains of corn severally one after another, by certain superstition, in the hole, and between the plants of the said corn, which groweth like a small tree, and is ripe at three months end, they also set beans spotted with all colours, which are very delicate, which by reason they be not so high, do grow very well among these plants of corn. We have sowed of the said corn, this last year in *Paris*, in good ground, but with small profit, having yielded; every plant, but one ear or two, and yet very thin; whereas in that country one grain will yield four, five and six ears, and every year, one with another above two hundred grains, which is a marvellous increase; which sheweth the proverb reported by *Theophrastus* to be very true, that it is the year that produceth the fruit, and not the field; that is to say, that the temperature of the air, and condition of the weather, is that which

maketh the plants to bud and fructify, more than the nature of the earth; wherein is to be wondered that our corn groweth better there, than their corn here; a certain testimony that God hath blessed that country, since that his name hath been called upon there; also, that in these parts, since some years, God beateth us, as I have said elsewhere, with rods of iron, and in that country he hath spread his blessing abundantly upon our labour, and that in one parallel and elevation of the sun.

This corn growing high, as we have said, the stalk of it is as big as canes. yea bigger. The stalk and corn taken green, have a sugar taste, which is the cause why the moles and field rats do so covet it, for they spoiled me a plot of it in *New France*. The great beasts, as stags and other beasts, as also birds, do spoil it; and the *Indians* are constrained to keep them, as we do the vines here.

The harvest being done, this people lay- Barns under ground
eth up their corn in the ground, in pits, which they make in some descent of a hill, for the running down of waters, furnishing those pits with matts; and this they do because they have no houses with lofts, nor chests to lay it up otherwise; than the corn conserved after this manner, is out of the way of rats and mice.

Sundry nations of those parts have had the same invention to keep corn in pits. For *Suidas* maketh mention of it upon the word *Seiroi*; and *Procopius*, in the second book of the *Gothic* war, saith that the *Goths* besieging *Rome*, fell within the pits where the inhabitants were wont to lay their corn. *Tacitus* reporteth, also, that the *Germans* had such pits. And without particularising any farther, in many places of *France* they keep at this day their corn after that manner. We have declared heretofore in what fashion they stamp their corn, and make bread with it, and how by the testimony of *Pliny*, the ancient *Italians* had no better industry than they.

They of *Canada* and *Hochelaga*, in the time of *James Quartier*, did also till after the same manner, and the land did afford them corn, beans, pease, melons, pumpions, and cucumbers, but since that their furs have been in request, and that for the same they have had bread and other victuals, without any other pains, they are become sluggish, as the *Souriquois* also, who did addict themselves to tillage at the same time.

But both the one and the other nation have yet at this time excellent hemp, which Hemp.
the ground produceth of itself; it is higher, finer, whiter, and stronger than ours, in these our parts. But that of the *Armouchiquois* beareth at the top of the stalk thereof a cod, filled with a kind of cotton Cotton.
like

The manner of fattening, tilling and sowing the ground.

like unto silk, in which lieth the seed; of this cotton, or whatsoever it be, good beds may be made, more excellent a thousand times than of feathers, and softer than common cotton. We have sowed of the said seed, or grain, in diverse places of *Paris*, but it did not prove.

Vines and grapes.

When the vine was first planted in France.

We have seen by our history, how along the great river, beyond *Tadoussac*, vines are found innumerable, and grapes at the season. I have seen none in *Port Royal*, but the land and the hills are very proper for it. *France* had none in ancient time, unless peradventure along the coast of the *Mediterranean* sea; and the *Gaullois* having done some notable service to the emperor *Probus*, they demanded of him for recompence, permission to plant vines, which he granted unto them; but they were first denied by the emperor *Nero*. But why do I allege the *Gaullois*, seeing that in *Brasil*, being a hot country, there were none, until that the *Frenchmen* and *Portuguese* had planted some there; so there is no doubt but that the vine will grow plentifully in the said *Port Royal*, seeing, likewise that at the river *St. John* which is twenty leagues more northward than the said port, there be many of them, yet for all that not so fair as in the country of the *Armouchiquois*, where it seemeth that nature did delight herself in planting of them there.

Oaks.
Nut-trees.
Plumb-trees.
Sassafras.

And for as much as we have handled this subject, speaking of the voyage that *Monf. de Poutrincourt* made thither, we will pass further, to declare unto you that the most part of the woods of this land, be oaks and walnut-trees, bearing small nuts, with four or five sides, so sweet and delicate as any thing may be; and likewise plumb-trees, which bring forth very good plumbs; as, also, sassafras, a tree having leaves like to oak leaves, but less jagged, whose wood is of very good scent, and most excellent for the curing of many diseases, as the pox, and the sickness of *Canada*, which I call *phthisic*, whereof we have discoursed at large heretofore.

Tobacco and the use of it.

They also plant great store of tobacco, a thing most precious with them, and universally amongst all those nations. It is a plant of the bigness of *consolida major*, the smoak whereof they suck up with a pipe in that manner that I will declare unto you, for the contentment of them that know not the use of it. After that they have gathered this herb, they lay it to dry in the shade, and have certain small bags of leather, hanging about their necks, or at their girdles, wherein they have always some, and a tobacco-pipe withal, which is a little pan hollowed at the one side, and within whose hole there is a long quill or pipe, out of which they suck up the

smoak, which is within the said pan, after they put fire to it, with a coal that they lay upon it. They will sometimes suffer hunger eight days, having no other sustenance than that smoak; and our *Frenchmen*, who have frequented them, are so bewitched with this drunkenness of tobacco, that they can no more be without it, than without meat or drink, and upon that do they spend good store of money; for the good tobacco which cometh out of *Brasil* doth sometimes cost a *French* crown a pound. Which I deem foolishness in them, because that notwithstanding they do not spare more in their eating and drinking than other men, neither do they take a bit of meat, nor a cup of drink the less by it. But it is the more excusable in the savages, by reason they have no great deliciousness in their *tabagies*, or banquets, and can make cheer to them that come to visit them with no greater thing, as in these our parts one presents his friend with some excellent wine; in such sort, that if one refuseth to take the tobacco pipe, it is a sign that he is not a friend. And they, which among them have some obscure knowledge of God, do say that he taketh tobacco as well as they, and that it is the true nectar described by the poets.

Foolish greediness of some men after tobacco.

The savages do think that God hath taken tobacco. The virtues and properties of tobacco.

This smoak of tobacco taken by the mouth, in sucking, as a child that sucketh his dug, they make it to issue thro' the nose, and passing through the conduits of breathing, the brains are warmed by it, and the humidity of the same dried up. It doth, also, in some sort make one giddy, and as it were drunk, it maketh the belly soluble, mitigateth the passions of *Venus*, bringeth to sleep, and the leaf of tobacco, or the ashes that remain in the pan healeth wounds. Yea, I will say more, that this nectar is unto them so sweet, that the children do sometimes sup up the smoak that their fathers cast out of their nostrils, to the end that nothing be lost. And because that the same hath a tart biting taste, *Monf. de Belleforest*, reciting that which *James Quartier*, who knew not what it was, saith of it, will make the people believe that it is some kind of pepper. But whatsoever sweetness is found therein, I could never use myself to it, neither do I care for the use and custom to take it in smoke.

There is yet in the land of the *Armouchiquois*, certain kind of roots, as big as a loaf of bread, most excellent for to be eaten, having a taste like the stalks of artichokes, but much more pleasant, which being planted, do multiply in such sort that it is wonderful; I believe that they be those which be called *afrodilles*, according to the description that *Pliny* maketh of them. "These roots, saith he, are made after
" the

Roots *Afrodilles*.

“ the fashion of small turnips, and there
 “ is no plant that hath so many roots as
 “ this hath, for sometimes one shall find
 “ fourscore *afrodilles* tied together. They
 “ are good roasted under the embers, or
 “ eaten raw with pepper, or oil and salt.

Considering all this, it seemeth unto me
 that these are men very miserable, who be-
 ing able to live a country life, in quiet and
 rest, and take the benefit of the ground,
 which doth pay her creditor with so profit-
 able an usury, do pass their age in towns,
 in following of suits in law, in toiling here
 and there, to seek out the means how to be-
 guile and deceive some one or other, taking
 such pains as do even bring them to their
 grave, for to pay their house-rent, for to
 be clothed in silk, for to have some preci-
 ous moveables, briefly, for to set out and
 feed themselves with all vanity, wherein
 contentment is never to be found. “ Poor
 “ fools, saith *Hesiod*, which know not how
 “ one half of these things, with quiet, is
 “ more worth than all heaped together
 “ with fretfulness, nor how great benefit
 “ is in the *Malous*, and the *Daffadilles*.
 “ The gods certainly have hidden from
 “ men the manner of living happily. For
 “ otherwise one day's labour would be
 “ sufficient for to nourish a man a whole
 “ year, and the day following he would
 “ set his plough upon his dunghill, and
 “ would rest his oxen, his mules, and
 “ himself.

This is the contentment which is prepa-
 red for them that shall inhabit *New-France*,
 though fools do despise this kind of life,
 and the tilling of the ground, the most
 harmless of all bodily exercises, and which
 I will term the most noble, as that which
 sustaineth the life of all men. They dis-
 dain, I say, the tillage of the ground, and
 notwithstanding all the vexations where-
 with one tormenteth himself, the suits in
 law that one follows, the wars that are made,
 are but for to have lands. Poor mother!
 what hast thou done that thou art so despi-
 sed? the other elements are very often con-
 trary unto us, the fire consumeth us, the
 air doth infect us with plague, the water
 swalloweth us up, only the earth is that
 which coming into the world, and dying,
 receiveth us kindly, it is she alonethat nou-
 risheth us, which warmeth us, which lodges
 us, which cloatheth us, which contraryeth
 us in nothing, and she is set at naught, and
 them that do manure her are laughed at,
 they are placed next to the idle and blood-
 suckers of the people. All this is done
 here among us; but in *New France*, the
 golden age must be brought in again, the
 ancient crowns of ears of corn must be re-
 newed, and to make that to be the first

glory, which the ancient *Romans* did call
gloria adorea, a glory of wheat, to the end
 to invite every one to till well his field, see-
 ing that the land presenteth itself liberally
 to them that have none.

Being assured to have corn and wine,
 there resteth but to furnish the country
 with tame cattle, for they will breed there
 very well, as we have said in the chapter
 of hunting.

Of fruit trees, there be but few, besides Orange-
 nut-trees, plumb-trees, and small cherry-^{trees.}
 trees, and some hazle-nut trees. True it ^{Fruit-trees}
 is, that all that which is within the land is
 not yet discovered, for in the country of
 the *Iroquois* there are orange-trees, and they
 make oils with the fruit of trees. But no
Frenchmen nor other Christians have been
 there yet. That want of fruit-trees is not
 to be found very strange; for the most
 part of our fruits are come out of other pla-
 ces, and very often the fruits bear the name
 of the country from whence they have been
 brought. The land of *Germany* is good,
 and fruitful: but *Tacitus* saith, that in his
 time there were no fruit-trees.

As for the trees of the forests, the most ^{The trees}
 common in *Port-Royal* be oaks, elms, ash, and fruits
 birch, very good for joiners work, maples, ^{of the land}
 fycamores, pine-trees, firr-trees, white-^{in Port-}
 thorns, hazle-trees, willows, bay trees, ^{Royal.}
 and some others besides which I have not
 yet marked. There is in certain places
 store of strawberries, and raspberries, *item*,
 in the woods small fruit, blue and red. I
 have seen there small pears very delicate,
 and in the meadows, all the winter long,
 there be certain small fruits like to small
 apples coloured with red, whereof we made
 marmalade for to eat after meat. There
 be store of goose-berries like unto ours, but
 they grow red; *item*, those other small
 round goose-berries, which we do call *geue-*
dres, and pease in great quantities along
 the sea shores, the leaves whereof, we took
 in spring time, and put among our old
 pease, and so it did seem unto us that we
 did eat green pease. Beyond the said bay
Francoise, that is to say, in the river *St.*
John and *St. Croix*, there is store of cedar
 trees, besides those trees that I have named,
 As for them of the great river *Canada*, they
 have been specified in the second book, in
 the relation of the voyages of captain *James*
Quartier and of *Monf. Champlain*.

Those of *Florida* be pine trees, which ^{Trees of}
 bear no kernels in the fruits that they pro-^{Florida.}
 duce, oaks, walnut trees, black cherry-
 trees, lentisks, chesnut trees, which be not
 natural as in *France*, cedar trees, cypress
 trees, palm trees, holly trees, and wild vines,
 which climb up the trees, and bring forth
 good grapes; there is a kind of medlars,
 the

the fruit whereof is better and bigger than that of *France*; there are, also, plumb trees which bear a very fair fruit, but not very good raspberries; a small grain which we call with us *bleues*, blues, which are very good to be eaten; *item*, roots, which they call *bassez*, whereof, in their need, they make bread.

Trees of
Brasil.

The province of *Brasil* hath taken her name, as we think, of a certain tree which we call *bresil*, and the savages of the country *arabouton*, it is high, and as big as our oaks, and hath the leaf like to the box leaf. Our *Frenchmen* and others do go into that country for to lade their ships with it; the fire of it is almost without smoke, but he that would think to whiten his linnen with the ashes of that wood, would far deceive himself, for he should find it dyed in red. They have, also, palm trees of sundry sorts: and trees the wood whereof of some, is yellow, and of others violet; they have also some that have the scent of roses, and others stinking, whose fruits are dangerous to be eaten; *item*, a kind of *guayac*, which they name *binourae*, which they use for to cure a disease called among them *pians*, as dangerous as the pox. The tree which beareth the fruit, that we call the *Indian* nut, is called among them *sabauchie*: they have also cotton trees, of the fruit of whereof they make beds, which they hang between two forks or posts. This country is happy in many other sorts of fruit trees, as orange trees, citron trees, lemon trees, and others always green, whereby the loss of that country, where the *Frenchmen* had begun to inhabit, is so much the more greivous unto them that love the welfare of *France*, for it is more than evident, that the dwelling is there more pleasant and delightful than the land of *Canada* for the temperature of the air. True it is that the voyages thither are long, as of four and five months, and that in performing of them sometimes wants must be endured. as may be seen by the voyages made thither in the time of *Ville-gagnon*; but to *New-France*, where we were, when one beginneth his voyage in due season, the voyages are but of three weeks, or a month, which is but a small time.

If the sweetness and delicacies be not there, such as they are in *Peru*, one must not say therefore that the country is nothing worth. It is much that one may live there in rest, and joyfully, without taking care for superfluous things. The covetousness of men hath caused that no country is thought good, unless there be mines of gold in it; and for as they be, they do not consider that the country of *France* is now unfurnished of the same, and *Germany*, al-

The despising of gold and silver mines.

so, whereof *Tacitus* said, that he knew not whether the gods in their anger, or their favour, had denied gold and silver to that province. They do not see that all the *Indians* have not any use of silver, and live more contentedly than we; if we call them fools, they may say as much of us, and peradventure with better reason. They know not that God promising to his people a happy land, he saith that it shall be a land of corn, of barley, of vines, of fig-trees, of olive trees, and of honey, where they shall eat their bread without scarcity, &c. And for all metals he giveth them but iron and copper, lest that gold and silver make them to lift up their heart and forget their God; and he will not that when they shall have kings they should hoard up much gold or silver. They do not consider that mines be the church-yards of men; that the *Spaniard* hath consumed therein above ten millions of poor *Indian* savages, instead of instructing them in the Christian faith; that there be mines in *Italy*, but that the ancients would not give leave to work in them for the preservation of the people; that in the mines is a thick air, gross and infernal, where one never knoweth when it is day nor night; that to do such things is to seek to dispossess the devil of his kingdom. That it is a thing unworthy to a man to bury himself in the entrails of the earth, to seek out for hell, and miserably to abase himself under all unclean creatures; he to whom God hath given an upright form, and his face looking upward, for to behold the heavens, and to sing praises unto him; that in countries where mines be the land is barren; that we do eat neither gold nor silver, and that the same of itself doth not keep us warm in winter; that he which hath corn in his barn, wine in his cellar, cattle in his meadows, and afterward cod-fish and beavers, is more assured to have gold and silver, than he which hath mines to find victuals; and nevertheless there be mines in *New France*, as we have mentioned elsewhere: but that is not the first thing one must seek for, men do not live with opinion only; and this consisteth but in opinion, nor the precious stones neither, which are fools baubles, wherein one is most often deceived, so well art can counterfeit nature; witness him that did sell, some five or six years since, vessels for fine emerald, and had made himself rich by the folly of others, if he could have played his part a-right.

Mines in
New
France.

Now without making shew of any mines, profit may be made in *New France*, of divers firs that be there, which I find are not to be despised, seeing that we see so much envy against a privilege, that the king

Fruits to
be hoped
for in *New*
France.

king did grant to *Mons. de Monts*, for to help to establish and settle there some *French* colony. But there may be drawn a general commodity to *France*, that in the scarcity of victuals, one province may succour the other; which might be done now, if the country were well inhabited; seeing that since we have been there, the seasons have always been good in it, and in these our parts rough to the poor, which do die for hunger, and live but in want and penury; instead of that, there many might live at their ease, who it were better to preserve than suffer to perish. Besides fishing being made in *New France*, the *Newfoundland* ships shall have nothing to do but to lade, arriving thither, instead that they are forced to tarry three months there, and shall be able to make three voyages for one.

Of exquisite woods I know none there, but the cedar and the *sassafras*; but good profit may be drawn from the fir and prufe trees, because they will yield abundance of gum, and they die very often through over much liquor. This gum is very fair like the turpentine of *Venice*, and very sovereign for medicines; I have given

some to some churches of *Paris*, for frankincense, which hath been found very good. Soap-ashes One may moreover furnish the city of *Paris* and other places of *France* with soap-ashes, which at this present be all bare and without woods. They who find themselves afflicted may have there a pleasant place to retire themselves into, rather than to yield themselves subject to the *Spaniards* as many do. So many families as be in *France*, overcharged with children, may divide themselves, and take there their portion with those small goods and moveables as they have. Then time will discover something anew, and one must help all the world if it be possible. But the chiefest good one must aim at, is the establishment of the Christian religion; in a country where God is not known, and the conversion of these poor people, whose damnation crieth vengeance against them that may, and ought to employ themselves thereto, and to contribute, at least with their names, to that effect, seeing that they gather up the fat of the earth, and are constituted stewards of the things of this world.

CHAP. XXV.

Of their war.

OF possessing of land cometh war; and when one hath established himself in *New France*, some greedy fellow peradventure will come to take away the labour of honest painful men; this is that which many do say, but the state of *France* is, God be praised, too well settled; for to be afraid of such tricks, we are not now in the time of leagues and partialities; there is none that will begin with our king, nor make adventurous enterprizes for a small purchase. And though any one would do it, I believe that the remedies have been thought upon already; and moreover this action is for religion, and not to take away another's goods. This being so, faith maketh one to march boldly with assurance, and to pass through all difficulties. For behold what the almighty faith by his prophet *Isaiab*, to them whom he taketh in his tuition, and to the *Frenchmen* of *New France*, *Hearken unto me you that follow justice, and that seek after the Lord, behold the rock out of which you were cut, to the deep of the cistern from whence ye have been drawn*; that is to say, consider that ye are *Frenchmen*; *Look to Abraham*

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your father, and to Sarah who hath brought you forth, how I have called him, he being all alone, and have blessed and multiplied him; therefore assuredly the Lord will comfort Sion, &c.

Our savages do not ground their wars upon the possession of the land. We do not see that they encroach one upon another for that respect. They have land enough for to live and for to walk, their ambition is limited within their bounds, they make war as *Alexander the great* did make it, that they may say I have beaten you; or else for revenge in remembrance of some injury received, which is the greatest vice that I find in them because they never forget injuries; wherein they are so much the more excusable, because they do nothing but that, which ourselves do also; they follow nature; and if we refrain any thing of that instinct, it is the commandment of God which maketh us to do it, whereunto many do stop their eyes.

Therefore when they will make wars, the *Sagamos*, who hath most credit among them, maketh them to know the cause

IO Y

why

To what end the savages do make war.

why, the rendezvous, and time of the assembly. Being arrived he maketh long orations unto them upon the occasion which is offered, and for to encourage them. At every proposition he demandeth their advice, and if they give consent they all make an exclamation, saying *Hau*, if not, some *Sagamos*, will begin to speak, and say what he thinketh good of it, being both the one and the other well heard. Their wars are made but by surprizes, in the dark of the night, or by moon-shine, by ambushments, or subtilty; which is general throughout all those *Indies*. For we have seen, in the first book in what fashion the *Floridians* do make war, and the *Brasilians* do no otherwise. And the surprizes being done, they come to handy blows, and do fight very often by day.

Surprizes
of the savages.

The manner to fortel or presage the event of the war.

But before they go from home, ours, I mean the *Souriquois*, have this custom to make a fort, within which all the young men of the army do put themselves, where being, the women come to compass them about, and to keep them as besieged. Seeing themselves so environed they make sallies, for to shun and deliver themselves out of prison. The women that keep watch do repulse them, do arrest them, do their best endeavour to take them; and if they be taken they lay loads on them, do beat them, strip them, and by such a success they take a good presage of the war they go to make; if they escape it is an evil sign.

They have also another custom concerning some one particular man, who bringing an enemies head, they make great feasts, dances and songs for many days; and whilst these things be doing, they strip the conqueror, and give him but some bad rag to cover himself withal; but at the end of eight days or thereabout, after the feast, every one doth present him with something to honour him for his valour.

Succession
of captains

The captains amongst them take their degree by succession, as the regality in these our parts, which is to be understood if the son of *Sagamos* imitateth the virtues of his father, for otherwise they do as in the old time, when that first the people did chuse kings; whereof *John de Meung* author of the *Roman de la Rose*, speaking, he saith, that, *They chose the tallest, that had the biggest body, and biggest bones amongst them, and made him their prince and lord*. But this *Sagamos* hath not an absolute authority among them, but such as *Tacitus* reporteth of the ancient *German* kings; "The power of their kings, saith he, is not free, nor infinite, but they conduct the people rather by example, than by commandment." In *Virginia* and in

Florida they are more honoured than among the *Souriquois*: but in *Brasil* he that hath taken and killed most prisoners, they will take him for captain, and yet his children may not inherit that dignity.

Their arms, are the first which were in use after the creation of the world, clubs, bows, and arrows; for as for slings and cross-bows they have none, nor any weapons of iron or steel, much less those that human wit hath invented since two hundred years, to counterfeit the thunder; nor rams, or other ancient engines of battery.

They are very skilful in shooting an arrow, and let that be for an example, which is recited heretofore of one that was killed by the *Armouchiquois*, having a little dog pierced, together with him, with an arrow shot afar off. Yet I would not give them the praises due to many nations of this hither world, which have been famous for that exercise, as the *Scythians*, *Getes*, *Sarmates*, *Goths*, *Scots*, *Parthians*, and all the people of the *East*, of whom a great number were so skilful, that they had hit a hair; which the holy scripture witnesseth of many of God's people, namely of the *Benjamites*, who going to war against *Israel*: Of all this people, saith the scripture, *there were seven hundred chosen men, being left handed; all these could sling a stone at an hair's breadth, and not fail*. In *Crete*, there was an *Alcon*, so skilfull an archer, that a dragon carrying away his son, he pursued after him, and killed him without hurting his child. One may read of the emperor *Domitian*, that he could direct his arrow far off, between his two fingers, being spread abroad. The writings of the ancients make mention of many who shot birds through, flying in the air, and of other wonders which our savages would admire at. But notwithstanding they are gallant men and good warriors, who will go through every place, being backed by some number of *Frenchmen*; and which is the second thing next unto courage, they can endure hardness in the war, lye in the snow, and on the ice suffer hunger, and by intermission feed themselves with smoke, as we have said in the former chapter. For war is called *militia*, not out of the word *mollitia*, as *Ulpian* the lawyer and others would have it, by an antiphrastical manner of speaking; but of *militia*, which is as much as to say *duritia*, *kakia*, or of *afflictio*, which the *Greeks* do call *kakosis*. And so it is taken in *St. Matthew*, where it is said, *that the day hath enough of his own grief, kakia*, that is to say, *his affliction, his pain, his labour, his hardness*; as *St. Hierome* doth expound it very well. And the word in *St. Paul*, *kako-*

The savages arms.

Excellent archers.

From whence cometh the word malice or militia.

kakopatbeson hos kalos stratiotis Ieson Christon, had not been ill translated *dura*, that is, *Suffer affliction as a good soldier of Jesus Christ*, instead of *labora*, barden thyself with patience, as it is in *Virgil*,

Durate, & rebus vosmet servate secundis.

And in another place he calleth the *Scipios duros belli*, to signify brave and excellent captains: which hardnes and malice of war, *Tertullian* doth expound *imbonitas* in the book that he hath written to the martyrs, for to exhort them to suffer afflictions manfully for the name of *Jesus Christ*. A soldier, saith he, cannot come to the wars with pleasures, and he goeth not to the fight coming forth from his chamber, but out of tents and pavillions stretched out, and tied to stalks and forks, *Ubi omnis duritia & imbonitas & insuavitas, where no pleasure is.*

Now although the war which is made coming forth out of tents and pavillions is hard, yet notwithstanding the life of our savages is yet harder, and may be called a true *militia*, that is to say, *malice*, which I take for hardnes. And after this manner do they travel over great countries through the woods for to surprise their enemy, and to assail him on the sudden. This is that which keepeth them in perpetual fear; for at the least noise in the world, as of an *ellan* which passeth among branches and leaves, they take an alarm. They that have towns, after the manner that I have described heretofore, are somewhat more assured. For having well barred the coming in, they may ask *quiva là*, who goeth there? and prepare themselves to the combat. By such surprises the *Iroquois* being in number eight thousand men, have heretofore exterminated the *Algumequins*, them of *Hochelaga*, and others bordering upon the great river. Nevertheless, when our savages under the conduct of *Membertou* went to the war against the *Armouchiquois*, they embarked themselves in shallops and canoes; but indeed they did not enter within the country, but killed them on their frontiers in the port of *Chouïakoet*. And for as much as this war, the cause thereof, the counsel, the execution, and the end of it hath been described by me in *French* verses, which I have annexed unto my poem intituled the *Muses of New France*, I refer the reader to have recourse to it, because I will not write one thing twice. I will only say, that being at the river *St. John*, the *Sagamos Chkoudun*, a Christian and *Frenchman* in will and courage, made a young man of *Retel*, called *Lefevre*, and myself, to see how they go to the wars; and after their feast

they came forth some fourscore out of his town, having laid down their mantles of furr, that is to say stark naked, bearing every one a shield which covered all their body over, after the fashion of the ancient *Gaullois*, who passed into *Greece* under the Capt. *Brennus*, of whom they that could not wade the rivers, did lay themselves on their bucklers, which served them for boats, as *Pausanius* saith. Besides these shields, they had every one his wooden mace, their quivers on their backs, and their bow in hand; marching as it were in dancing wise. I do not think for all that, that when they come near to the enemy for to fight, that they be so orderly as the ancient *Lacedæmonians*, who from the age of five years were accustomed to a certain manner of dancing, which they used going to fight, that is to say with a mild and grave measure, to the sound of flutes, to the end to come to blows with a cool and settled sense, and not to trouble their minds; to be able also to discern them that were couragious from them that were fearful, as *Plutarch* saith. But rather they go furiously, with great clamours and fearful howlings, to the end to astonish the enemy, and to give to themselves mutual assurance; which is done amongst all the westerly *Indians*.

In this mustering, our savages went to make a turn about a hill, and as their return was somewhat slow, we took our way towards our bark, where our men were in fear, lest some wrong had been done unto us.

In the victory they kill all that make resistance, but they pardon the women and children. The *Brasilians* contrariwise do take prisoners as many as they can, and reserve them for to be fatned, to kill and to eat them in the first assembly they shall make. Which is a kind of sacrifice among those people that have some form of religion, from whom those men have taken this inhuman custom. For anciently they that were overcome, were sacrificed to the gods who were thought to be authors of the victory, whereof it came that they were called *Victimes*, because that they were overcome; *Victima à Victis*: They were also called *Hostes*, *ab Hoste*, because they were enemies. They that did set forth the name of *Supplice* did it almost upon the same occasion, causing *supplications* to be made to the gods of the goods of them whom they condemned to death. Such hath been the custom among many nations to sacrifice the enemies to the false gods, and it was also practised in *Peru* in the time that the *Spaniards* came thither first.

We read in the holy scripture, that the prophet *Samuel* cut in pieces *Agag* king of the *Amale-*

Their manner of marching to the wars. A martial-dance.

How the savages behave with the victory.

Amalekites, before the Lord in *Gilgal*. Which might be found strange, seeing that there was nothing so mild as this holy prophet was. But one must consider here that it was by a special motion of the spirit of God which stirred *Samuel* to make himself executioner of the divine justice against an enemy of the people of *Israel*, instead of *Saul*, who had neglected the commandment of God, which was enjoined to smite *Amalek* and to put all to the edge of the sword, without sparing any living soul; which he did not; and therefore was he forsaken of God. *Samuel* then did that which *Saul* should have done, he cut in pieces a man who was condemned of God, who had made many widows in *Israel*, and justly did receive the like payment; to the end also to fulfil the prophecy of *Balaam*, who had foretold long before that the king of the *Israelites* should be raised up above *Agag*, and his kingdom should be exalted. Now this action of *Samuel* is not without example. For when they were to appease the wrath of God, *Moses* said: *Put every man his sword by his side, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour.* So *Elijah* made the prophets of *Baal* to be killed. So at *St. Peter's* words *Ananias* and *Saphira* fell down dead at his feet.

Now to return to our purpose, our savages as they have no religion, so make they no sacrifices; and besides, are more humane than the *Brasilians* for as much as they eat no man's flesh, contenting themselves to destroy them that do annoy them. But they have such a generosity in them, that they had rather die than to fall into the hands of their enemies. And when *Monf. de Poutrincourt* took revenge of the *Armouchiquois*, which murdered some of our men, there were some who suffered themselves rather to be hewed in pieces, than that they would be carried away prisoners; or if by main force they be carried away, they will starve or kill themselves; yea also they will not suffer the dead bodies of their people to remain in the possession of their enemies, and in the peril of their own lives, they take them and carry them away; which *Tacitus* doth also testify of the ancient *Germans*, and it hath been an usual thing with all generous nations.

The victory being gotten of one side or other, the victorious cutteth off the heads

of the enemies slain, how great soever the number of them is, which are divided among the captains, but they leave there the carcasses, contenting themselves with the skin, which they cause to be dried, or do tan it, and do make trophies with it in their cabins, taking therein all their contentment. And some solemn feast hapening among them (I call feast whensoever they make *tabagie*) they take them, and dance with them, having them hanging about their necks at their arms, or at their girdles, and with very rage they sometimes bite at them; which is a great proof of this disordinate appetite of revenge, whereof we have sometimes spoken.

Our ancient *Gaullois* did make no less trophies with the heads of their enemies than our savages. For (if *Diodorus* and *Titus Livius* may be believed) having cut them, they bring them back from the field hanging at the petral of their horses, and did tie or nail them solemnly, with songs and praises of the vanquishers (according to their customs) at their gates, as one would do wild boars. As for the heads of the nobles they did embalm them and kept them carefully within cases, for to make shew of them to those that come to see them, and for nothing in the world they would restore them, neither to kinsmen nor any other. The *Boians* (which be the *Bourbonnois*) did more; for after they had taken out the brains, they did give the skulls to goldsmiths for to garnish them with gold, and to make vessels of them to drink in, which they used in sacred things and holy solemnities. If any man thinketh this strange, he must yet find more strange that which is reported of the *Hungarians* by *Viginere* upon *Titus Livius*, of whom he saith, that in the year 1566, being near *Javarin*, they did lick the blood of the *Turks* heads which they brought to the emperor *Maximilian*; which goeth beyond the barbarousness that might be objected to our savages.

Yea I must tell you that they have more humanity than many Christians, who within these hundred years have committed in divers occurrences, upon women and children cruelties more than brutish, whereof the histories be full; and our savages do extend their mercy to these two sorts of creatures.

C H A P. XXVI.

Of their funerals.

THE war being ended, humanity doth invite us to bewail for the dead, and to bury them. It is a work wholly of piety, and more meritorious than any other. For he that giveth succour to a man whilst he is alive, may hope for some service of him, or a reciprocal kindness; but from a dead creature, we can expect nothing more. This is that which made that holy man *Toby* to be acceptable to God; and for that good office, they that employed themselves in the burying of our Saviour are praised in the gospel. As for tears and mournings behold what faith the wise son of *Sirach*: *My son pour forth tears over the dead, and begin to mourn as if thou hadst suffered great harm thyself; and then cover his body according to his appointment, and neglect not his burial. Make a grievous lamentation, and be earnest in mourning, and use lamentation as he is worthy, and that a day or two, lest thou be evil spoken of.*

This lesson being come, whether it be by some tradition, or by the instinct of nature, as far as to our savages they have yet at this day that common with the nations of these parts to weep for the dead, and to keep the bodies of them after their decease, as it was done in the time of the holy patriarchs *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and since. But they make strange clamours many days together, as we saw in *Port Royal*, some months after our arrival into that country (to wit in *November*) where they made the funeral ceremonies for one of theirs, named *Panonia* who had taken some merchandizes out of *Monf. de Monts's* store-house, and went to truck with the *Armouchiquois*. This *Panoniac* was killed, and the body brought back into the cabins of the river of *St. Croix*, where our savages did both weep for him and embalmed him. Of what kind this balm is I could not know, not being able to enquire of it upon the places; I believe they jag the dead corps and make them to dry. Certain it is, that they preserve them from rottenness; which thing they do almost throughout all these *Indies*. He that hath written the history of *Virginia*, saith that they draw out their entrails from the body, flay the dead, take away the skin, cut all the flesh off from the bones, dry it at the sun, then lay it (enclosed in mats) at the feet of the dead. That done, they give him his own skin again, and cover therewith the bones

tied together with leather, fashioning it even so as if the flesh had remained at it.

It is a thing well known that the ancient *Aegyptians* did embalm the dead bodies, and kept them carefully. Which (besides the prophane authors) is seen in the holy scripture, where it is said that *Joseph* did command his servants and physicians to embalm the body of *Jacob* his father; which he did according to the custom of the country. But the *Israelites* did the like, as it is seen in the holy chronicles, where it is spoken of the death of the kings *Asa* and *Jeram*.

From the river of *St. Croix*, the said deceased *Panoniac* was brought into *Port Royal*, where again he was wept for. But because they are accustomed to make their lamentations for a long continuance of days, as during a month, fearing to offend us by their cries (for as much as their cabins were but some five hundred passes off from our fort) *Membertou* came to intreat *Monf. de Poutrincourt* not to dislike that they should mourn after their wonted manner, and that they would be but eight days in performing of it, which he easily granted them; and then afterwards they began the next day following, at the break of day, their weepings and cryings, which we did hear from our said fort, taking some intermission on the midst of the day; and they mourn by intermission every cabin his day, and every person his turn.

It is a thing worthy marvelling, that nations so far distant do agree in those ceremonies with many of the hither world. For in ancient times the *Persians* (as we read in many places of *Herodotus*, and *Q. Curtius*) did make such lamentation, did rent their garments, did cover their heads, did cloath themselves with a mourning garment, which the holy scripture doth call *sackcloth*, and *Josephus* *schema tapeinon*. Also they shaved themselves, and their horses and mules, as the learned *Drusius* hath noted in his observations, alleging for this purpose both *Herodotus* and *Plutarch*.

The *Aegyptians* did as much, and peradventure more, in that which concerneth lamentations. For after the death of the holy patriarch *Jacob*, all the ancients, men of calling, and the counsellors of the house of *Pharaoh*, and of the country of *Egypt*, went up in great multitude even as far as to the corn floor of *Atad* in *Canaan*,
and

and did weep for him with great and grievous complaints; in such sort that the *Canaanites* seeing it did say; this mourning is grievous to the *Ægyptians*; and for the greatness and novelty of the same mourning they called the said floor *Abel Misraim*, that is to say the mourning of the *Ægyptians*.

The *Romans* had hired women to weep for the dead, and to relate their praises by long mournful complaints; and those women were called *Præfice*, as it were *Præfictæ*, because that they did begin the motion when it was needful to lament, and to relate the praises of the dead.

Mercede quæ conductæ flent alieno in funere præfice multo & capillos scindunt, & clamant magis, saith *Lucilius* by the report of *Nonius*; sometimes the very trumpets were not neglected at it, as *Virgil* testifieth in these words:

It cælo clamor, clangorque tubarum.

I will not here make a collection of all the customs of other nations; for it would never be at an end; but in *France* every one knoweth that the women of *Picardy* do lament their dead with great clamours. *Monf. des Accords* amongst other things by him collected, reciteth of one, who making her funeral complaints, that she said to her deceas'd husband; good God! My poor husband, thou hast given us a pitiful farewell! O what farewell! It is for ever. O what long congie. The women of *Bearn* are yet more pleasant; for they recount during the time of a whole day the whole life of their husbands. *La mi amou, la mi amou; cara rident, œil de splendeur: cama leugé bet dansadou: lo mé balen balem, lo m'esburbat: mati de pes: fort tard cougat:* and such like things: that is to say; My love, my love: smiling countenance; bright eye; nimble leg; and good dancer; mine own valiant, mine own valiant; early up, and late abed, &c. *John de Leri* reciteth, that which followeth of the *Gascoign* women; yere, yere, ô le bet renegadou, ô le bet jougadou-qu'here, that is to say; oh the brave swaggerer, oh what a fair player he was? And thereupon he reporteth that the women of *Brasil* do howl and bawl with such clamours, that it seemeth that it be some assembly of dogs and wolves. He is dead (will some women say drawing their voices) he was so valiant, and who hath made us to eat of so many prisoners; others making a quire apart will say; Oh what a good hunter and what an excellent fisher he was! Oh what a brave knocker down of *Portuges* and of *Margaias* he was; of whom he hath so well avenged us. And at the

pause of every complaint they will say; the *Portugefe*. he is dead, he is dead for whom we do now mourn! Whereunto the men do answer, saying; alas it is true! we shall see him no more until we see him behind the mountains, where we shall dance with him, and other such things; but the most part of these people do end their mourning in one day, or somewhat more.

As for the *Indians* of *Florida*, when any of their *Paraouftis* die, they weep three days and three nights continually and without eating; and all the *Paraouftis* that be his allies and friends do the like mourning, cutting half their hairs, as well men as women, in token of love. And that done, there be some women ordained, who during the time of six moons do lament the death of their *Paraoufti* three times a day, crying with a loud voice, in the morning, at noon, and at night; which is the fashion of the *Roman Præfices*, of whom we have not long since spoken.

For that which is of the mourning apparel, our *Souriquois* do paint their faces all with black; which maketh them to seem very hideous; but the *Hebrews* were more reprovably, who did scotch their faces in the time of mourning, and did shave their hairs, as saith the prophet *Jeremiah*; which was usual among them of great antiquity; by reason whereof, the same was forbidden them by the law of God in *Leviticus*: *You shall not cut round the corners of your hairs, neither mar the tufts of your beards, and you shall not cut your flesh for the dead, nor make any print of a mark upon you. I am the Lord; and in Deuteronomy, You are the children of the Lord your God, you shall not cut your selves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead.*

Which was also forbidden by the *Romans* in the laws of the twelve tables.

Herodotus and *Diodorus* do say, that the *Ægyptians* (chiefly in their kings funerals) did rent their garments, and besmeared their faces, yea all their heads; and assembling themselves twice a day, did march in round, singing the virtues of their king; did abstain from sodden meats, from living creatures, from wine, and from all dainty fare during the space of seventy days, without any washing, or lying on any bed, much less to have the company of their wives, always lamenting.

The ancient mourning of our queens of *France* (for as for our kings they wear no mourning apparel) was in white colour, and therefore after the death of their husbands they kept the names of *roines blanches* (white queens.) But the common mourning of others is at this day

in black, *qui sub persona risus est*. For all these mournings are but deceits, and of a hundred there is not one but is glad of such a weed. This is the cause that the ancient *Thracians* were more wise, who did celebrate the birth of man with tears, and their funerals with joy, shewing that by death we are delivered from all calamities wherewith we are born, and are in rest. *Heracides* speaking of the *Locrois* saith, that they make not any mourning for the dead, but rather banquets and great rejoicing. And the wise *Solon*, knowing the foresaid abuses, doth abolish all those renting of cloaths of those weeping fellows, and would not that so many clamours should be made over the dead, as *Plutarch* saith in his life. The Christians, yet more wise, did in ancient time sing *allelujah* at their burials, and this verse of the psalm, *Revertere anima mea in requiem tuam, quia dominus benefecit tibi*,

*And now my soul sith thou art safe,
Return unto thy rest;
For largely to the Lord to thee,
His bounty hath exprest.*

Notwithstanding because that we are men, subject to joy, to grief, and to other motions and perturbations of mind, which at the first motion are not in our power, as saith the philosopher, weeping is not a thing to be blamed, whether it be in considering our frail condition, and subject to so many harms, be it for the loss of that which we did love and held dearly. Holy personages have been touched with those passions, and our Saviour himself wept over the sepulchre of *Lazarus* brother to the holy *Magdalen*. But one must not suffer himself to be carried away with sorrow, nor make ostentations of clamours, wherewith very often the heart is never a whit touched. Whereupon the wise son of *Sirach*, doth give us an advertisement, saying, *Weep for the dead, for he hath lost the light [of this life] but make small weeping, because he is in rest*.

The savages do burn the moveable goods of the deceased.

After that our savages had wept for *Panoniac*, they went to the place where his cabin was whilst he did live, and there they did burn all that he had left, his bows, arrows, quivers, his beavers skins, his tobacco (without which they cannot live) his dogs, and other his small moveables, to the end that no body should quarrel for his succession. The same sheweth how little they care for the goods of this world, giving thereby a goodly lesson to them, who by right or wrong do run after this silver devil, and very often do break their necks, or if they catch what they desire, it is in making bankrupt with God, and spoiling the poor, whether it

be with open war, or under colour of justice. A fair lesson, I say, to those covetous unsatiable *Tantalusses*, who take so much pains, and murder so many creatures to seek out hell in the depth of the earth, that is to say, the treasures which our Saviour doth call the *riches of iniquity*. A fair lesson also for them of whom *St. Hierome* speaketh, treating of the life of clerks: *There be some, saith he, who do give a little thing for an alms, to the end to have it again with great usury; and under colour of giving something, they seek after riches, which is rather a hunting than an alms: so are beasts, birds, and fishes taken. A small bait is put to a hook, to the end to catch at it silly womens purses*. And in the epitaph of *Nepotian* to *Heliodore*: *Some, saith he, do heap money upon money, and making their purses to burst out by certain kind of services, they catch at a snare the riches of good matrons, and become richer being monks, than they were being secular*. And for this covetousness, the regular and secular have been by imperial edicts excluded from legacies, whereof the same doth complain, not for the thing, but for that the cause thereof hath been given.

Let us come again to our burning of goods. The first people that had not yet covetousness rooted in their hearts did the same as our savages do. For the *Phrygians* (or *Trojans*) did bring to the *Latins* the use of burning, not only of moveables, but also of the dead bodies, making high piles of wood for that effect, as *Aeneas* did in the funerals of *Misenus*:

———*Et robore secto
Ingentem struxere pyram.*

Virgil, *Æneid* 6.

Then the body being washed and anointed, they did cast all his garments upon the pile of wood, frankincense, meats, and they poured on it oil, wine, honey, leaves, flowers, violets, roses, ointments of good smell, and other things, as may be seen by ancient histories and inscriptions. And for to continue that which I have said of *Misenus*, *Virgil* doth add;

*Purpureasque super vestes, velamina nota
Conjiciunt: pars ingenti subiere feretro, &c.*

———*congesta cremantur*

Thura, dona, dapes, fuso crateres olivo.

Æneid 2.

And speaking of the funerals of *Pallas*, a young lord, friend to *Aeneas*:

*Tum geminas vestes, ostroque, auroque rigentes,
Extulit Aeneas——*

*Multaque præterea laurentis præmia pugnae
Aggerat, Et longo prædam jubet ordine duci:
Addit equos Et tela, quibus spoliaverat hostem.*

And

And underneath :

Spargitur & tellus lachrymis, sparguntur & arma.

*Hinc alii spolia occisis direpta Latinis
Conjiciunt igni, galeas, ensesque decoros,
Frænaque ferventesque rotas: pars munera nota*

*Ipsorum clypeos, & non felicia tela,
Setigerosque fues, raptasque ex omnibus agris
In flammam jugulant pecudes——*

In the holy scripture I find but the bodies of *Saul* and of his sons to have been burnt after their overthrow, but it is not said that any of their moveables were cast into the fire.

The old *Gaullois* and *Germans* did burn with the dead body all that which he had loved, even to the very beasts, papers of accounts and obligations, as if by that means they would either have paid, or demanded their debts. In such sort, that a little before that *Cæsar* came thither, there were some that did cast themselves upon the pile where the body was burned, in hope to live elsewhere with their kindred, lords and friends. Concerning the *Germans*, *Tacitus* saith the same of them in these terms, *Quæ vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur in ignem inferunt etiam animalia, servos & clientes.*

These fashions have been common anciently to many nations, but our savages are not so foolish as that; for they take good heed from putting themselves into the fire, knowing that it is too hot. They content themselves then in burning the dead man's goods; and as for the body, they put him honourably in the grave. This *Panoniac*, of whom we have spoken, was kept in the cabin of *Niguiroet* his father, and of *Neguioadetch* his mother, until the spring time, when that the assembly of the savages was made for to go to revenge his death: in which assembly he was yet wept for, and before they went to the wars they made an end of his funeral, and carried him (according to their custom) in a desolate island, towards *Cape de Sable*, some five and twenty or thirty leagues distant from *Port Royal*. Those isles which do serve them for church-yards are secret amongst them, for fear some enemy should seek to torment the bones of their dead.

Pliny, and many others, have esteemed that it was foolishness to keep dead bodies, under a vain opinion that after this life one is something. But one may apply unto him, that which *Portius Festus*, Governor of *Cæsarea*, did foolishly say to the apostle *St. Paul*: *Thou art beside thy self; much learning hath made thee mad.* Our savages are esteemed very brutish, (which they are

not) but yet they have more wisdom in that respect than such philosophers.

We Christians do commonly bury the dead bodies, that is to say, we yield them to the earth (called *humus*, from whence cometh the word *homo* a man) from which they were taken, and so did the ancient *Romans* before the custom of burning them; which amongst the *West-Indians* the *Brasilians* do, who put their dead into pits digged after the form of a tun, almost upright, sometimes in their own houses, like to the first *Romans*, according as *Servius* the commentator of *Virgil* doth say. But our savages as far as *Peru* do not so, but rather do keep them whole in sepulchres, which be in many places as scaffolds of nine and ten foot high, the roof whereof is all covered with mats, whereupon they stretch out their dead, ranked according to the order of their decease. So almost our savages do, saving that their sepulchres are less and lower, made after the form of cages, which they cover very properly, and there they lay their dead: which we call to bury, and not to inter, seeing they are not within the earth.

Now although that many nations have thought good to keep the dead bodies; yet it is better to follow that which nature requireth, which is, to render to the earth that which belongeth unto her, which (as *Lucretius* saith)

Omniparens eadem rerum est commune sepulchrum.

Also this is the ancientest fashion of burying, saith *Cicero*. And that great *Cyrus*, king of the *Persians*, would not be otherwise served after his death, than to be restored to the earth: O my dear children! (said he before he died) *when I have ended my life, do not put my body either in gold or in silver, or in any other sepulchre, but render it forthwith to the earth: for what may be more happy and more to be desired, than to join himself with her that produceth and nourisheth all good and fair things?* So did he esteem for vanity all the pomps and excessive expences of the pyramids of *Ægypt*, of the *mausoleums* and other monuments made after that imitation; as the same of *Augustus* the great, and magnificent mass of *Adrian*, the *septizone* of *Severus*, and other yet less; not esteeming himself after death more than the meanest of his subjects.

The *Romans* did leave the entombing of the bodies, having perceived that the long wars did bring disorder unto it, and that the dead corps were unburied, which by the laws of the twelve tables, it was behoveful to bury out of the town, like as they did in *Athens*. Whereupon *Arnobius*, speaking

speaking against the Gentiles: *We do not fear* (saith he) *as you think, the ransacking of our graves, but we kept the most ancient and best custom of burying.*

Pausanias (who blameth the *Gaullois* as much as he can) saith in his *Phociques*, that they had no care to bury their dead; but we have shewn the contrary heretofore: and though it were so, he speaketh of the overthrow of the army of *Brennus*. The same might have been said of the *Nabateens*, who (according to *Strabo*) did that which *Pausanias* doth object to the *Gaullois*, and buried the bodies of their kings in dunghils.

Our savages are more kind than so, and have all that which the office of humanity may desire, yea even more. For after they have brought the dead to his rest, every one maketh him a present of the best thing he hath: some do cover him with many skins of beavers, of otters, and other beasts: others present him with bows, arrows, quivers, knives, *matachias*, and other things, which they have in common, not only with them of *Florida*, who, for want of furs, do set upon the sepulchres the cup wherein the deceased was accustomed to drink, and all about them they plant great numbers of arrows: *item* they of *Brasil*, who do bury with their dead things made of feathers and carkenets; and they of *Peru*, who (before the coming of the *Spaniards*) did fill their tombs with treasures: but also with many nations of these our parts, which did the same even from the first time after the flood, as may be conjectured by the writing (though deceitful) of the sepulchre of *Semiramis*, queen of *Babylon*; containing, that he of her successors that had need of money should make it to be opened, and that he should find there even as much as he would have. Whereof *Darius*, willing to make trial, found in it nothing else but other letters speaking in this sort; *unless thou wert a wicked man and unsatiable, thou wouldst not have, through covetousness, so troubled the quiet of the dead and broken down their sepulchres.* I would think this custom to have been only among the heathens, were it not that I find in *Josephus's* history, that *Solomon* did put in the sepulchre of *David* his father above three millions of gold, which was rifled thirteen hundred years after.

This custom to put gold into the sepulchres being come even to the *Romans*, was forbidden by the twelve tables, also the excessive expences that many did make in watering the bodies with precious liquors, and other mysteries that we have recited heretofore. And notwithstanding many

simple and foolish men and women did ordain by will and testament, that one should bury with their bodies their ornaments, rings, and jewels (which the *Greeks* did call *entaphia*) as there is a form seen of it, reported by the lawyer *Scævola* in the books of the *Digestes*; which was reproved by *Papinian* and *Ulpian*, likewise civil lawyers; in such sort, that for the abuse thereof, the *Romans* were constrained to cause that the censors of the womens ornaments did condemn, as simple and effeminated, them that did such things, as *Plutarch* saith, in the lives of *Solon* and *Sylla*. Therefore the best course is to keep the modesty of the ancient patriarchs, and even of king *Cyrus*, whom we have mentioned before, on whose tomb was this inscription, reported by *Arrian*.

Thou that passest by, whomsoever thou beest, and from what part soever thou comest, for I am sure that thou wilt come: I am that Cyrus who got the dominion to the Persians: I pray thee envy not this little parcel of ground which covereth my poor body.

So then our savages are not excusable in putting all the best ornaments they have into the sepulchres of the dead, seeing they might reap commodity by them. But one may answer for them, that they have this custom even from their fathers beginning (for we see that almost from the very time of the flood the like hath been done, in this hither world) and giving to their dead their furs, *matachias*, bows, arrows and quivers; they were things that they had no need of.

And notwithstanding this doth not clear the *Spaniards* from blame, who have robbed the sepulchres of the *Indians* of *Peru*, and cast the bones on the dunghil; nor our own men that have done the like, in taking away the beavers skin in our *New-France*, as I have said heretofore.

For as *Isidorus* saith of *Damiette*, in an Epistle: *It is the part of enemies, void of all humanity, to rob the bodies of the dead, which cannot defend themselves; nature itself hath given this to many, that hatred doth cease after death, and do reconcile themselves with the deceased: but riches make the covetous to become enemies to the dead, against whom they have nothing to say, who torment their bones with reproach and injury.* And therefore not without cause have the ancient emperors made laws, and ordained rigorous pains against the spoilers and destroyers of sepulchres.

All praises be given to God.

DECEMBER 22 1891

21. REF. NEW

EXHIBIT NO. 1000

THE NEW YORK

LIBRARY

OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

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AND OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

AN IMPARTIAL
DESCRIPTION
OF
SURINAM
UPON THE
CONTINENT of GUINEA
IN
AMERICA.

WITH A

History of several strange *Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Serpents, In-*
sects, and Customs of that Colony, &c.

Worthy the Perusal of all, from the Experience of
GEORGE WARREN, Gent.

T O T H E

R E A D E R.

THIS is a present of three years collection, not without many hazards to myself; for the delights of warm countries are mingled with sharp saucers; and indeed from the constant breathings through the pores, more there than in colder regions, it is rationally believed, our Spirits must make haste out of bodies exhausted by heat; but I have often seen many, both natives, and others, at Surinam, very vigorous in extreme old age. In this continent, the Indians will tell you of mighty princes upwards, and golden cities, how true I know not. But a brave country it is, and it may be truly said, to a mind untaint with ambition (and that can live according to nature) no place is more accommodate; whether we regard health, a luxuriant soil, or kind women. I have made it no design of mine either to hide the inconveniencies of the country, or to extol the happiness thereof beyond truth; such as it is, is here expos'd. Some there are, who confidently believe, these warm climates were the dwellings of the ancient learned heathens: to which opinion, for the pleasure of the same places, I could assent; but that the most acute philosophers of old, held a gross doctrine, that under, or near the line, 'twas not habitable, whereof daily experience affords a confutation; and 'tis great ignorance to think any considerable improvements can be made far distant from the sun. What advantage hath accrued to the English scepter, how navigation hath been increased by the only trade of tobacco and sugar in our new plantations, who hath not heard? As for myself, I held it more ingenuous to venture thy censure for appearing in print, than that you should lose the delight of these observations.

Farewel.

C H A P.

DESCRIPTION

O F

S U R I N A M.

C H A P. I.

Of the river ;

WHICH is in fix, or five and a half degrees of northerly latitude, barr'd with sand at the entrance ; but yet, three fathom deep at high-water ; and in spring-tides more. 'Tis about a league over at the mouth, of which breadth, or but very little narrower, it holds five leagues up to a small village, called the *Fort* ; and then by degrees, in two leagues farther, decreases a mile, and so continues as far as hath been discovered. It hath a channel on either side, to the east and west, but the first is reputed best, in which, vessels of three hundred tons have sailed near twenty leagues up to the metropolis or chief town of the colony, called *Toorarica*, consisting of about one hundred dwelling houses, and a chapel. Before the town is a very fair bay or harbour, large enough to contain an hundred sail of ships. 'Tis on both sides woody, unless here and there a plantation be open to it ; and so perfect a meander, that in a matter of fifteen leagues sailing, a ship steers all points of the compass. 'Tis well stor'd with good fish of innumerable kinds, and others, though not so useful, yet for their rarity very observable ; as the sword-fish, so called from a bone growing at his snout, resembling a sword, or more properly a rake, of which I have seen some above an ell long. There is another called the *manatee*, who feeds upon bushes by the river side, gives suck like a cow, and eats more like flesh than fish : I'll but name a third, which, for the strangeness of its nature, deserves a more particular description ; it is the torpedo or numb-eel, which being alive, and touching any other living creature, strikes such a deadness into all the parts, as for a while renders them wholly useless, and insensible, which is believ'd, has occasioned the drowning of several persons who have been unhappily so taken, as they were swimming in the river : it produces the like effect if but touch'd with the end of a long pole, or one man immediately laying hold of another so benumb'd : the truth of this was experienced, one of them being taken and thrown upon the bank, where a dog spying it stir, catches it in his mouth, and presently falls down, which the master observing, and going to pull him off becomes motionless himself ; another standing by, and endeavouring to remove him, follows the same fortune ; the eel getting loose they return quickly to themselves.

Plantations are settled thirty leagues up the river, higher than which it is not probable the limits of that new colony can extend, by reason of cataracts or falls of water, that descend from ledges of rocks, from one side of the river to the other, rendring any passage by water (the best means of conveying necessities) altogether impossible ; nor is it only one, for which, in time, perhaps some remedy might be invented, but they are observed to be within five or six leagues one of another, for aught is known, up to the very head. There was once an occasion to go up those falls in chase of some *Indians*, who had been down, and kill'd an *English* woman, and robb'd the house wherein she was : this expedition was undertaken by a good number of men well provided, who, after they had with most grievous labour haul'd their boats by land above seven or eight of those falls, were at last compell'd to return without desired success, not having so much as seen an *Indian*, and, adventuring as they came back to shoot those precipices in their boats, were some of them dash'd to pieces in the descent, and the rest hardly escaped with their lives : these cataracts are in most of the rivers upon the coast, and are the only lett to the more perfect discovery of that rich continent.

C H A P. II.

Of the climate and country in general;

WHICH from *November* till *July* is but moderately hot, by reason of clouds interpos'd, and excessive rains cooling the earth all that time, and the constant north-east-breezes, which no less refrigerate the air: the other five months, when little rain falls, and those friendly clouds are wanting, the heat is something violent, occasioned no less by a reflection from the earth, which is generally sandy, than the nearness of the sun itself, and would be hardly tolerable, were it not for the breezes before-mentioned. Being no further from the equinoctial line, the days and nights are always almost equal, not differing above an hour, the sun rising and setting never sooner or later, than half an hour before, or half an hour after six. The constant warmth of the place makes it far more agreeable to age, than youth. The first it cherishes, and as it were, renews their years, making them sprightly and gallant, who were here crazy and impotent; the latter have less spirit, and decay more swiftly than in these northern countries, though *Surinam* be healthful enough to temperate sound bodies. The most common diseases incident to it, are the fever and ague, the yawes, and the dropsey, call'd there the country disease: with the first, the people were not a little afflicted at their first settling, I believe, occasion'd rather by bad lodging, and worse diet, than any natural intemperature of the climate. The yawes is the same with, or but little differing from, the *French-Pox*; it is too frequently caught by coition with *Indian* women, to whom it is no less natural than any other malady, and which, by the mediation of the *Spaniard*, is become no stranger to almost every part of *Europe*: it will breed also there from any sore, which, if not carefully look'd after (such is the malignity of the country to things of that nature) converts into that most loathsome and not easily cured mischief. The dropsey, or country-disease, is, I think, acquired by that unwholesome flashy kind of nourishment, which, from the hardness of the place, and penury of masters, poor servants are forced to make a shift with (for I never observed any but such have it) which, lighting upon dull unactive spirits, drives them into a me-

lancholy carelessness of themselves, and for want of vigour and liveliness to expel those moist humours, which such tempers in that country do abundantly contract, they perish, being hardly recoverable unless taken at the very beginning of the distemper.

The land next the river's mouth, is low, woody, and full of swans: one, but about thirty leagues up, high, and mountainous, having plain fields of a vast extent, here and there beautified with small groves, like islands in a green sea; amongst whose still flourishing trees it is incomparable pleasant to consider the delightful handy-works of nature, express'd in the variety of those pretty creatures, which, with ridiculous antick gestures, disport themselves upon the branches. There is a constant spring and fall, some leaves dropping, and others succeeding in their places; but the trees are never quite divested of their summer livery; some have always blossoms, and the several degrees of fruit at once: the sense of smelling may, at any time, enjoy a full delight amongst the woods, which disperse their aromattick odours a good distance from the land, to the no little pleasure of the sea-tired passenger.

The various productions of insects from the heat and moisture, are admirable in that country. I have observed a white speck, at first no bigger than a pin's head, upon a new-sprung soft excrescency from the root of a great tree, which, by degrees in two or three days, has grown to a kind of butterfly, with fair painted black and saffron-coloured wings. I have found others not quite perfect sticking upon the bodies of trees, as it were incorporated into the wood it self. There is another, called a camel-fly, from its long neck, how generated I know not, which has its wings like small leaves; and having lived a while, at length lights upon the ground, takes root, and is transformed into a plant. This I relate, not from any certain knowledge of my own, but I was encouraged to insert it, from the information of the honourable *William Byan*, lord general of *Guinea*, and governor of *Surinam*, who I am sure is too much a gentleman to be the author of a lye. Many more observations of this nature

nature no doubt I might have made, if the vanity of my years would have suffered me to mind it.

The government is monarchical, in imitation of ours, by a governor, council,

and assembly; the laws of *England* are also theirs, to which are added some bye constitutions, no less obliging, proper to the conveniences of that country.

C H A P. III.

Of the provisions;

WHICH are yames, plantons, and cassader, for bread; the first is a root, bearing a bine not unlike to a hop, it is ripe in eight months, and being boil'd or roasted is dry and crumbly; it has no bad taste, because it has none at all that ever I could find in it: The planton is a fruit of a tree, but of twelve months growth; it is almost like a bean-cod, but bigger; they hang forty or fifty in a bunch, of which the tree bears no more than one at a time, and being gather'd before quite ripe, are also either boil'd or roasted, and in my opinion not much more excellent than the former. The last, which indeed may most properly be termed bread, is also a root, ordinarily almost as thick as a man's leg, but of various forms; it bears a small tree about eight foot high, and becomes fit to draw in twelve months, when it is replanted with sticks of its own laid in the ground: the root is taken, scrap'd, and then press'd from its juice, which is rank poison, and after bak'd upon stones in round cakes, half an inch thick; when it is new made it is pleasant enough, but by that time it is a day old, methinks there's little favour in it: of this, the *Indians* make divers kinds of inebriating drinks, one whereof, call'd perrinoe, is truly good, and nearly resembles our strongest *March* beer, which has been preserved to a twelve-month staleness: but the relation of their manner of brewing it, will, I believe, rebate the edge of any one's desire here, which perhaps might be otherwise sharp enough to taste it; first, they take cassader-bread bak'd for that purpose very black, which the oldest women and snotty nose children chew in their mouths, and, with as much spittle as they can, throw into a jar of water, so letting it stand a while, then strain the bread from it, and with some chew'd potatoes set it a working, which

becomes fit to drink in few days. The *English* planters make their cool drink of the juice of sugar-canes and water boil'd together, a most pleasant liquor, and suppos'd wholesome.

Of flesh and fish they receive constant supplies from *New England*, *Virginia*, and other places, though the woods and rivers are not unfurnish'd of sufficient quantities, but the incessant rains, and over-flows of water hinder their being taken considerably, save in the day-time, when no body need complain of want that can but take a little pains to catch it. The fish may justly be reputed comparable to ours, but, a not very curious palate may easily discern, how much better the flesh of *England* is, than the same kinds in those hotter countries that breed there, being observ'd to be for the most part flashy and insipid, hogs only excepted, which are far better and sweeter than amongst us.

At one time of the year also are taken tortoises (not those whose shells are so highly valu'd here) upon the sea-coast, weighing two or three hundred pounds a piece. The females are accounted best, who have commonly a peck of eggs at once in their bellies, each as big as a hen's, but hardly so good, which they come out of the water to lay in the sand, where they cover and leave them to be hatch'd by the sun's heat: the flesh of these salted, I think, nothing but an invincible necessity can plead for, but fresh it is cried up by some for a most excellent dish, though, for my part, I am prone to believe otherwise. The taste is not unpleasant, but it was always most offensive to my stomach, which is none of the nicest; and it cannot but yield a very gross and slimy nourishment, because of its sudden aptness to putrefaction not being preservable from stinking without salts above two hours after it is killed. Sheep will

will by no means thrive there, being creatures, I suppose, more appropriated to cold and dry, than hot and moist countries. Beeves like the place well, especially by the sea-side, but the stock is

not yet grown numerous enough to find over-much employment for a butcher. Hogs would increase infinitely, did not the bats retard it, by biting off their teats.

C H A P. IV.

Of the birds ;

WHICH generally both for beauty and goodness may, I believe, claim priority from most in the world : but the philomela's warbling throat is wanting to all, in those too savage mansions for so sweet a guest. The birds there making no other harmony but in horror, one howling, another screeching, a third, as it were, groaning and lamenting ; all agreeing in their ill concerted voices to represent the dismal yellings of a hellbred quire ; but what is wanting in their musick (which contributes nothing to real uses) is more than compensated by their other excellencies. Duck, teal, widgeon, plover, snipe, pheasant, patridge, &c. far bigger, and every whit as good as any here, are there frequent in all places. Parrots also are more common than jack-daws in *England* : and, upon the sea-coast, are a kind of fowl (whose name I don't remember) so tall, that at a distance, they appear like companies of men upon the sand, and coming nearer their glittering feather'd armours (of so pure a scarlet as no art can equal) almost dazzle the greedy eyes of the beholders. Exceeding these, for beauty (though of far different magnitude, being not bigger than some humble-bee) is a bird in the woods, which turning several ways, presents as many of the most delightful colours to the eyes, and so lively, as can possibly be imagined : it is call'd a humming-bird, and like a bee gathers its nourishment from flowers. There is another kind of black-bird which hangs its nest like a pursnet, at the ends of boughs, to secure it from the roguish monkeys, who would be otherwise pulling it to pieces. A great deal might be spoken more commendatory, at least more curious, upon this subject, by some body whose observations were intended, not, like mine, taken as it were by chance, and without a thought of rendring them more

publick, than by cursory and verbal repetitions to familiars. I would have added something of the bat, but it being disputable whether it belongs to birds or beasts, I refer it to my description of things hurtful, being a place more proper for it than either of the former. Of the beasts, with which *Surinam* is so well and variously stored, that I think no place whatsoever can, with more reason, brag of its excellency in this kind, and it is almost as easy to enumerate the stars of heaven as their several species. But I will trespass no further upon the reader's patience than to give a short description of such, as are accounted most remarkable, and which my memory presents to me on a sudden : those are deer, hares, coneys, armadillios, hogs, buffaloes, ant-bears, tygers, &c. The inhabitants of the trees are baboons, quot-toes, monkeys, marmazetts, cusharees, sloths, and many more I have forgotten. The deer are much like our ordinary ones in *England*. The hares more resemble a pig than any other creature that I know ; they are brown, smooth-haired, spotted with white, and are far bigger than an *English* hare, which, beside the mouth, they have no part like : they are excellent good meat, much better than any four-footed game in *England*. The coneys are red, not so good meat, and less than the hares, but not differing in shape. The armadillios are of two kinds, great, and little ; of the greater, I saw one weighed eighty pounds. They are short-leg'd, have three claws upon their feet, are headed like a hog, have no teeth, and but very little mouths ; they are defended all over, save the head and belly, with an armour as it were plated, scarce penetrable by a lance, unless it happen in a joint, they burrow in the ground, and, had they not quite so strong a smell of musk, would be no contemptible meat

meat. Of the hogs, there are three kinds, one lives like an otter, for the most part in the water, and is much commended, but it was never my luck to see any of that sort. The other two are called the pakeera, and pinko; the first has the navel growing upon his back, he is of a grey colour, and about the bigness of an *English* shote of six months old, is indifferent good meat. The pinko is near as big, and every whit as good as ours. The buffalo is reported to be as big as a bullock of two years old, and almost as good meat, but I cannot give him a particular description, because it was never my hap to see one all the while I continued there, they having been rarely observed to come so low as where I dwelt in that country. The ant-bear is about the bigness of an ordinary hog, of a black and grey colour, having a long brush tail like a fox, or squirrel, with which he shelters his whole body from the rain, his head is small, his snout about a foot long from his eyes, he has no teeth, and a mouth not big enough to thrust in two fingers; his tongue is round, and small, which he can put out a foot beyond his mouth to lick in ants, never feeding upon any thing else; he is very strong, especially in his fore-parts, and has sharp claws above an inch and a half long, with which he can strike dangerously, but his pace is slow, and therefore easily avoided; his flesh is none of the sweetest, but if well sauced with hunger it will down. Of the tygers there are three kinds, black, spotted, and red. The first is accounted fiercest, but he very seldom appears amongst the dwellings. The spotted which I think are miscall'd, being rather leopards than tygers, do no little hurt to plantations, by destroying the cattle and poultry. They are of so vast a strength, that one of them will make nothing to leap over a five or six foot rail, with a hog in his mouth. There was once one came into a plantation, kill'd a bull of two years old, and dragged him above a quarter of a mile into the woods. Unless they be wounded, or very hungry, they will hardly assault a man in the day time. I never heard of above two or three they have killed one way or other, since the settling of the colony: one of them, who was a huntsman and a lusty fellow, was often heard to wish he could meet with a tyger, and made it a great complaint in all his searches through the woods, it

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was never his good fortune; at length one night, lying in his hammock, in an open house, a tyger comes, takes him up, and carries him two miles into the woods, in vain crying for help, which was heard by an *English* woman in a close house hard by, who had so much courage (more than is usual in her sex) to fire a musquet from the window; but those who have had to do with them know, it is not noise only can scare a tyger from his prey: the man was found next day with his head and shoulders eaten off. They are observed to be not so numerous now as formerly, partly retiring further into the woods, and a great many having been taken by the hunters. There is one *John Millar*, who has killed no fewer than a dozen or fourteen singly with his gun and lance, from some miraculously escaping with his life, and having been dangerously hurt by others. There are not many of the red, and those not so fierce as either of the former. In the woods are a great many land tortoises, but not so big, by more than three quarters, as the sea ones; their shells are so hard, and strong, that a laden cart may go over and not crush them, in which being otherwise defenceless, they secure themselves from any enemies but men and tygers: the first, breaking up their lodgings with an axe; the other, with his teeth: they will eat almost any thing, and are by the planters preserved in pens a great many together, to make use of when they please, being reputed none of the courtest dishes there. There are also porcupines shap'd almost like our *English* hedge-hogs, but larger, and armed all over with black and white quills about two handfuls long, and sharp as needles, which nature has taught them to shoot from their sides, with admirable dexterity against a coming enemy.

Monkeys and baboons, are so familiarly known in *England*, they need not a particular description here; though one thing of the baboons, wherein I think they differ from all others, I cannot omit inserting, which is, that at certain hours both of the night and day, they send so horrid a roaring from their hollow throats, that, to those unwonted to such noises, nothing can seem at first more strange and terrible, being easily to be heard above two miles off. The marmazet is a very pretty creature of a greenish yellow colour, and though far less than a monkey, is commander of all those lofty dwellers, riding them from tree to tree

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at his pleasure, they not being able to shake him off, and instead of spurs, to provoke their speed, he bites them by the ears. The quotto is black, something bigger than a monkey, having a very long tail, with which he swings himself from bough to bough, his face is red, with hair hanging a little over his forehead, and his aspect is almost like an old *Indian* woman's; his cry is shrill, and very loud. The cusharee is black, less than a marmazet, and shap'd every way perfectly like a lyon. The sloth is a creature so call'd from the dulness of his nature, somewhat bigger than a baboon, and of various colours; he is so stupid, that neither shouts nor blows will make him mend his pace considerably, which one may imagine is none of the swiftest, when, if not disturb'd, he will make it a day's jour-

ney in climbing up a tree, from whence he rarely descends, till there is nothing left to feed upon, and then, mov'd more by necessity than choice, he very gravely travels down that and up another; where he sits spending those idle hours, which are not many, he can spare from eating and sleep, in whistling such tunes as himself is too lazy (and, I believe, no body else would think think good enough) to dance after.

This is but a taste of what another (whose humours are not so volatile as mine) might frame into a banquet; though I am perswaded the most serious observer might continue there, almost seven years together, and yet be always finding some creature or other he had not met withal before, and not much less worthy of his notice, than any I have named.

CHAP. V.

Of the fruits;

WHICH are oranges, limons, limes, pomcitrons, both water and musk melons, with some grapes; all which are forc'd, not natural to the country, though as good and thrive as well there as in any other place. Those originally found there, are plantons, bonanoes, semerrimars, guavers, pines, and abundance of wild trash, which, perhaps if transplanted, might prove not so contemptible as they now are. The planton I have already spoken of, from which the bonano is little different, but rather the better of the two, though neither of them, in my opinion, very pleasing. The semerrimar grows upon a pretty tall tree; it is almost like a peach, woolly on the outside, and is not to be eaten till rotten, when the taste is not unlike to that of marmalade of quinces. The guaver is about

the bigness of a medlar, yellow, and full of seeds, it is truly a most delicious fruit, and when quite ripe, tastes very like a strawberry; it grows upon small trees, commonly in savanna's, or pastures. The pine, or rather the prince of fruits, is ordinarily eight or nine inches about, and a foot in length, the outside is green and checker'd, and within yellow, juicy, and full of holes, like a honey-comb; on the top it has a fair coronet of leaves, as it were denoting its supremacy; nor do I think it a usurper, being incomparably the best and most beautiful that ever I saw or tasted: it grows upon a small bush, about four foot high, the stalk coming from the root like an artichoke; the crown being cut off and planted bears again in ten months.

C H A P. VI.

Of the commodities ;

WHICH are sugar, speckle-wood, cotton, tobacco, indico, gums, and dying woods ; of sugar very considerable quantities are made, and accounted generally better by ten *per cent.* than that of *Barbadoes*. Speckle-wood is also plentiful enough, and has been sold in *England* equal to the price of sugar, but by its too great and frequent importations, it is now become of less value. Cotton does not thrive so well there as in *Barbadoes*, and other islands, by reason, as it is supposed, of the excessive rains, and too far distance from the sea, from whence arises a brackish dew, that keeps off caterpillars, and other things offensive to the bushes. Tobacco thrives well, and is reputed much better than that of *Virginia* ; for my part I am no smoker, and therefore an incompetent judge of either : I think there is not yet more made than what serves the occasions of the colony ; the people, men,

women and children, being very much addicted to the pipe. Indico has yet been but little experienced ; rum is a spirit extracted from the juice of sugar-canes, commonly twice as strong as brandy, call'd kill-devil in *New England*, whither it is sold at the rate of twelve pounds of sugar per gallon. Molasses relates also to sugar, being that which drops from it, while it is curing, and is the same commonly sold in *England* for treacle. The gums yet most familiarly known there, are montagne, and gumma femnia, neither of which our druggists are unacquainted with ; they are both easily procurable, and no doubt many more excellent, which time and experience will bring to light. There's also cassia fistula in abundance, and a kind of balsam distilling from a tree, accounted second to none for a green hurt. Nor are dying woods wanting, but more minded by the *Dutch* than *English*.

C H A P. VII.

Of the plantations ;

WHICH are in all about five hundred, whereof forty or fifty have sugar-works, yielding no small profit to the owners, for a slight disbursement, considering how brave a revenue, if prudently manag'd, may be rais'd from it in a few years : far larger (if no contingency divert the ordinary course of things) than is usually produc'd from a greater foundation, and more continu'd industry in *England*.

The seasons for felling down the wood are between *April* and *August*, it being left upon the ground to dry till about the latter end of *September*, when, it is burnt, and the soil enrich'd with its ashes. *Indian* corn and canes are planted upon the lower-grounds. Yames and other provisions upon that which is

higher. The corn grows upon a stalk like a reed, commonly six or seven foot high, and two ears upon a stalk : the grain is about the bigness of a pea, which becomes ripe in four months. They have two crops in a year, and the increase is at least five hundred for one. Canes become fit to break in twelve months when they are about six foot high, and as thick as a man's wrist : they bear a top like a flag, which being cut off, and the canes squeezed through a mill, the juice is boil'd in coppers to a competent thickness, and then pour'd into wooden pots made broad and square at the top, and taper'd to the compass of a sixpence at the bottom with a hole thorough, which is stopp'd with a little stick, till the sugar begins to be cold, and

and stiffen'd ; when it is pull'd out, and by that passage, the molasses drains from it ; and being cur'd a

while after this manner, is knock'd out into hogheads, and so shipp'd off.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the negroes or slaves ;

WH O are most brought out of *Guinea in Africa* to those parts, where they are sold like dogs, and no better esteem'd but for their work-sake, which they perform all the week, with the severest usages for the slightest fault, till saturday afternoon, when they are allowed to dress their own gardens or plantations, having nothing but what they can produce from thence to live upon ; unless perhaps once or twice a year, their masters vouchsafe them, as a great favour, a little rotten salt-fish : or if a cow or horse die of itself, they get roast-meat : their lodging is a hard board, and their black skins their covering. These wretched miseries not seldom drive them to desperate attempts for the recovery of their liberty, endeavouring to escape, and, if like to be retaken, sometimes lay violent hands upon themselves ; or if the hope of pardon bring them again alive into their master's power, they will manifest their fortitude, or

rather obstinacy, in suffering the most exquisite tortures can be inflicted upon them, for a terror and example to others without shrinking. They are there a mixture of several nations, which are always clashing with one another, so that no conspiracy can be hatching, but it is presently detected by some party amongst themselves disaffected to the plot, because their enemies have a share in it : they are naturally treacherous and bloody, and practise no religion there, though many of them are circumcis'd : but they believe the ancient *Pythagorean* error of the soul's transmigration out of one body into another ; that when they die, they shall return into their own countries and be regenerated, so live in the world by a constant revolution ; which conceit makes many of them over fondly woo their deaths, not otherwise hoping to be freed from that indeed unequall'd slavery.

C H A P. IX.

Of things there venomous and hurtful.

TH E propagating heat (and paucity of inhabitants in that country to keep them under) has I suppose occasioned its swarming with so many several kinds of vermin, as to render the beings of men in some measure dangerous, troublesome, and unpleasant : those most familiarly taken notice of, are snakes, crocodiles, scorpions, bats, ants, muschetoes, toads, and frogs ; of snakes, 'tis certain there have been some killed near thirty foot long, and of a greatness proportionable to their length :

I know some people are so foolishly incredulous in things of this nature, that they will believe nothing which cannot be visibly demonstrated within the limits of their own thresholds ; therefore, for fear of being thought to use the authority of a traveller, I dare not repeat how huge a morsel one of them will swallow at a time : but far less danger resides in one of those huge creatures, than their presence may seem to threaten ; for they are not at all venomous, and, especially when full, very unweildly ;

unweildy: these belong properly to the water, though sometimes they prey by land: whatever they take is by surprize, never by plain gliding; nor have I ever heard of any man yet was so much a fool, to be cheated out of his life by so evitable a mischief: but the lesser kinds, which are too, too, numerous, are a great deal rather to be feared, being many of them so poisonous as nothing can be more, as was once or twice wofully experienced, not only killing, but the flesh in less than a day's space dropping by piece-meal from the bones of them who were bitten: some are all over diversify'd with beautiful and lively colours, under which gallantry is generally observed to lie hidden the most deadly poison. Others are knotty, with horns in their tails, and tusks two inches long upon the upper chap. Crocodiles there are too, but those neither very numerous nor large, they need not take up the room of a description here, their skins being so commonly to be seen in *England*, in almost every apothecary's shop. The scorpion is black, and almost like a craw-fish, he lurks for the most part amongst dry wood or corn, his sting is in his tail, with which, whoever is striken, will be vexed with most intolerable torture for some hours, but it reaches not the life: the ordinary remedy to allay the fierceness of the misery, is taken from the thing itself being killed, and bruis'd upon the place. The bats are found to be not a little noxious both to men and beasts, in the night drawing away their blood, and so easily, that the loss is not perceivable, 'till it be past prevention, which (if I was not misinform'd) has forced several people to forsake their dwellings, to save that little blood they had, which would have been otherwise suck'd

out. Some seem as big as pigeons in their flight, and, as I have already mentioned, are the only impediments to the *English* hogs more numerous increase in that country. The ants, though but little creatures, yet they are so many and hurtful, that than them *Surinam* has scarce a greater trouble; very sandy grounds have always the largest share of their annoyance, which poor men, who have happen'd upon such soils, and have had no more servants than themselves, have found so constant and insuperable, that in spite of all their endeavours to destroy them, they have been compelled to desert their plantations, which otherwise they would have ruin'd, and settle in some better place. The muscheto is a kind of gnat, in the night so restlessly vexatious, by biting, and raising little swellings in the flesh in all the lower places of the country, but chiefly by the sea-side, where it is most over-flown moorish lands, that fishermen for rest-sake, have been fain to cover themselves all over, save the mouth and eyes, in the sand. Toads and frogs, the scare-crows of women, like those amongst the *Egyptians*, are frequent in all places, as well of the houses, as in the fields; and in an evening, after a shower of rain, their noises are so loud, that a man can hardly hear himself speak, and the croakings of some of them are so horrid, that do but imagine the latest groans of a dying person, and you have it. Thus much is the worst can be justly spoken of *Surinam*, though its contrary blessings and advantages are of far greater weight; nor are these mischiefs so considerable, but that experience has taught infallible and absolute remedies for some, and safe evasions may easily be found for others.

CHAP. X.

Of the Indians;

WH^O are a people cowardly and treacherous, qualities inseparable, there are several nations which trade and familiarly converse with the people of the colony, but those they live amongst are the *Caribees*, or *Cannibals*, who are more numerous than any of the rest, and are settled upon

all the islands, and in most of the rivers, from the famous one of *Amazon* to that of *Oronoque*: they go wholly naked, save a flap for modesty, which the women, after having had a child or two, throw off. Their skins are of an orange tawny colour, and their hair black, without curls: a hap-

py people as to this world, if they were sensible of their own hap: nature with little toil providing all things which may serve her own necessities. The women are generally lascivious, and some so truly handsome, as to features and proportion, that if the most curious symetrian had been there, he could not but subscribe to my opinion: and their pretty bashfulness (especially while virgins) in the presence of a stranger, adds such a charming grace to their perfections (too nakedly expos'd to every wanton eye) that whoever lives amongst them had need be owner of no less than *Joseph's* continency, not, at least, to covet their embraces: they have been yet so unfortunately ignorant, not to enrich their amorous caresses with that innocent and warm delight of kissing, but conversing so frequently with Christians, and being naturally docile and ingenious, we have reason to believe, they will in time be taught it. Their houses for the night are low thatched cottages, with the eves close to the ground; for the day they have higher, and open on every side, to defend them from the violence of the sun's rays, yet letting in the grateful coolness of the air. Their household utensils are curiously painted earthen pots and platters, and their nappery is the leaves of trees. Their beds or hammocks (which are also used among the *English*) are made of cotton, square like a blanket, and so ordered with strings at each end, that being tied a convenient distance from one another, it opens the full breadth. For bread and drink, they plant gardens of cassia, and the woods and rivers are their constant suppeditories of flesh and fish. For ornament they colour themselves all over into neat works, with a red paint called anotta, which grows in cuds upon small trees, and the juice of certain weeds; they bore holes also through their noses, lips, and ears, whereat they hang glass pendants, pieces of brass, or any such like baubles their service can procure from the *English*; they load their legs, necks, and arms too, with beads, shells of fish, and almost any trumpery they can get: they have no law nor government but economical, living like the patriarchs of old, the whole kindred in a family, where the eldest son always succeeds his father as the greatest; yet they have some, more than ordinary persons, who are their captains, and lead them out to wars, whose courage they first prove, by sharply whipping them with rods, which if they endure bravely without

crying, or any considerable motion, they are acknowledged gallant fellows, and honour'd by the less hardy. These chiefs or heads of families, have commonly three or four wives a-piece, others but one, who may indeed more properly be termed their vassals than companions, being no less subjected to their husbands than the meanest servants amongst us are to their masters; the men rarely oppress their shoulders with a burthen, the women carry all, and are so very humble and observant in their houses, that at meals they always wait upon their husbands, and never eat till they have done; when a woman is delivered of her first child, she presently goes about her business as before, and the husband feigns himself distemper'd, and is hang'd up to the ridge of the house in his hammock, where he continues certain days dieted with the bread and water of affliction, then being taken down is stung with ants (a punishment they usually inflict upon their women, dogs, or children, when they are foolish, for that's the term they usually put upon any misdemeanors) and a lusty drinking bout is made at the conclusion of the ceremony. Their language sounds well in the expression, but is not very easy to be learn'd, because many single words admit of divers senses, to be distinguished only by the tone or alteration of the voice. When any martial expedition is resolved upon, the general, or chief captain, summons the town and families to assemble, by a stick with so many notches in it as he intends days before he sets out, which when they have received, they cut out every day one, till all are gone, and by that only they know the expiration of the time, for their numbers exceed not twenty, which they want names for too, but express them by their fingers and toes, which they will sometimes double, and treble; but their arithmetic is quickly at a loss, and then they cry out *Ounsa awara*, that is, like the hair of ones head, innumerable. They go to sea in canoes or boats bravely painted, made of one entire piece, being trees cut hollow like a trough, and some so large, that they will carry five or six tons of goods at once. Their arms are bows, with poisoned arrows, and short clubs of speckle-wood; some, for defence, carry shields made of light wood, handsomely painted and engraved. They observe no order in their fighting, nor, unless upon very great advantage

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tages, enterprize any thing but by night. The men they take prisoners they put to death with the most barbarous cruelties a coward can invent for an enemy in his power. Women and children they preserve for slaves, and sell them for trifles to the *English*. They did once cut off some *French* in *Surinam*, and made several attempts upon the *English* at their first settling, which were always frustrated, and they soundly smarted for their folly: now the colony is grown potent they dare not but be humble. They are highly sensible of an injury amongst themselves, and will, if possible, have revenge at one time or other, which they always effect by treachery, and dare never assault a man to his face. They have no religion amongst them that ever I could perceive, though they will talk of a captain of the skies, but neither worship him nor any other. They have some knowledge of the devil, whom they call *Yarakin*, and their impostors, or, as they call them, *peeies*, make them believe they frequently converse with him; whether they do so really or no, I know not, however, it serves to scare the rest, and makes them think death, or any misfortune, proceeds immediately from him. They have also a glimpse of an after-life, in which shall be rewards and punishments for the good and bad, but are wiser than to pretend to any certain knowledge of what, or where. The belief of the *peeies* familiarity with the devil, and skill in herbs, to which also they pretend, causes them to be employ'd by others as physicians, though they need not be over fond of the profession, for one of them being sent for to a sick person, and that notwithstand-

ing his charms and fooleries the patient die, the surviving friends, if he be not the more wary, will give the poor doctor death also for his fee. They burn the dead body, and with it all the goods he was master of in the world, which are combustible, and what is not (as iron-work) they will destroy by some other means, that no necessities may be wanting in the other life: and, if he had any slaves, they are kill'd also to attend him there. They solemnise the funeral with a drunken feast and confused dancing (in which they are frequent and excessive) while some women of nearest kin to the deceased, sits by, and in a doleful howling tune lamentably deplores the loss of her relation.

Haste, and an unfaithful memory, made me omit an observation, in my opinion, very remarkable, and for which I want a greater reason than my own to give me satisfaction. I have said, the warmth and moisture cause a constant verdancy and flourishing of plants in *Surinam*, holding true not only in all trees natural to that country, but also in transplanted vines which bear there twice a year; yet this exception I observed in an *European* apple-tree, which, notwithstanding the equality of seasons, always shed its leaves, and continued bare after the usual manner in its native soil all our winter months, and grew green again in spring: but how it comes to pass, that the heat and moisture of that climate should not cause in that tree an assimilation with the rest (as well those transplanted as natural to that country, since they say the spirit of nature is universally diffusive) I leave the *Virtuosi* to dispute.

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To both V O L U M E S.

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